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The travels of Richard and John Lander, into the interior of Africa

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THE TRAVELS OF RICHARD LANDER, INTO THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA,

FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE COURSE OF THE RIVER NIGER.

From unpublished documents in the possession of the late

CAPTN JOHN WILLIAM BARBER FULLERTON:

employed in the African Service.

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COURSE AND TERMINATION OF THE NIGER;

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Employed in the African Service:

WITH

A Prefatory Analysis of the Previous Travels

OF

PARK, DENHAM, CLAPPERTON, ADAMS, LYON, RITCHIE, &c.

Into the hitherto unexplored Countries of Africa.

BY ROBERT HUISH, Esq.

Author of the "Last Voyage of Capt. Sir John Ross, to the Arctic Regions," "Memoirs of W. Cobbett, Esq." "Private and Political Life of the late Henry Hunt, Esq." &c. &c. &c.

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INTRODUCTION.

MANY are the acquisitions which geography has made since the boundaries of commerce have been extended, and the spirit of enterprise has carried our adventurous countrymen into countries which had never yet been indented by a European foot; and which, in the great map of the world, appeared as barren and uninhabitable places, destitute of all resources from which the traveller could derive a subsistence. It must, however, on the other hand, be admitted, that design has frequently had little to do in the discovery of those countries, however well it may have been conceived, and however great the perseverance may have been, which was exhibited in the pursuit. The discovery of America was, indeed, a splendid example of an enlightened conception, and an undaunted heroism, crowned with the most complete success; and the laudable and unabated ardour which this country, in despite of the most appalling obstacles, has persisted in solving the great geographical problem of the Course and Termination of the Niger, may be placed second in rank to the discovery of America.

As long as any fact is shut out from the knowledge of man, he who is in search of it will supply the deficiency by his own conclusions, which will be more or less removed from the object of his pursuit, according to the previous opinions which he may have formed, or to the credit which he may have placed on the reports of others. These remarks cannot be better illustrated, than in the case furnished by the Joliba, the Quorra, or Niger, the termination of which river was utterly unknown until Richard and John Lander braving difficulties which would have broken any other hearts than theirs, succeeded in navigating the river until its conflux with the ocean. Since Park's first discovery of the Joliba, every point of the compass has been assumed for the

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ulterior course and termination of that river, and however wrong subsequent discovery has proved this speculative geography to have been, it is not to be regarded as useless. Theories may be far short of the truth, but while they display the ingenuity and reasoning powers of their authors, they tend to keep alive that spirit of inquiry and thirst for knowledge which terminates in discovery.

Various accounts of theis river had been gradually collected from different sources, which afforded grounds for fresh theories respecting its termination. That of Reichard was the favourite, he supposing that it assumed a south-west course, and terminated in the gulph of Guinea. It was observed at the time, that there was neither evidence on which such an opinion could be supported, nor any by which it could be refuted. Discovery has proved him to be right in respect to its ultimate disposal; but at the same time, he participated in the general error regarding its course to Wangara. These different opinions appeared in several publications, in which, as might be expected, much error was mixed up with the general correctness. That the river flowed into the sea at Funda, was the principal and chief point that was gained; but the most extraordinary circumstance attending this discovery, was, that no one knew where Funda was. The only exception to these was the theory of Major Denham, supported by Sultan Bello's information, who continued its easterly course below Boossa, and ended it in Lake Tchad.

Such was the uncertain condition in which the course of the Niger remained, when the happy idea occurred of sending the Messrs. Landers to follow its course below Boossa. By this step the British government completed what it had begun, and accomplished in a few months the work of ages.

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THE

TRAVELS

OF

RICHARD LANDER,

INTO

THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

PREVIOUSLY to entering upon the immediate subject of the origin and progress of the different voyages, which have been undertaken for exploring the interior of Africa, it may be not only interesting, but highly instructive, to take a rapid survey of the great Peninsula, as it appeared to the earlier travellers, and as it was found by the last of them, amongst whom may be included the individual, whose adventures in the present work, claim our chief attention. It is on record, that the coasts of Africa have been navigated from as early a period, as six hundred years before Christ, and, according to the earliest records of history, the circumnavigation of Africa was accomplished by the Phœnicians, in the service of Pharaoh Necho. On referring to Herodotus, the earliest and most interesting of Greek historians, and to whom we are indebted for the knowledge of many important facts relative to Africa, in the earliest periods of its history, we find, in corroboration of the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians, "that taking their course from the Red Sea they entered into the Southern Ocean; on the approach of autumn, they landed in Lybia, and planted some corn in the place, where they happened to find themselves; when this was ripe, and they had cut it down, they again departed.

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Having thus consumed two years, they in the third passed the columns of Hercules, and returned to Egypt. Their relation may obtain attention from others, but to me it seems incredible, for they affirmed that having sailed round Africa, *they had the sun on their right hand.*"

It is worthy of remark, that the very circumstance, which led Herodotus to attach discredit to the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians, on account of their having the sun to the right, is the very strongest presumption in favour of its truth. Some historians have indeed endeavoured to prove, that the voyage was altogether beyond any means, which navigation at that early era could command; but in the learned exposition of Rennell, a strong degree of probability is thrown upon the early tradition. At all events it may be considered, that the obscure knowledge, which we possessed of the peninsular figure of Africa, appears to have been derived from the Phœnicians. Herodotus, however, was himself a traveller, in those early times, of no mean celebrity. Despairing of obtaining accurate information of the then known part of the habitable world, he determined to have recourse to travelling, for the purpose of completing those surveys, which had been undertaken by his predecessors, and which had been left in a dubious and indefinite state. He resided for a considerable period in Egypt, during which, he entered into a friendly communion with the native priests, from whom he obtained much accurate information, as well as a great deal, that was false and exaggerated relative to the extensive region, which extends from the Nile to the Atlantic. According to his description it is much inferior in fertility to the cultivated parts of Europe and Asia, and suffering extremely from severe drought; yet he makes mention of a few spots, such as Ginyps, and the high tract of Cyrene, which, undergoing the process of irrigation, may stand a comparison with the richest portions of the globe. Generally, however, in quitting the northern coast, which he terms significantly the forehead of Africa, the country became more and more arid: Hills of salt arose, out of which the natives constructed their houses, without any fear of their melting beneath a shower in a region where rain was unknown. The land became almost a desert, and was filled with such multitudes of wild beasts, as to be considered

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their proper inheritance, and scarcely disputed with them by the human race. Farther to the south, the soil no longer afforded food even to these wild tenants; there was not a trunk of a tree, nor a drop of water—total silence and desolation reigned.

This may be considered as the first picture on record of the northern part of Africa; a country, which, even after the lapse of two thousand years, presents to the eye of science, as regards its interior recesses, a blank in geography, a physical and not less a moral problem; a dark and bewildering mystery. The spirit of enterprise has carried our mariners to the arctic seas, braving the most appalling dangers in the solution of a great geographical problem; by the same power, civilization has been carried into the primeval forests of the American continent, and cities have arisen in the very heart of the Andes. The interior of Africa, however, notwithstanding its navigable rivers, has been hitherto almost a sealed chapter in the history of the globe. The deserts, which extend from Egypt to the Atlantic, and which cover a great surface of the interior, have proved a barrier to the march of conquest, or civilization; and whatever science has gained, has been wrested by the utmost efforts of human perseverance and the continual sacrifice of human life.

It must, however, be allowed that there are obstacles existing to the knowledge and the civilization of central Africa, which cannot be overcome by the confederated power of human genius. Extending 5000 miles in length, and nearly the same extent in breadth, it presents an area, according to Malte Brun, of 13,430,000 square miles, unbroken by any estuary, or inland sea, and intersected by a few long or easily navigable rivers; all its known chains of mountains are of moderate height, rising in terraces, down which the waters find their way in cataracts, not through deep ravines and fertile valleys. Owing to this configuration, its high table lands are without streams, a phenomenon unknown in any other part of the world; while, in the lower countries, the rivers, when swelled with the rains, spread into floods and periodical lakes, or lose themselves in marshes. According to this view of the probable structure of the unknown interior, it appears as one immense flat mountain, rising on all sides from the sea by terraces; an opinion favoured

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by the absence of those narrow pointed promontories, in which other continents terminate, and of those long chains of islands, which are, in fact, submarine prolongations of mountain chains extending across the main land. It is, however, not impossible, that in the centre of Africa, there may be lofty table lands like those of Quito, or valleys like that of Cashmeer, where, as in those happy regions, spring holds a perpetual reign.

In regard to the population, as well as its geographical character, Africa naturally divides itself into two great portions, north and south of the mountains of Kong and the Jebel el Komar, which give rise to the waters of the Senegal, the Niger, and the Nile. To the north of this line, Africa is ruled, and partially occupied by foreign races, who have taken possession of all the fertile districts, and driven the aboriginal population into the mountains and deserts of the interior. It is consistent with general experience, that in proportion as civilization extends itself, the aboriginal race of the natives become either extinct, or are driven farther and farther into the interior, where they in time are lost, and swept from the catalogue of the human race.

South of this line, we find Africa entirely peopled with the Negro race, who alone seem capable of sustaining the fiery climate, by means of a redundant physical energy scarcely compatible with the full development of the intellectual powers of man. Central Africa is a region distinguished from all others, by its productions and climate, by the simplicity and yet barbarian magnificence of its states; by the mildness and yet diabolical ferocity of its inhabitants, and peculiarly by the darker nature of its superstitions, and its magical rites, which have struck with awe strangers in all ages, and which present something inexplicable and even appalling to enlightened Europeans; the evil principle here seems to reign with less of limitation, and in recesses inaccessible to white men, still to enchant and delude the natives. The common and characteristic mark of their superstition, is the system of Fetiches, by which an individual appropriates to himself some casual object as divine, and which, with respect to himself, by this process, becomes deified, and exercises a peculiar fatality over his fortune. The barbarism of Africa, may be attributed in part

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to its great fertility, which enables its inhabitants to live without care, but chiefly to its imperviousness to strangers. Every petty state is so surrounded with natural barriers, that it is isolated from the rest, and though it may be overrun and wasted, and part of its inhabitants carried into captivity, it has never been made to form a constituent part of one large consolidated empire· and thus smaller states become dependent, without being incorporated. The whole region is still more inaccessible on a grand scale, than the petty states are in miniature; and while the rest of the earth has become common, from the frequency of visitors, Africa still retains part of the mystery, which hung over the primitive and untrodden world.

Passing over the attempts of the very early travellers to become acquainted with the geographical portion of Africa, in which much fiction, and little truth, were blended, we arrive at that period, when the spirit of discovery began to manifest itself amongst some of the European states. The darkness and lethargy, which characterised the middle ages, had cast their baneful influence over every project, which had discovery for its aim, and ven the invaluable discovery of the mariner's compass, which took place at the commencement of the thirteenth century, and w ich opened to man the dominion of the sea, and put him in full possession of the earth, had little immediate effect in emboldening navigators to venture into unfrequented seas. At a somewhat earlier period, it is true, th Hanse Towns and the Italian republics began to cultivate manufa:-tures and commerce, and to lay the foundation of a still higher prosperity, but they carried on chiefly an inland or coasting trade. The naval efforts, even of Venice or Genoa, had no further aim than to bring from Alexandria, and the shores of the Black Sea, the commodities of India, which had been conveyed thither chiefly by caravans over land. Satisfied with the wealth and power, to which they had been raised by this local and limited commerce, these celebrated republics made an attempt to open a more extended path over the ocean. Their pilots, indeed, guided most of the vessels engaged in the early voyages of discovery, but they were employed, and the means furnished, by the great monarchs, whose ports were situated upon the shores of the Atlantic.

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The first appearance of a bolder spirit, in which the human mind begun to make a grand movement in every direction, in religion, science, freedom, and liberty, may be dated from about the end of the fifteenth century. The glory of leading the way in this new career, was reserved for Portugal, then one of the smallest, and least powerful of the European kingdoms.

When in 1412, John I. sent forth a few vessels, to explore the western shores of Africa, while he prepared a great armament to attack the moors of Barbary, the art of navigation was still very imperfect, nor had the Portuguese ever ventured to sail beyond Cape Non. But what most powerfully contributed to give impulse and direction to the national ardour, was the enlightened enthusiasm, with which prince Henry of Portugal, a younger son of John I., espoused the interests of science, and the prosecution of nautical discovery. In order to pursue his splendid projects without interruption, he fixed his residence at Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, where the prospect of the open Atlantic continually invited his thoughts to their favourite theme. His first effort was upon a small scale. He fitted out a single ship, the command of which was entrusted to two gentlemen of his household, who volunteered their services, with instructions to use their utmost endeavours to double Cape Bojador, and thence to steer southward. According to the mode of navigation, which then prevailed, they held their course along the shore, and by following that direction, they must have encountered almost insuperable difficulties, in the attempt to pass the cape; their want of skill was, however, compensated by a fortunate accident. A sudden squall drove them out to sea, and when they expected every moment to perish, landed them on an unknown island, which, from their happy escape, they named Porto Santo. They returned to Portugal with the good tidings, and were received with the applause due to fortunate adventurers. The following year, prince Henry sent out three ships to take possession of the new island; a fixed spot on the horizon, towards the south, resembling a small black cloud, soon attracted the attention of the settlers, and the conjecture suggested itself that it might be land. Steering towards it, they arrived at a considerable island, uninhabited, and covered with wood, which, on that account, they called Madeira.

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By these voyages, the Portuguese became accustomed to a bolder navigation, and at length, in 1433, Gilianez, one of prince Henry's captains, by venturing out into the open sea, succeeded in doubling Cape Bojador, which, until then, had been regarded as impassable. This successful voyage, which the ignorance of the age placed on a level with the most famous exploits recorded in history, opened a new sphere to navigation, as it discovered the vast continent of Africa, still washed by the Atlantic Ocean, and stretching towards the south. A rapid progress was then made along the shores of the Sahara, and the Portuguese navigators were not long in reaching the fertile regions watered by the Senegal and the Gambia.

The early part of this progress was dreary in the extreme; they saw nothing before them but a wild expanse of lifeless earth and sky, naked rocks and burning sands, stretching immeasurably into the exterior, and affording no encouragement to any project of settlement. After, however, passing Cape Blanco, the coast began to improve in appearance, and when they saw the ivory and gold brought down from the interior, those regions began to excite the lust of conquest. This was, however, an undertaking beyond the means of any force which had as yet sailed from Portugal. In 1443, however, Nuno Tristan discovered the island of Arguin, and as Gonsalo da Centra was in 1445 killed by a party of negroes, in attempting to ascend a small river, near the Rio Grande, the Portuguese considered an insular position to be the most eligible for a settlement, and the island of Arguin was accordingly fixed upon.

This establishment had been scarcely formed, when an important event took place, which afforded a favourable opportunity and pretext for laying the foundation of the Portuguese empire in Africa. Bemoy, a prince of the Jaloofs, arrived at Arguin, as a suppliant for foreign aid, in recovering his dominions from a more powerful competitor or usurper. He was received with open arms, and conveyed to Lisbon, where he experienced a brilliant reception, his visit being celebrated by all the festal exhibitions peculiar to that age, bull-fights, puppet-shows, and even feats of dogs. On that occasion, Bemoy made a display of the agility of

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his native attendants, who, on foot, kept pace with the swiftest horses, mounting and alighting from these animals at full gallop. After being instructed in the christian religion, he was baptized, and did homage to the king and the pope, for the crown, which was to be placed on his head; for this purpose a powerful armament under the command of Pero vaz d'Acunha, was sent out with him, to the banks of the Senegal.

The circumstance, which tended more particularly to inflame the pious zeal of the christian monarch, was the information, that far to the east of Timbuctoo there was a territory inhabited by a people, who were neither moors nor pagans, but who, in many of their customs resembled the christians. It was immediately inferred, that this could be no other than the kingdom of the mysterious personage, known in Europe, under the uncouth appellation of Prester John. This singular name seems first to have been introduced by travellers from eastern Asia, where it had been applied to some Nestorian bishop, who held there a species of sovereignty, and when rumours arrived of the christian king of Abyssinia, he was concluded to be the real Prester John. His dominions being reported to stretch far inland, and the breadth of the African continent being very imperfectly understood, the conclusion was formed, that a mission from the western coast might easily reach his capital. It does not fully appear, what were the precise expectations from an intercourse with this great personage, but it seems to have been thoroughly rooted in the minds of the Portuguese, that they would be raised to a matchless height of glory and felicity, if they could by any means arrive at his court. The principal instruction given to all officers employed in the African service, was, that in every quarter, and by every means, they should endeavour to effect this discovery. They accordingly never failed to put the question to all the wanderers of the desert, and to every caravan that came from the interior, but in vain, the name had never been heard. The Portuguese then besought the natives at all events, into whatever region they might travel, studiously to inquire if Prester John was there, or if any one knew where he was to be found, and on the promise of a splendid reward, in case of success, this was readily undertaken.

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The conclusion of the adventure of Bemoy, was extremely tragical. A quarrel having arisen between him and the commander of the expedition, the latter stabbed the African prince on board his own vessel. Whether this violent deed was prompted by the heat of passion, or by well-grounded suspicions of the prince's fidelity, was never fully investigated, but the king learned the event with great regret, and in consequence, gave up his design of building a fort on the Senegal. Embassies were, however, sent to the most powerful of the neighbouring states, nor was any pause made in the indefatigable efforts to trace the abode of Prester John. Amongst the great personages, to whom an embassy was sent, are mentioned the kings of Tongubutue, (Timbuctoo,) and Tucurol, a Mandingo chief named Mandimansa, and a king of the Foulhas, with all of whom a friendly intercourse was established. All endeavours were, however, vain as to the primary object, but the Portuguese thereby gained a more complete knowledge of this part of interior Africa than was afterwards attained in Europe till a very recent period.

There is, however, one circumstance attending these discoveries of the Portuguese, and the embassies, which they in consequence sent to the native princes, which deserves particular attention. There is very little doubt existing, but that the Portuguese were acquainted with the town and territory of Timbuctoo; and the question then presents itself, by what means did the Portuguese succeed in penetrating to a kingdom, which, for centuries afterwards, baffled all the efforts of the most enterprising travellers to arrive within some hundred miles of it. The city of Timbuctoo, for instance, was, for a considerable length of time, the point to which all the European travellers had directed their attention; but so vague and indefinite were the accounts of it, that the existence of Timbuctoo as a town, began to be questioned altogether, or at least, that the extraordinary accounts, which had been given of it, had little or no foundation in truth. From the time of Park to the present period, we have information of only three Europeans having reached Timbuctoo, and considerable doubt still exists in regard to the truth of the narrative of one of them. It is true that the intelligence of the Portuguese embassies, as respecting the

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particulars of them, and the manner in which they were conducted, has either perished, or still remains locked up in the archives of the Lusitanian monarchy. But when we look into the expeditions, which have been projected of late years into the interior of Africa, we cannot refrain from drawing the conclusion, that the character of the African people must have undergone a change considerably for the worse, or that our expeditions are not regulated on those principles so as to command success.

The Portuguese in the meantime continued to extend their discoveries in another quarter, for in 1471, they reached the Gold Coast, when dazzled by the importance and splendour of the commodity, the commerce of which gave name to that region, they built the fort of Elmina or The Mine, making it the capital of their possessions on that part of the continent. Pushing onward to Benin, they received a curious account of an embassy said to be sent at the accesssion of every new prince, to a court of a sovereign named Ogane, who was said to reside seven or eight hundred miles in the interior. On the introduction of the ambassadors, a silk curtain concealed the person of his majesty from them, until the moment of their departure, when the royal foot was graciously put forth from under the veil, and reverence was done to it as "a holy thing.' From thisstatement it appears that the pope of Rome is not the only person, whose foot is treated as a "holy thing;" there is not, however, any information extant, that the Portuguese ambassadors kissed the great toe of the African prince, and therefore the superiority of the pope in this instance is at once decided. The statement, however, of the Portuguese ambassadors excited greatly the curiosity of the court on their return, and it was immediately surmised by them, that this mysterious potentate was more likely to be Prester John, than any person whom they had yet heard of. It must, however, be remarked, that it was a subject of great doubt and discussion to determine who this Ogane really was.

Although in possession of the extensive coast of Africa, the Portuguese had, as yet, no declared title to it, for that purpose, therefore, they appealed to religion or rather the superstition of the age. It was a maxim, which the bigots of the Vatican had

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endeavoured strongly to inculcate, that whatever country was conquered from infidel nations, became the property of the victors. This title was, however, not completed until it was confirmed by a special grant obtained from the pope, and accordingly the reigning monarch of Portugal, John II., obtained the grant of all the lands from Cape Bojador to the Indies inclusive. Robertson, speaking of this grant, says, "extravagant as this donation, comprehending such a large portion of the habitable globe, would now appear even in catholic countries, no person in the fifteenth century doubted but that the pope, in the plenitude of his apostolic power, had a right to confer it."

The grant was no sooner confirmed by the pope, than John hesitated not a moment to style himself Lord of Guinea, giving his commanders, at the same time, instructions that, instead of the wooden crosses, which it had hitherto been the custom to erect in token of conquest, pillars of stone should be raised twice the stature of a man, with proper inscriptions, and the whole surmounted by a crucifix inlaid with lead. The first, who sailed from Elmina, for the purpose of planting these ensigns of dominion in regions yet undiscovered was Diego Cam, in 1484. After passing Cape St. Catherine, he encountered a very strong current setting direct from the land, which was still at a considerable distance; on tasting the water, however, it was found to be fresh, from which the conjecture was drawn, that he was at the mouth of some great river, which ultimately turned out to be the fact. This river has since been celebrated under the name of the Congo, or the Zaire, lying in latitude 8° south, and longitude 13° east. On reaching the southern bank of the river, Diego planted his first pillar, after which he ascended its borders, and opened a communication with the natives by means of signs. His first inquiry was respecting the residence of their sovereign, and, on receiving the information, that he resided at the distance of several days journey inland, he determined to send a number of his men with presents for the prince, the natives undertaking to be the guides, and pledging themselves, within a stipulated period, to conduct them back again. As the natives meantime passed and repassed on the most intimate footing, Diego took the advantage of a moment, when several of the principal persons were on board his ship, weighed anchor and put to

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sea. He intimated, by signs, to their countrymen on shore, that he would return in the space of fifteen moons, and that in the interval, he left as hostages, those of his own people, who had gone on the embassy to their own sovereign and not returned. With these living trophies of his discovery, Diego presented himself to the Portuguese monarch; the king was much pleased, and held many conversations with the Congo princes, whom he loaded with honours, and caused to be conveyed back at the appointed period to the shores of the Congo. On the arrival of Diego in the river, his joy was great to find that his countrymen, whom he had left behind, had been treated in the most hospitable manner during his absence. He now prosecuted his voyage for 200 leagues along the coast of Congo, and received an invitation from the sable monarch to visit him at his court, where he was received with great kindness, and agreed to embrace the Christian faith, consenting at the same time, to send several of his nobles to Europe for the purpose of being instructed in its principles. With these flattering prospects, Diego lost no time in hastening back to Lisbon, accompanied by some Congo chiefs of the first rank, who were to undergo the ceremony of baptism in Europe. They remained two years at Lisbon, experiencing the most hospitable treatment, and on being considered ripe for baptism, the king stood godfather to the principal chief, and his principal courtiers to the others. On this occasion, the Africans received the names of the persons by whom they had been thus honoured.

In 1490, a new armament, guided by Ruy de Sousa, conveyed back the Congo chiefs to their native country, and, on their arrival, the Portuguese were received by the sable king, with all possible pomp. The native troops approached in three lines, making the most prodigious noise with horns, kettledrums, and other instruments, and raising shouts so tremendous, as to surpass all that the Europeans had ever witnessed in catholic processions and invocations to the saints. The king himself was seated, in the midst of a large park, upon an ivory chair raised on a platform. He was dressed in rich and glossy skins of wild beasts, a bracelet of brass hanging from his left arm, a horse's tail from his shoulder, and on his head a bonnet of fine cloth, woven from the palm tree. He

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gave full permission to erect a church, and when some of his attendants began to murmur at this encroachment upon their ancient customs and rites, he threatened them with instant death, but by the politic interference of the Portuguese, the threat was not put in execution. He and his nobles underwent the ceremony of baptism, and the catholic missionaries entered upon their sacred office of converting the heathen to the light of christianity. It must be allowed, that these men appear to have been animated with a very upright and becoming zeal, but they seem to have conceived a wrong idea of what they came to teach; for, instead of inculcating the pure doctrines and precepts of christianity, which are founded on simplicity, they amused the people with their mummeries and fooleries, and with empty and childish exhibitions. The presentation of beads, the meaning of which the natives could not comprehend; the exhibition of Agni Dei, images of the Madonna and the whole tribe of saints, at least as many as had at that time been created; the splendid processions; the rich furniture, and the solemn ceremonies of the church, all tended to dazzle the eyes of the savage natives, and made them look upon christianity as a gay and pompous pageant, in which it would be a source of amusement to them to join. The ceremony of baptism was performed by putting into the mouth a certain quantity of salt, which, in Congo, is a commodity extremely rare and valued, and the missionaries were not a little puzzled how to act, when they found that the natives expressed the form of baptism by no other words than eating salt. Nevertheless the ignorant and benighted creatures were told, that they became Christians by the eating of the salt, at the same time that they had not the least idea of the duties and obligations, which that holy name imposed upon them. The natives, however, would perhaps have allowed these ceremonial preliminaries to have passed over without a murmur, for as they did not rightly understand them, and they had not as yet broken in upon any of their ancient and venerable customs, and as the eating of the salt was rather a luxury to them than a penance, it is most probable, that if the missionaries would have remained satisfied with what they had already done, the natives of Congo would also have remained satisfied with the samples, which they had received of the Christian religion, and have looked upon

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themselves as good and *bona fide* Christians, as any of the reverend men, who had been sent out to instruct them. The early missionaries, however, committed the same fault, which has distinguished the labours of those of later periods, for they immediately began to attack one of the most venerated institutions of the realm of Congo, which was polygamy; and to the aged monarch the privation of his wives appeared so intolerable, that he renounced the Christian faith, and relapsed into all the impurities of paganism and polygamy. The heir apparent, however, saw nothing so very dreadful in the sacrifice of his wives, and braving the displeasure of his father, remained attached to the Portuguese. The holy fathers managed their business on this occasion with that skill, for which the cowled tribe have ever been distinguished, and by the aid of the Apostle St. James, and a numerous cavalry of angels, the old king died, and Alphonso, the zealous convert, became entitled to reign. His brother, however, Panso Aquitimo, supported by the nobles and almost the whole nation, raised the standard of revolt, in support of polygamy and paganism. A civil war ensued, which is generally the attendant upon the proselytism of a people, and Alphonso had only a handful of Portuguese to oppose to the almost innumerable host of his countrymen; but the holy fathers again applied to their auxiliaries, and in consequence of apparitions in the clouds, at one time of St. James, and another of the Virgin Mary, Alphonso always came off victorious, and as he thereby became firmly seated on the throne, the missionaries secured for themselves a safe and comfortable establishment at Congo. The following account of the conduct of these missionaries, as it is given in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, cannot fail to afford a considerable degree of entertainment, at the same time, it is much to be deplored, that men engaged in so sacred a cause, "could play such fantastic tricks before high heaven," and disgrace the doctrine, which they meant to teach.

Being reinforced by successive bodies of their brethren, the missionaries spread over the neighbouring countries of Lundi, Pango, Concobella and Maopongo, many tracts of which were rich and populous, although the state of society was extremely rude. Everywhere their career was nearly similar; the people gave them the most cordial reception, flocked in crowds to witness and to

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share in the pomp of their ceremonies; accepted with thankfulness their sacred gifts, and received by thousands the rite of baptism. They were not, however, on this account prepared to renounce their ancient habits and superstitions. The inquisition, that *chef d'œuvre* of sacerdotal guilt, was speedily introduced into their domestic arrangements, and, as was naturally to be supposed, caused a sudden revulsion, on which account the missionaries thenceforth maintained only a precarious and even a perilous position. They were much reproached, it appears, for the rough and violent methods employed to effect their pious purposes, and although they treat the accusation as most unjust, some of the proceedings, of which they boast with the greatest satisfaction, tend not a little to countenance the charge. When, for example, they could not persuade the people to renounce their superstitions, they used a large staff, with which they threw down their idols and beat them to pieces; they even stole secretly into the temples, and set them on fire. A missionary at Maopongo, having met one of the queens, and finding her mind inaccessible to all his instructions, determined to use sharper remedies, and seizing a whip, began to apply it lustily to her majesty's person: the effect he describes as most auspicious; every successful blow opened her eyes more and more to the truth, and she at last declared herself wholly unable to resist such forcible arguments in favour of the catholic doctrine. She, however, hastened to the king, with loud complaints respecting this mode of mental illumination; and the missionaries thenceforth lost all favour with that prince and the ladies of his court, being allowed to remain solely in dread of the Portuguese. In only one other instance were they allowed to employ this mode of conversion. The smith, in consequence of the skill, strange in the eyes of a rude people, with which he manufactured various arms and implements, was supposed to possess a measure of superhuman power, and he had thus been encouraged to advance pretensions to the character of a divinity, which were very generally admitted. The missionaries appealed to the king, respecting this impious assumption, and that prince conceiving that it interfered with the respect due to himself, agreed to deliver into their hands the unfortunate smith, to be converted into a mortal in any manner

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they might judge efficacious. After a short and unsuccessful argument, they had recourse to the same potent instrument of conversion, as they had applied to the back of the queen. The son of Vulcan, deserted in this extremity by all his votaries, still made a firm stand for his celestial dignity, till the blood began to stream from his back and shoulders, when he finally yielded, and renounced all pretensions to a divine origin.

A more intimate acquaintance discovered other irregularities amongst the natives, against which a painful struggle was to be maintained. According to the custom of the country, and it were well if the same custom could be introduced into some particular parts of Europe, the two parties, previously to marriage, lived together for some time, in order to make a trial of each other's tempers and inclinations, before entering into the final arrangement. To this system of probation, the natives were most obstinately attached, and the missionaries in vain denounced it, calling upon them at once either to marry or to separate. The young ladies were always the most anxious to have the full benefit of this experimental process; and the mothers, on being referred to, refused to incur any responsibility, and expose themselves to the reproaches of their daughters, by urging them to an abridgment of the trial, of which they might afterwards repent. The missionaries seem to have been most diligent in the task, as they called it, of "reducing strayed souls to matrimony." Father Benedict succeeded with no fewer than six hundred, but he found it such "laborious work," that he fell sick and died. Another subject of deep regret, respecting the many superstitious practices still prevalent, even among those who exhibited some sort of Christian profession, was, that sometimes the children, brought for baptism, were bound with magic cords, to which the mothers, as an additional security from evil, had fastened beads, relics, and figures of the Agnus Dei. It was a compound of paganism and christianity, which the priests turned away from with disgust; but still the mothers seemed more inclined to part with the beads, relics, and figures of the Agnus Dei, than their magic cords. The chiefs, in like manner, while they testified no repugnance to avail themselves of the protection promised from the wearing of crucifixes and

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images of the Virgin, were unprepared to part with the enchanted rings and other pagan amulets with which they had been accustomed to form a panoply round their persons. In case of dangerous illness, sorcery had been always contemplated as the main or sole remedy, and those who rejected its use were reproached, as rather allowing their sick relations to die, than incur the expense of a conjuror. But the most general and pernicious application of magic was made in judicial proceedings: when a charge was advanced against any individual, no one ever thought of inquiring into the facts, or of collecting evidence—every case was decided by preternatural tests. The magicians prepared a beverage, which produced on the guilty person, according to the measure of his iniquity, spasm, fainting, or death, but left the innocent quite free from harm. It seems a sound conclusion of the missionaries, that the draught was modified according to the good or ill will of the magicians, or the liberality of the supposed culprit. The trial called Bolungo, was indeed renounced by the king, but only to substitute another, in which the accused was made to bend over a large basin of water, when, if he fell in, it was concluded that he was guilty. At other times, a bar of red hot iron was passed along the leg, or the arm was thrust into scalding water, and if the natural effect followed, the person's head was immediately struck off. Snail shells, applied to the temples, if they stuck, inferred guilt. When a dispute arose between man and man, the plan was, to place shells on the heads of both, and make them stoop, when he, from off whose head the shell first dropped, had a verdict found against him. While we wonder at the deplorable ignorance on which these practices were founded, we must not forget that "the judgments of God," as they were termed, employed by our ancestors, during the middle ages, were founded on the same unenlightened views, and were in some cases absolutely identical.

Other powers, of still higher name, held sway over the deluded minds of the people of Congo. Some ladies of rank went about beating a drum, with dishevelled hair, and pretended to work magical cures. There was also a race of mighty conjurors, called Scingilli, who had the power of giving and withdrawing rain at pleasure; and they had a king called Ganja Chitorne, or God of

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the earth, to whom its first fruits were regularly offered. This person never died, but when tired of his sway on earth, he nominated a successor, and killed himself; a step, doubtless, prompted by the zeal of his followers, when they saw any danger of his reputation for immortality being compromised. This class argued strongly in favour of their vocation, as not only useful, but absolutely essential, since without it the earth would be deprived of those influences, by which alone it was enabled to minister to the wants of man. The people accordingly viewed, with the deepest alarm, any idea of giving offence to beings, whose wrath might be displayed in devoting the land to utter sterility.

We cannot trace any record, stating the period or the manner in which the Portuguese and their officious missionaries were expelled from Congo; it is, however, supposed that they at length carried their religious innovations to such a length, as to draw down upon them the vengeance of the people, and that some bold and decisive steps were taken to liberate the country from its usurpers. It is, however, certain, that Capt. Tucky, in his late expedition, did not find a single trace of either the Portuguese or their missionaries on the banks of the Zaire.

The traveller has ever found much greater difficulty in making discoveries in Mahometan than in Gentoo or Pagan countries, and from this cause the great continent of Africa is much less known to Europeans than it was in ancient times. Until the present age, and a very recent part of it, our knowledge of that immense portion of the globe extended but very little way from the coast, and its enterprises have made great advances to a knowledge of that interior before unexplored. The design of examining on land Africa, to find out the manners, habits, and institutions of its men, the state of the country, its commercial capabilities in themselves, and relative to this country, formed the African Association. From the liberal sentiments, knowledge, and comprehensive views of that society, were the courage and enterprise of adventurers stimulated to particular undertakings of discovery.

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CHAPTER II.

We are now arrived at the period when England, aroused by the commercial advantages, which Portugal was deriving from her African possessions, determined, in defiance of the pope of Rome and "the Lords of Guinea," to participate in the treasures, and to form her own settlements on the African coast, although it must be admitted, that one of the motives by which the English merchants were actuated, was not founded on humanity or patriotism. The glorious and splendid results, which had arisen from the discovery of the East and West Indies, caused the ocean to be generally viewed as the grand theatre where wealth and glory were to be gained. The cultivation of the West India Islands by the labour of Europeans, was found to be a task almost impracticable, and the attention was thence drawn to discover a source, from which manual labour could be obtained, adapted to the climate, and this resource was soon found in the black population of Africa. It is not to be doubted, that many of our African settlements were formed for the purpose of procuring a supply of slaves, for the West India possessions, at the same time, the attention of others was excited by a far more innocent and brilliant prospect.

It was in the beginning of the seventeenth century, that an unbounded spirit of enterprise appears to have been excited amongst the British merchants, by vague reports of an Africa *El Dorado.* The most flattering reports had reached Europe, of the magnitude of the gold trade carried on at Timbuctoo, and along the course of

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the Niger; despatches were even received from Morocco, representing its treasures, as surpassing those of Mexico and Peru, and in 1618, a company was formed in London, for the express purpose of penetrating to the country of gold, and to Timbuctoo. Exaggeration stepped in to inflame the minds of the speculators, with the enormous wealth which awaited them in the interior of Africa. The roofs of the houses were represented to be covered with plates of gold, that the bottoms of the rivers glistened with the precious metal, and the mountains had only to be excavated, to yield a profusion of the metallic treasure. From the northern part of Africa, impediments of almost an insuperable nature presented themselves, to the attainment of these great advantages; immense deserts, as yet unexplored by human foot, and the knowledge of the existence of tribes of barbarous people on the borders of them, were in themselves sufficient to daunt the spirit of adventure in those quarters, and ultimately drew the attention to the discovery of another channel, by which the golden treasures of Timbuctoo could be reached, without encountering the appalling dangers of the deserts, or the murderous intentions of the natives.

The existence of the great river Niger, had been established by the concurrent testimony of all navigators, but of its course or origin, not the slightest information had been received. The circumstance of its waters flowing from the eastward, gave rise to the conjecture, that they flowed through the interior of the continent, and emptied themselves either by the Senegal or the Gambia, into the Atlantic. It was, therefore, considered probable, that by ascending the Senegal or the Gambia, which were supposed to be merely tributary streams of the Niger, of which they formed the estuary, that Timbuctoo and the country of gold might be reached; and so strongly was this opinion impressed upon the minds of the merchants, and other adventurers, that a journey to Timbuctoo became the leading project of the day, and measures were accordingly taken to carry it into execution.

The first person sent out by the company established for exploring the Gambia, was Richard Thompson, a Barbary merchant, a man of some talent and enterprise, who sailed from the Thames in the Catherine, of 120 tons, with a cargo valued at nearly two

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thousand pounds sterling. The expedition of Thompson was unfortunate in the extreme, but the accounts received of his adventures and death, have been differently recited. It is certain, that Thompson ascended the Gambia as far as Tenda, a point much beyond what any European had before reached, and according to one account, he was here attacked by the Portuguese, who succeeded in making a general massacre of the English. Another account states, that he was killed in an affray with his own people, and thence has been styled the first martyr, or more properly the first victim in the cause of African discovery.

The company, however, nothing daunted by the ill success of Thompson, despatched another expedition on a larger scale, consisting of the Sion of 200 tons, and the St. John of 50, giving the command to Richard Jobson, to whom we are indebted for the first satisfactory account of the great river districts of western Africa.

Jobson arrived in the Gambia, in November, 1620, and left his ship at Cassan, a town situate on the banks of that river. Here, however, his progress was impeded by the machinations of the Portuguese, and so great was the dread of the few persons belonging to that nation, who remained at Cassan after the massacre of Thompson, that scarcely one could be found, who would take upon himself the office of a pilot to conduct his vessel higher up the river. In this extremity he had no other resource than to take to his boats, but, on ascending the river, he found his merchandise in comparatively little request, and repented that he had not laden his boats with salt. He soon afterwards met with Brewer, who had accompanied Thompson to Tenda, and remained with the English factory established up the river. He also filled Jobson with "golden hopes." Wherever the English stopped, the negro kings, with their wives and daughters, came down to the river side to buy, or rather to beg for trinkets, and still more for brandy. They also showed themselves by no means ignorant of the art of stealing, but their thefts were, in some degree, obliged to be winked at, for fear of offending the royal personages, and drawing down upon themselves the secret vengeance of the uncivilized hordes. On Christmas day Tirambra, a negro prince, a great

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friend of the English, sent them a load of elephant's flesh, which was accepted with tokens of the greatest respect and gratitude, although the whole gift was secretly thrown away.

After a navigation in boats of nearly thirty days, Jobson reached the rapids of Barraconda, the highest point to where the tide flows, and where he found himself involved in great difficulties. The ascent was to be made against a current running with the greatest rapidity; the great number of hidden rocks made it dangerous to pursue their course during the night, at the same time, that in attempting to avoid the rocks, they struck upon sand banks and shallows, which often obliged the crew to strip and go into the water, for the purpose of clearing the boats from the sands. In the performance, however, of this task, the greatest danger was run from the vast number of crocodiles, that infested the river, and which, in several instances, seemed to be in waiting for any prey with which the boats could supply them. The river was also filled with "a world of sea-horses, whose paths, as they came on shore to feed, were beaten with tracts as large as a London highway." The land on either side of the river was covered with immense forests of unknown trees, which appeared to team with living things, feathered and quadruped, making a roar sometimes, which was sufficient to instil terror into the stoutest heart. Amongst the latter, the baboons appeared to hold the sovereignty of the woods, and whenever the navigation of the river obliged the travellers to keep close in shore, where the banks were covered with trees; the baboons posted themselves on the branches, and kept up a regular attack upon the navigators, throwing at them the largest branches, which they could break from the trees, and apparently holding a palaver with each other, as to the best mode of prosecuting the attack against the lawless intruders into their territory. They appeared actually to be aware when a branch hit one of the navigators, for they immediately set up a shout of triumph, screaming hideously, and "grinning ghastly a horrible smile," as if expressive of their victory. The voices of the crocodiles calling, as it were, to each other, resembling the sound "of a deep well," might be heard at the distance of a league, whilst the elephants were seen in huge hordes, raising their trunks in the air, and snorting defiance to all who dared approach them.

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The latter are objects of great fear to the natives, scarcely one of whom dare approach them, but they appeared to have an instinctive sense of the superiority of the English, for they no sooner made a movement against them, than they hurried away with the speed of the forest deer, and were soon lost in the depths of their native forests. Three balls were lodged in one of the animals, but he made off with them; he was, however, soon after found dead by the negroes. The most formidable animals, however, were the lions, ounces, and leopards, which were seen at some distance, but the sailors could not obtain a shot at them. At one of their halting places, the baboons appeared like an army consisting of several thousands, some of the tallest placed in front, marshalled under the guidance of a leader, the smaller ones being in the middle, and the rear brought up by the larger ones. The sailors showed some disposition to enter into an acquaintance with the leader of the army, but the desire was by no means mutual, for nature has very kindly infused into the hearts of these creatures a strong distrust in the friendly advances of their brother bipeds, knowing them to be, in many of their actions, false, hollow, and deceitful, a proof of which, one of the leaders of the army received in a very striking and forcible manner, in the shape of a bullet, which passed directly through his body. The baboons were, however, determined that their treacherous friends should not obtain possession of the body of their murdered leader, for before the sailors could arrive at the spot where the deceased general lay, his indignant and patriotic companions had carried his body away. On following these creatures to their haunts in the recesses of the forest, places were found, where the branches had been so intertwined, and the ground beaten so smoothly, as to make it rather difficult to believe that the labour had not been accomplished by human hands.

On the 26th of January, Jobson arrived at Tenda, and he immediately despatched a messenger to Buckar Sano, the chief merchant on the Gambia, who soon after arrived with a stock of provisions, which he disposed of at reasonable prices. In return for the promptitude, with which Buckar Sano had replied to his message, Jobson treated him with the greatest hospitality, placing before him the brandy bottle as the most important object of the

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entertainment. Buckar Sano seemed by no means unwilling to consider it in that character, for he paid so many visitations to it, that he became so intoxicated, that he lay during the whole of the night dead drunk in the boat. Buckar Sano, however, showed by his subsequent conduct, that drunkenness was not a vice, to which he was naturally addicted, and that the strength of the spirit had crept upon him, before he was aware of the consequences that were likely to ensue. On any subsequent occasion, when the brandy bottle was tendered to him, he would take a glass, but on being pressed to repeat it, he would shake his head with apparent tokens of disgust; after the exchange of some presents, and many ridiculous ceremonies, Buckar Sano was proclaimed the white man's alchade, or mercantile agent. Jobson had, however, some reason to doubt his good faith, from the accounts which he gave of a city four months journey in the interior, the roofs of the houses of which were covered with sheets of gold. It must, however, be considered, in exculpation of the supposed exaggerated accounts of Buckar Sano, that the Europeans at that time possessed a very circumscribed knowledge of the extent of the interior of Africa, and that a four months journey, to a particular city, would not be looked upon at the time as transgressing the bounds of truth. It is most probable that Buckar Sano alluded to Timbuctoo, a place that has given rise to more extraordinary conjectures, and respecting which, more fabulous stories have been told than of Babylon, or of Carthage of ancient history.

The circumstance of a vessel having arrived in the river for the purpose of traffic, caused a strong sensation throughout the country, and the natives flocked from all the neighbouring districts, anxious not only to obtain a sight of the white men, but to commence their commercial dealings. They erected their huts on the banks of the river, which in a short time resembled a village, and for the first time, the busy hum of trade was heard in the interior of Africa. The natives, with whom Jobson commenced his commercial dealings, appeared to possess some traces of civilization, nor were they deficient in many of the arts, which are known amongst the civilized nations, and which, even at that time, were with them but in their infancy.

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To these people, however, succeeded a different race of visitors, far more rude and uncivilized, whose bodies were covered with skins of wild animals, the tails hanging as from the beasts. The women of this race had never seen a white man before, and so great was their fear, when Jobson presented himself amongst them, that they all ran away, and stationed themselves at some distance from the river. They were, however, soon tempted back again, at the sight of a few beads, and the most friendly relations were afterwards established between them.

Jobson found that in Tenda, as elsewhere, salt was the article chiefly in demand, but he had unfortunately omitted to provide himself with any great quantity of that article. Iron wares met with a ready sale, though these were supplied at a cheaper rate by a neighbouring people. The sword-blade of Buckar Sano, and the brass bracelets of his wife, appeared to Jobson to be specimens of as good workmanship as could be seen in England. Jobson, from very prudential motives, abstained from mentioning gold; but Buckar Sano, who knew perhaps what Europeans most coveted, told him, that if he continued to trade with Tenda, he could dispose of all his cargoes for gold. The negro merchant affirmed, that he had been four times at a town in which the houses were all covered with gold, and distant a journey of four moons. Jobson was informed that six days journey from St. John's Mart, the name which he gave to the factory at Tenda, was a town called Mombar, where there was much trade for gold. Three stages farther was Jaye, whence the gold came. Some of the native merchants, finding that Jobson had not any salt with him, refused to enter into any commercial dealings with him, and returned highly dissatisfied. For the commodities which he did dispose of, he obtained, in exchange, gold and ivory; he could have obtained hides in abundance, but they were too bulky a commodity to bear the expense of conveyance.

Jobson wisely adapted his carriage to the negro customs; he danced and sung with the natives, and entered with a proper spirit into all their entertainments. He remarks, that the water of the Gambia above Barraconda has such a strong scent of musk, from the multitude of crocodiles, that infest that part of the river, as to be

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unfit for use. The torpedo also abounds in the river about Cassan, and at first caused not a little terror and amazement to the crew.

Amongst other acts of kindness, which Buckar Sano showed to the Englishman, he offered to introduce him at the court of Tenda. This, in a commercial point of view, was an advantage not to be overlooked, independently of the knowledge, which he would acquire of the internal geography of the country. On reaching the king's presence, an example was witnessed of the debasing homage, which is usually paid to negro princes, and of which some striking examples will be given in the journey of Clapperton. The great and wealthy merchant, on appearing in the presence of the king, first fell on his knees, and then throwing off his shirt, extended himself naked and flat on the ground, whilst his attendants almost buried him beneath dust and mud; after grovelling like a beast for some time in this position, he suddenly started up, shook off the mud from him, in which operation he was assisted by two of his wives, who then assisted him in equipping himself in his best attire, with his bow and quiver, and all the other paraphernalia of a person of rank and consequence. He and his attendants, after having made a semblance of shooting at Jobson, laid their bows at his feet, which was understood to be a token of homage. The king even assured the English captain, that the country, and every thing in it, were then placed at his disposal, "which bounty, observes Jobson, could require no less than two or three bottles of my best brandy, although the English were not sixpence the better for the grant."

The dry season had now commenced, and Jobson observed that the waters of the river were gradually sinking lower and lower; but the city, the roofs of which were plates of gold, haunted the busy fancy of Jobson, and he used every endeavour to ascend the river, in order that he might discover the sources from which the plates of gold were made. It was evident to him, that Buckar Sano had either practised an imposition upon him, or that he had grossly exaggerated the treasures of the wonderful city; but in regard to the former, he could not divine any motive by which Buckar Sano could be actuated in imposing upon him; and in regard to the latter, making every allowance for exaggeration, it might eventually

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transpire, that the country abounded with the precious metal, although perhaps not exactly in the extraordinary degree as reported by Buckar Sano. After encountering many difficulties, he was obliged to relinquish the farther ascent of the river, nor did he even reach the point where the previous discoveries of Thompson terminated, which may be considered as the utmost boundary of the discoveries of that period; indeed many years elapsed before any travellers passed the limits at which Thompson or Jobson had arrived. The latter gives a strange report, which, however, was in some degree partially circulated before him, of a silent traffic being carried on in the interior between the moors and a negro nation, who would not allow themselves to be seen. "The reason," he adds, "why these negroes conceal themselves, is, that they have lips of an unnatural size, hanging down half way over their breasts, and which they are obliged to rub with salt continually, to keep them from putrefaction." Thus even the great salt trade of the interi r of Africa is not wholly untinged with fable.

The stream became at last so shallow, that Jobson could not ascend any farther, and he began his voyage downwards on the 10th February, intending to return at the season when the periodical rains filled the channel. He was, however, never able to execute this purpose, as he and the company became involved in a quarrel with the merchants, whom he visits with his highest displeasure, representing them as persons alive only to their own immediate interests, and utterly regardless of any of those honourable motives with which all commercial dealings ought to be characterised.

Jobson may be said to have been the first Englishman, who enjoyed the opportunity of observing the manners and superstitions peculiar to the interior of Africa, but that must be taken as only within the narrow limits to which the discoveries at that period extended. He found that the cl iefs of the different nations were attended by bands of musicians, to whom he gives the appellation of juddies or fiddlers, and compares them to the Irish rhymsters, or, as we should now compare them, to the Italian improvisatori By some other authors they are called jelle, or jillemen; the instruments on which they perform being rudely made of wood, having a sonorous sound, on account of its extreme hardness, and in some

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instances they exhibit the knowledge of the power of an extended string, by fastening a piece of the gut of an animal across a plane of wood, and beating on it with a stick. Like the majority of the musicians of the ruder tribes, the excellence of their music depends on the noise which is made, and if it be so obstreperous, as almost to deafen the auditors, the greater is the pleasure which is shown.

These wandering minstrels are frequently attended by the Greegree men, or sorcerers, who, on account of the fantastic dress which they wear, form a most motley group; the Greegree men trying to outvie each other in the hideous and fantastic style of their dress, and the more frightful they make themselves appear, the greater they believe is the effect of their sorcery. The principal festivals are those of circumcision and of funeral. Whenever the former ceremony is performed, a vast concourse of people are attracted, from every part of the country, the operator being generally a Greegree mun, who pretends to determine the future fate of the individual, in the manner by which the operation is performed, but which is always declared to be highly prosperous, if a liberal present has been made. During the performance of the ceremony, the forests appear in a blaze, the most discordant shouts rending the air, intermixed with the sounds of their instruments, composing altogether a tumult, which is heard at the distance of many leagues. The dancing is described as of the most ludicrous kind, marked by those indecencies, which generally distinguish the amusements of the savage tribes. In these sports, the women are always the foremost in the violence of their gestures; the young ones selecting the objects of their affection, to bestow upon them some token of their attachment.

The funeral of their chiefs is a ceremony of great solemnity, and in some of its forms has a strong resemblance to an Irish wake. Flowers of the most odorous scent are buried with the corpse, which is also supplied with a considerable quantity of gold, to assist him on his entrance into the other world, where it is believed, that the degree of happiness is proportionate to the quantity of gold, which the deceased has in his possession. It must, however, be mentioned, that the natives of this part of Africa, appear to be wholly exempt from the stigma, which belongs to some of the other tribes of Africa,

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in the human victims which are sacrificed at the funerals of their kings or chiefs, and which in some cases amount to three or four hundred. The funerals of the kings of Tenda are conducted with a decorum highly creditable to the people, considering their uncivilised state; and the graves are frequently visited by the relatives of the deceased, to repair any injury, which they may have sustained from the violence of the rains, or the attacks of carnivorous animals.

At all the festivals, a personage called Horey, or which Jobson calls the devil, acts a most conspicuous part, at the same time, that he generally carries on his operations in secret, impressing thereby on the minds of the natives, an idea of his invisibility. The Horey generally takes his station in the adjoining woods, whence he sends forth the most tremendous sounds, supposed to have a very malignant influence on all those who happen to be within hearing. It is, however, a fortunate circumstance for the native, who is so unfortunate as to be within hearing of the Horey's cries, that the method is known, of appeasing the vindictive spirit of the Horey, which is, by placing a quantity of provisions, in the immediate vicinity of the place where his roaring is heard; and if on the following day the provisions have disappeared, which is sure to be the case, the natives are then satisfied that the Horey has been appeased, which, however, lasts only for a short time, for as the appetite of the Horey is certain to return, his cries are again heard, and the provisions are again deposited for his satisfaction.

In regard to this Horey or devil, rather a ludicrous story is told by Jobson, who, being in company with a Marabout, and hearing the Horey in full cry in a neighbouring thicket, seized a loaded musket, declaring his resolution aloud, to discharge the contents without any further ceremony, at his infernal majesty. Dreading the consequences, which might befal the whole nation, were the devil to be killed, the Marabout implored Jobson to desist from his murderous design; on a sudden, the hoarse roar of the Horey was changed into a low and plaintive sound, expressive of an individual imploring mercy from his destroyer;—again Jobson levelled his gun at the spot whence the sound issued, when on a sudden, his infernal majesty presented himself in the shape of a huge negro, bloated with fat, and who now lay on the ground, his devilish spirit quelled, and

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apparently in such an agony of fear, as to be unable to sue for the mercy of the avenging Englishman, who stood laughing over him, at the idea of having so easily vanquished an African devil.

The dissensions, which took place amongst the company, on the return of Jobson, put an end for a time to all further discoveries. It was evident that these divisions in the company, arose from a spirit of jealousy amongst certain members of it, who had formed amongst themselves certain schemes of personal aggrandizement, and were therefore unwilling to despatch any one into those quarters, in which such abundant sources presented themselves, of amassing inexhaustible riches.

The next attempt was made by Vermuyden, an opulent merchant, on the Gambia, about the year 1660 or 1665, who equipped a boat abundantly stored with bacon, beef, biscuit, rice, strong waters, and other comfortable supplies, the weight of which, however, was so great, that on arriving at the flats and shallows, the vessel could not proceed on her voyage without the greatest danger. After navigating the shallows for some time, he arrived at a broad expanse of water, which he compared to Windermere Lake, and he now found himself on a sudden entangled in a great difficulty, owing to a number of streams flowing into this lake, and the consequent uncertainty which existed, of choosing that particular one, which might be considered the main branch or stream; and were he to ascend any other, he might find that all his labours had been spent in vain, as it might lead him to a quarter, at a great distance from those stations and towns, where the Europeans had established their commercial settlements. "Up the buffing stream," says Vermuyden, "with sad labour we wrought," and when he had ascended further up the stream, the sailors were often obliged to strip themselves naked, and get into the water. This was found, however, to be a most dangerous experiment, for the crocodiles and river horses showed themselves in fearful numbers, and fully inclined to treat the intruders on their rightful domain, with the most marked hostility. Vermuyden says, they were ill pleased, or unacquainted with any companions in these watery regions, and at all events, he was convinced that his men were not very proper companions for them. So daring were the river horses, that one of them struck a

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hole in the boat with his teeth, an accident which was rather of a serious nature, as there was no one on board possessing any skill in carpentry; and as one attack had been made, great apprehension was entertained that it might be renewed, and the consequences prove of the most fatal kind. They, however, fell upon the expedient of fixing a lantern at the stern of the vessel, which kept the monsters at a respectful distance; they showing great alarm at any light shining in the dark. On one occasion, when they landed for the purpose of searching for gold, they found the territory guarded by an incredible number of huge baboons, who seemed determined to enter into open conflict with them, and to set at defiance every attempt that was made to penetrate into the territory. If the sailors shouted to them; the baboons set up a loud scream, showing their white teeth, and making known the reception which the intruders would meet with, if they made any further advances.

Finding that neither their oratory nor their menaces had any effect upon the baboon army, a few guns were discharged at them, which seemed rather to astonish them, for it was something which they had never seen nor heard before; but as no immediate effect was visible amongst their army, they began to consider the firing as a sort of joke, and prepared to drive the invaders back to their boats. A volley, however, from the human assailants, by which three of the baboon army were laid prostrate, soon convinced the latter, that the firing was no joke, and after making some slight show of resistance, they carried away the dead, and retreated to the woods.

The discovery of gold being the principal object of the adventure of Vermuyden, he landed frequently in different places, and proceeded to wash the sand, and examine the rocks. Vermuyden had acquired, in his native country, some slight knowledge of alchymy, and he carried out with him not only mercury, aqua regia, and large melting pots, but also a divining rod, which, however, as was most likely the case, was not found to exhibit any virtue. Vermuyden, however, was not to be laughed out of his superstitious notions, although his companions took every opportunity of turning his expectations into ridicule, but he found a very plausible excuse for the impotency of his divining rod in the discovery, that its qualities had all been dried up by the heat of the climate, and that,

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under every circumstance, it was not an instrument adapted to the country in which it was to be carried into use. On one occasion, however, the virtue of the divining rod appeared suddenly to have returned, for his eyes were gladdened with the sight of a large mass of apparent gold; the delusion, however, soon vanished, for, on examination, it was found to be nothing more than common spar. According to his report, the metal is never met with in low fertile and wooded spots, but always in naked and barren hills, embedded in a reddish earth. At one place, after a labour of twenty days, he succeeded in extracting twelve pounds, and, at length, he asserts that he arrived at the mouth of the mine itself, and saw gold in such abundance, as surprised him with joy and admiration. It does not appear, however, that he returned from his expedition considerably improved in his fortune by the discovery of this mine, nor does he give any notice of the real position of it, by which we are led to conjecture, that the discovery of the mine was one of those fabrications, which the travellers of those times were apt to indulge in, for the purpose of gratifying their own vanity, and exciting the envy of their fellow countrymen.

The spirit of African discovery began to revive in England about the year 1720. At that time, the Duke of Chandos was governor of the African company, and being concerned at the declining state of their affairs, suggested the idea of retrieving them, by opening a path into the golden regions, which were still reported to exist in the central part of Africa. The company were not long in finding a person competent to undertake the expedition, and, on the particular recommendation of the duke, the appointment was given to Capt. Bartholomew Stibbs. Being furnished with the requisite means for sailing up the Gambia, Stibbs sailed in September, 1723, and, on the 7th of October, he arrived at James' Island, the English settlement, situate about thirty miles from the mouth of the river, whence he despatched a messenger to Mr. Willy, the governor, who happened at that time to be visiting the factory at Joar, more than a hundred miles distant, asking him to engage such vessels as were fit to navigate the upper streams of the Gambia. To his great surprise and mortification, however, he received an answer from Mr. Willy, that no vessels of that kind

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were to be had, indeed, instead of using every exertion to promote the cause for which Stibbs had been sent out by the company, Willy appeared to throw every possible obstruction in his way, as if he were actuated by a mean and petty spirit of jealousy of the success, which was likely to await him. A few days, however, after the answer of Willy had been received, a boat brought down his dead body, he having fallen a victim to the fever of the climate, which had previously affected his brain. Willy was succeeded in the governorship by a person named Orfeur, who showed no immediate objection to furnish the vessels and other articles necessary for the expedition of Stibbs up the Gambia, but matters went on so slowly, that the equipment was not completed until the middle of December, when the season was fast approaching, which was highly unfavourable for the accomplishment of the purpose, which Stibbs had in view. He intended to proceed on his journey on the 24th of December, but a slight accident, which happened to one of his boats, prevented his departure on that day: from a superstitious idea that prevailed in the mind of Stibbs, that success would not attend him, if he sailed on the day celebrated as the nativity of Jesus Christ, he deferred his journey to the 26th, when he departed with a crew consisting of nineteen white men, a complete black one, although a Christian, and who was to serve as an interpreter; twenty-nine Grumellas, or hired negroes, with three female cooks; taking afterwards on board a balafeu, or native musician, for the purpose of enlivening the spirits of the party, and driving away the crocodiles, who are superstitiously supposed to have a great dislike "to the concord of sweet sounds," although emanating from the rude instrument of an African musician.

During the early part of the voyage every thing appeared to augur well for the success of the expedition; the party were in high spirits, and no accident of any moment had yet occurred to check the joviality, which prevailed amongst the crew. The natives were every where disposed to carry on trade, and, in some places, saphies or charms were hung on the banks of the river to induce the white men to come on shore. Stibbs had endeavoured to conceal the object of his journey, but he had formed his calculations upon an erroneous principle, for he found himself at last pointed out as the person

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who was come to bring down the gold. As they approached the falls of Barraconda, the fears of the native crew began to manifest themselves, and, as is usual with minds immersed in ignorance and superstition, they commenced to foretell the most dreadful disasters, if their captain should attempt to proceed above the falls of Barraconda; numerous stories were now told of the fearful accidents, which had happened to almost every person who had attempted to navigate the river above the falls; the upsetting of a single canoe, from unskilful management, was magnified into the loss of a hundred, and of course not a single individual escaped a watery grave. The natives expected that their terrible narratives would have a proper influence upon the mind of their captain, and that he would, in consequence, desist from prosecuting his journey beyond the falls, but when, contrary to their expectations, he expressed his determination to proceed to the utmost extent to which the river would be found to be navigable, the natives presented themselves in a body before him, and declared their firm determination not to proceed any further, for, to the apparent surprise of Stibbs, they informed him that Barraconda was the end of the world, and certainly no person but a fool, or a madman, would attempt to penetrate any further. Instances, certainly, they confessed had been known of persons going beyond the end of the world, but then, as might be naturally expected, they never were seen any more, being either devoured by enormous beasts, or carried away into another world, by some horrid devils, who were always on the watch to catch the persons, who rejecting the advice, which they themselves were now giving, were so fool hardy as to throw themselves in their power. Stibbs now found himself in rather an unpleasant predicament, the natives appeared resolute not to proceed beyond Barraconda, and Stibbs knew well that it would be highly imprudent in him to proceed without them. A palaver was held, and all the arguments which Stibbs could bring forward, failed to produce the desired effect upon his alarmed crew. He, however, suddenly bethought himself, that he had an argument in his possession of greater potency, than any that could be afforded by the most persuasive arguments, and taking a bottle of brandy from his chest, he gave to each man a glass of the spirit, when, on a sudden,

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a very extraordinary change appeared to take place in their opinions and sentiments. They might have been misled as to Barraconda being the end of the world, and they did now remember some instances of persons returning, who had been beyond the falls, and as to the enormous animals, who were said to have devoured the voyagers; they now believed that no other animals were meant than crocodiles and river horses, which, although certainly formidable, were not by any means such dreadful objects as to prevent them prosecuting their voyage. Thus, what the powers of oratory could not effect, nor the arguments of sound and deliberate reason accomplish, was achieved in a moment by the administration of a small quantity of spirituous liquid, giving bravery to the coward, and daring to the effeminate.

They had now arrived at the dreaded boundary of the habitable world, but the falls were not found to be nearly so formidable as they had been represented; they bore rather the character of narrows than of falls, the channel being confined by rocky ledges and fragments, between which there was only one passage, where the canoes rubbed against the rocks on each side. Contrary to the reports, which had been in general circulation, of the dispositions of the natives of the Upper Gambia, in which they were represented to be of a most ferocious and savage nature, they were found to be a harmless, kind, and good-humoured people, who, on every occasion, hastened to render every assistance in their power to the navigators, making them presents of fowls and provisions, and, in some instances, refusing to take any thing in return for the articles which they gave away.

The most laborious part of the journey now presented itself, which consisted in the great exertions, which were necessary in order to pass the flats and quicksands, which seemed to multiply as they ascended the river, and which obliged the natives to strip and get into the water, to drag the boats over the shallows by main force. Although the natives had now ascertained beyond all further doubt, that Barraconda was not the end of the world, yet, one part of their story was fully verified, which was that relating to the enormous animals, with which these desolate regions were tenanted. To the present travellers, they appeared far more for-

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midable than to their predecessors, for the very elephants that had fled precipitately before the crew of Jobson, struck the greatest terror into the party of Stibbs; for one of them showed such a determined disposition to exhibit the extent of his strength, that he turned suddenly upon the crew, and in a very short time put the whole of them to flight. So little did they show any symptoms of fear for the crew, that they were frequently seen crossing the river in bands, at a very short distance from the boats, throwing up the water with their trunks in every direction, and raising such an emotion in the water, as to make the boats rock about, to the great alarm of the crews, and particularly the natives, who now began to wish, that they had not been seduced by the potency of the spirituous liquid, to venture into a region, where death presented itself to them, in the strict embrace of an elephant's trunk, or bored to death by the teeth of the river horse. In regard to the latter animal, the danger which they incurred, was more imminent than with the elephants, but this did not arise from the greater ferocity or savageness of the animal, for the river horse moves in general in a sluggish and harmless manner; but in the shallow places of the river, the horses were seen walking at the bottom, and the space between them and the boat so small, that the keel often came into collision with the back of the animal, who, incensed at the affront offered to him, would be apt to strike a hole through the boat with his huge teeth, and thereby endanger its sinking. It was evident to the commander of the expedition, that the courage of his native crew was almost paralyzed, when they had to contend with any of these formidable creatures, although he had no reason to complain of their exertions, in dragging the boats over the flats and shallows, which appeared to abound in every part of the river.

It now became manifest to Stibbs, that he had chosen an unfavourable time of the year for his expedition; for, after having spent two months, he found himself on the 22nd February, only fifty-nine miles above Barraconda, and at some distance from Tenda, consequently he was not so successful as either Thompson or Jobson, notwithstanding his means were more efficient, and adapted to the purpose. Stibbs, however, expressed himself

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greatly disappointed with the results of his expedition, and began to look upon the golden mines of Africa, represented as they had been to be inexhaustible, as nothing more than the grossest falsifications, made to suit some private purpose, or to throw a certain degree of ridicule upon the plans and exertions of the African company. He had been informed of a mighty channel, which was to lead him into the remote interior of Africa, but he had as yet only navigated a river, which in certain seasons is almost dry, and where the crews were obliged to assume the character of the amphibious; for at one time, they were obliged to be for hours in the water, dragging the boats over the shallows, and at another, they were on the land, dragging the boats over it, in order to surmount the ledges of rocks, which extended from shore to shore. At one time they were rowing over the backs of the river horses, and the next, they ran the risk of being thrown upon their own back. by the trunks of the elephants, or having them snapped in two between the jaws of the crocodiles.

The source of the great river, which, according to the description then given of it, could not be any other than the Niger, was, according to the opinion of Stibbs, "nothing near so far in the country, as by the geographers has been represented." The river, which he had navigated, did not answer in any degree with the description which had been given of the Niger. The name was not even known in the quarters through which he had passed; it did not flow from any lake, that he could hear of, or which was known to any of the natives, nor did it communicate with the Senegal, or any other great river; and so far from it being a mighty stream in the interior, the report was given to him by the natives, that at about twelve days journey above Barraconda, it dwindled into a rivulet, so small that the "fowls could walk over it."

On the return of Stibbs to the company's settlement at the mouth of the Gambia, these reports were received with great reluctance, and the strongest doubts were thrown upon their authenticity. At that time, a person of the name of Moore was the company's factor on the Gambia; and in order to invalidate the statements of Stibbs, he produced Herodotus, Leo, Edrisi, and other high authorities, whilst on the other hand, Stibbs declared, that he had

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never heard of such travellers before, and that he did not see why greater faith should be put in their reports, than in his.

Stibbs for some time supported the veracity of his statements, but Moore and Herodotus at length prevailed, and Stibbs retired from the service in disgust. There were, however, many strongly inclined to attach implicit belief to the statements of Stibbs, at all events, they had the direct tendency of preventing any other voyage being undertaken for some time, for exploring that part of the African continent.

The first person who brought home any accounts of French Africa, was Jannequin, a young man of some rank, who, as he was walking along the quay at Dieppe, saw a vessel bound for this unknown continent, and took a sudden fancy to embark and make the voyage. He was landed at a part of the Sahara, near Cape Blanco. He was struck in an extraordinary degree with the desolate aspect of the region. In ascending the river, however, he was delighted with the brilliant verdure of the banks, the majestic beauty of the trees, and the thick impenetrable underwood. The natives received him hospitably, and he was much struck by their strength and courage, decidedly surpassing similar qualities in Europeans. He saw a moorish chief, called the Kamalingo, who, mounting on horseback, and brandishing three javelins and a cutlass, engaged a lion in single combat, and vanquished that mighty king of the desert. Flat noses and thick lips, so remote from his own ideas of the beautiful, were considered on the Senegal, as forming the perfection of the human visage; nay, he even fancies that they were produced by artificial means. Of actual discovery, little transpired worthy of record in the travels of Jannequin, and his enthusiasm became soon daunted by the perils which at every step beset him.

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CHAPTER III.

NEARLY seventy years had elapsed, and the spirit of African discovery had remained dormant, whilst in the mean time the remotest quarters of the globe had been reached by British enterprise; the vast region of Africa still remaining an unseemly blank in the map of the earth. To a great and maritime nation as England then was, and to the cause of the sciences in general, particularly that of geography, it was considered as highly discreditable, that no step should be taken to obtain a correct knowledge of the geographical situation of the interior of Africa, from which continual reports arrived of the existence of great commercial cities, and the advantages which the Arabs derived from their intercourse with them. For the purpose of promoting this great national undertaking, a small number of highly-spirited individuals formed themselves into what was termed the African Association. A sum of money was subscribed, and individuals were sought for, who were qualified to undertake such arduous and dangerous enterprises. Lord Rawdon, afterwards the Marquess of Hastings, Sir Joseph Banks, the Bishop of Llandaff, Mr. Beaufoy, and Mr. Stuart, were nominated managers.

The first adventurer was Mr. Ledyard, who, from his earliest age, had been a traveller from one extremity of the earth to the other. He had circumnavigated the globe with Capt. Cook, had resided for several years amongst the American indians, and had travelled with the most scanty means from Stockholm round the

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Gulf of Bothnia, and thence to the remotest parts of Asiatic Russia. On his return from his last journey, Sir Joseph Banks was then just looking out for a person to explore the interior of Africa, and Ledyard was no sooner introduced to him, than he pronounced him to be the very man fitted for the undertaking. Ledyard also declared that the scheme was in direct unison with his own wishes, and on being asked how soon he could depart, he answered, "To-morrow." Some time, however, elapsed in making the necessary arrangements, and a passage was shortly afterwards obtained for him to Alexandria, with the view of first proceeding southward from Cairo to Sennaar, and thence traversing the entire breadth of the African continent

He arrived at Cairo on the 19th of August, 1788. His descriptions of Egypt are bold and original, but somewhat fanciful. He represented the Delta as an unbounded plain of excellent land miserably cultivated; the villages as most wretched assemblages of poor mud huts, full of dust, fleas, flies, and all the curses of Moses, and the people as below the rank of any savages he ever saw, wearing only a blue shirt and drawers, and tattooed as much as the South Sea islanders. He recommends his correspondents, if they wish to see Egyptian women, to look at any group of gipsies behind a hedge in Essex. He describes the Mohammedans as a trading, enterprising, superstitious, warlike set of vagabonds, who, wherever they are bent upon going, will and do go; but he complains that the condition of a Frank is rendered most humiliating and distressing by the furious bigotry of the Turks; to him it seemed inconceivable that such enmity should exist among men, and that beings of the same species should think and act in a manner so opposite. By conversing with the Jelabs, or slave merchants, he learned a good deal respecting the caravan routes and countries of the interior. Every thing seemed ready for his departure, and he announced that his next communication would be from Sennaar, but, on the contrary, the first tidings received were those of his death. Some delays in the departure of the caravans, acting upon his impatient spirit, brought on a bilious complaint, to which he applied rash and violent remedies, and thus reduced himself to a state, from which the care of Rosetti, the

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Venetian consul, and the skill of the best physician of Cairo sought in vain to deliver him.

The society had, at the time they engaged Ledyard, entered into terms with Mr. Lucas, a gentleman, who, being captured in his youth by a Sallee rover, had been three years a slave at the court of Morocco, and after his deliverance acted as vice-consul in that empire. Having spent sixteen years there, he had acquired an intimate knowledge of Africa and its languages. He was sent by way of Tripoli, with instructions to accompany the caravan, which takes the most direct route into the interior. Being provided with letters from the Tripolitan ambassador, he obtained the Bey's permission, and even promises of assistance for this expedition. At the same time he made an arrangement with two sheerefs or descendants of the Prophet, whose persons are held sacred, to join a caravan with which they intended to travel. He proceeded with them to Mesuraba, but the Arabs there being in a state of rebellion, refused to furnish camels and guides, which, indeed, could scarcely be expected, as the Bey had declined to grant them a safe conduct through his territories. Mr. Lucas was therefore obliged to return to Tripoli, without being able to penetrate further into the continent. He learned, however, from Imhammed, one of the sheerefs, who had been an extensive traveller, a variety of particulars respecting the interior regions. The society had, at the same time, made very particular inquiries of Ben Ali, a Morocco caravan trader, who happened to be in London. From these two sources, Mr. Beaufoy was enabled to draw up a view of Centra. Africa, very imperfect, indeed, yet superior to any that had ever before appeared.

According to the information thus obtained, Bornou and Kashna were the most powerful states in that part of the continent, and formed even empires, holding sway over a number of tributary kingdoms, a statement which proved at that time to be correct, though affairs have since greatly changed. The Kashna caravan often crossed the Niger, and went onwards to great kingdoms behind the Gold Coast, Gongah or Kong, Asiente or Ashantee, Yarba or Yarriba, through which Clapperton afterwards travelled. Several extensive routes across the desert were also delineated.

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In regard to the Niger, the report of Imhammed revived the error, which represented that river as flowing westward towards the Atlantic. The reason on which this opinion was founded, will be evident, when we observe that it was in Kashna, that Ben Ali considered himself as having crossed that river. His Niger, therefore, was the Quarrama, or river of Zermie, which flows westward through Kashna and Sackatoo, and is only a tributary to the Quorra or great river, which we call the Niger. He describes the stream as very broad and rapid, probably from having seen it during the rainy season, when all the tropical rivers of any magnitude assume an imposing appearance.

Mr. Lucas made no further attempt to penetrate into Africa. The next expedition was made by a new agent, and from a different route. Major Houghton, who had resided for some years as consul at Morocco, and afterwards in a military capacity at Goree, undertook the attempt to reach the Niger by the route of Gambia, not, like Jobson and Stibbs, ascending its stream in boats, but travelling singly and by land. He seems to have been endowed with a gay, active, and sanguine spirit, fitted to carry him through the boldest undertaking, but without that cool and calculating temper necessary for him, who endeavours to make his way amid scenes of peril and treachery. He began his journey early in 1791, and soon reached Medina, the capital of Woolli, where the venerable chief received him with extreme kindness, promised to furnish guides, and assured him he might go to Timbuctoo with his staff in his hand. The only evil that befell him at Medina, arose from a fire that broke out there, and spreading rapidly through buildings roofed with cane and matted grass, converted a town of a thousand houses, in an hour, into a heap of ashes. Major Houghton ran out with the rest of the people into the fields, saving only such articles as could be carried with him.

He mentions, that by trading at Fattatenda, a person may make 800 per cent, and may live in plenty on ten pounds a year. Quitting the Gambia, he took the road through Bambouk, and arrived at Ferbanna on the Faleme. Here he was received with the most extraordinary kindness by the king, who gave him a guide and money to defray his expences. A note was afterwards received

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from him, dated Simbing, which contained merely these words: "Major Houghton's compliments to Dr. Laidley, is in good health, on his way to Timbuctoo; robbed of all his goods by Fenda, Bucar's son." This was the last communication from him, for soon after the negroes brought down to Pisania, the melancholy tidings of his death, of which Mr. Park subsequently learned the particulars. Some moors had persuaded the major to accompany them to Tisheet, a place in the great desert, frequented on account of its salt mines. In alluring him thither, their object, as it appears from the result, was to rob him, for it was very much out of the direct route to Timbuctoo. Of this in a few days he became sensible, and insisted upon returning, but they would not permit him to leave their party, until they had stripped him of every article in his possession. He wandered about for some time through the desert, without food or shelter, till at length quite exhausted, he sat down under a tree and expired. Mr. Park was shown the very spot where his remains were abandoned to the fowls of the air.

A considerable degree of information respecting the country on the Senegal, was procured by a person of the name of Bruec, who had a large share in the administration of the affairs of the French African Companies. In one of his numerous journeys, he ascended the Senegal as far as Gallam, and established a fort or factory at Dramanet, a populous and commercial town. The inhabitants carried on a trade as far as Timbuctoo, which they described as situated 500 leagues in the interior. They imported from it gold and ivory, and slaves from Bambarra, which was represented by them, as an extensive region between Timbuctoo and Cassan, barren but very populous. The kingdom of Cassan was said to be formed into a sort of island, or rather peninsula, by the branches of the Senegal. Gold was so abundant there, that the metal often appeared on the surface of the ground. From these circumstances it may be concluded, that Cassan was in some degree confounded with Bambouk, which borders it on the south. It had long been the ambition of the French, to find access to this golden country, but the jealousy of the native merchants presented an obstacle, that could not be easily surmounted.

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CHAPTER V.

THE death of Major Houghton left the African Association without a single individual employed in the particular service, for which the company was originally established. On a sudden, Mr. Mungo Park, a native of Scotland, offered himself to the society, and the committee having made such inquiries as they thought necessary, accepted him for the service.

His instructions were very plain and concise. He was directed, on his arrival in Africa, to pass on to the river Niger, either by the way of Bambouk, or by such other route as should be most convenient; that he should ascertain the cause, and if possible, the rise and termination of that river; that he should use his utmost exertion to visit the principal towns or cities in its neighbourhood, particularly Timbuctoo and Houssa, and that he should afterwards return to Europe, by such route as, under the then existing circumstances of his situation, should appear to him most advisable.

He sailed from Portsmouth on the 22nd of May, 1793, and on the 4th June, he saw the mountains over Mogadore, on the coast of Africa, and on the 21st, after a pleasant voyage, he anchored at Jillifree, a town on the northern bank of the Gambia, opposite to James' Island, where the English had formerly a small fort.

On the 23rd, he proceeded to Vintain, a town situated about two miles up a creek, on the southern side of the river. Here he continued till the 26th, when he continued his course up the river, which is deep and muddy. The banks are covered with impene-

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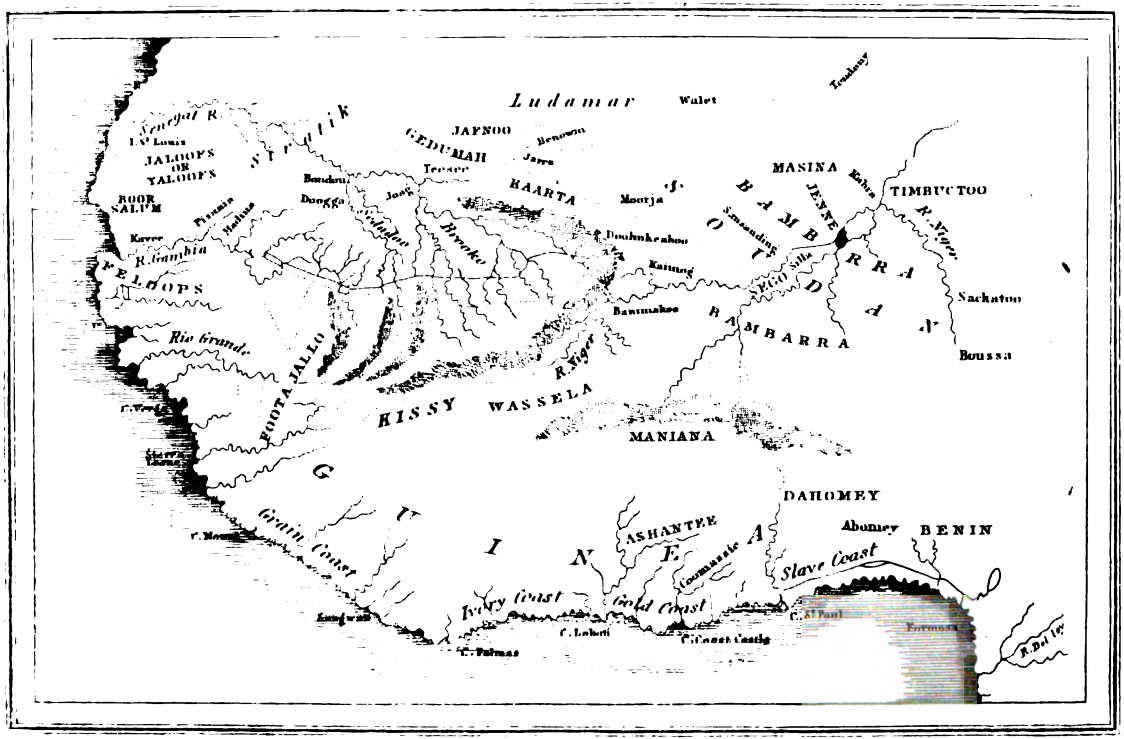

PARK'S FIRST AND SECOND ROUTES.

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trable thickets of mangrove, and the whole of the adjacent country appears to be flat and swampy. The Gambia abounds with fish, but none of them are known in Europe. In six days after leaving Vintain, he reached Jonkakonda, a place of considerable trade, where the vessel was to take in part of her lading. The next morning the European traders came from their different factories, to receive their letters, and learn the nature and amount of the cargo; whilst the captain despatched a letter to Dr. Laidley, with the information of Mr. Park's arrival. Dr. Laidley came to Jonkakonda the morning following, when he delivered to him Mr. Beaufoy's letter, when the doctor gave him a kind invitation to spend his time at his house at Pisania, until an opportunity should offer of prosecuting his journey. This invitation was too acceptable to be refused.

Pisania is a small village in the king of Yany's dominions, established by British subjects, as a factory for trade, and inhabited solely by them and their black servants. The white residents at the time of Mr. Park's arrival, consisted only of Dr. Laidley and two gentlemen of the name of Ainsley, but their domestics were numerous. They enjoyed perfect security, and being highly respected by the natives at large, wanted no accommodation the country could supply, and the greatest part of the trade in slaves, ivory, and gold was in their hands.

Being settled in Pisania, Mr. Park's first object was to learn the Mandingo tongue, being the language in almost general use throughout this part of Africa, without which he was convinced he never could acquire an extensive knowledge of the country or its inhabitants. In this pursuit he was greatly assisted by Dr. Laidley, who had made himself completely master of it. Next to the language, his great object was to collect information concerning the countries he intended to visit. On this occasion he was referred to certain traders called slatees, who are black merchants of great consideration in this part of Africa, who come from the interior countries, chiefly with enslaved negroes for sale; but he discovered that little dependence could be placed on the accounts they gave, as they contradicted each other in the most important particulars, and all seemed extremely unwilling he should prosecute his journey.

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In researches of this kind, and in observing the manners and customs of the natives, in a country so little known to the nations of Europe, and furnished with so many striking objects of nature, Mr. Park's time passed not unpleasantly, and he began to flatter himself that he had escaped the fever, to which Europeans, on their first arrival in hot climates, are generally subject. But on the 31st July, he imprudently exposed himself to the night dew, in observing an eclipse of the moon, with a view to determine the longitude of the place; the next day he found himself attacked with fever and delirium, and an illness followed, which confined him to the house the greater part of August. His recovery was very slow, but he embraced every short interval of convalescence to walk out and examine the productions of the country. In one of these excursions, having rambled farther than usual in a hot day, he brought on a return of his fever, and was again confined to his bed. The fever, however, was not so violent as before, and in the course of three weeks, when the weather permitted, he was able to renew his botanical excursions; and when it rained, he amused himself with drawing plants, &c. in his chamber. The care and attention of Dr. Laidley contributed greatly to alleviate his sufferings; his company beguiled the tedious hours during that gloomy season, when the rain falls in torrents, when suffocating heats oppress by day, and when the night is spent in listening to the croaking of frogs, the shrill cry of the jackall, and the deep howling of the hyena; a dismal concert, interrupted only by the roar of tremendous thunder.

On the 6th of October the waters of the Gambia were at their greatest height, being fifteen feet above the high water mark of the tide, after which they began to subside; at first slowly, but afterwards very rapidly, sometimes sinking more than a foot in twenty-four hours: by the beginning of November the river had sunk to its former level, and the tide ebbed and flowed as usual. When the river had subsided, and the atmosphere grew dry, Mr. Park recovered apace, and began to think of his departure; for this is reckoned the most proper season for travelling: the natives had completed their harvest, and provisions were everywhere cheap and plentiful.

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On the 2d December 1795, Mr. Park took his departure from the hospitable mansion of Dr. Laidley, being fortunately provided with a negro servant, who spoke both the English and Mandingo tongues; his name was Johnson: he was a native of that part of Africa, and having in his youth been conveyed to Jamaica as a slave, he had been made free, and taken to England by his master, where he had resided many years, and at length found his way back to his native country. He was also provided with a negro boy, named Demba, a sprightly youth, who, besides Mandingo, spoke the language of the Serawoollies, an inland people; and to induce him to behave well, he was promised his freedom on his return, in case the tourist should report favourably of his fidelity and services. A free man, named Madiboo, travelling to the kingdom of Bambara, and two slatees, going to Bondou, offered their services, as did likewise a negro, named Tami, a native of Kasson, who had been employed some years by Dr. Laidley as a blacksmith, and was returning to his native country with the savings of his labours. All these men travelled on foot, driving their asses before them.

Thus Mr. Park had no less than six attendants, all of whom had been taught to regard him with great respect, and to consider that their safe return hereafter to the countries on the Gambia, would depend on his preservation.

Dr. Laidley and the Messrs. Ainsley accompanied Park the two first days. They reached Jindy the same day, and rested at the house of a black woman, who had formerly been the mistress of Mr. Hewett, a white trader, and who, in consequence of that honour, was called *Sentora*. In the evening they walked out, to see an adjoining village, belonging to a slatee, named Jemaffoo Mamadoo, the richest of all the Gambia traders. They found him at home, and he thought so highly of the honour done him by this visit, that he presented them with a fine bullock, part of which was dressed for their evening's repast.

The negroes do not go to supper till late, and in order to amuse themselves while the beef was preparing, a Mandingo was desired to relate some diverting stories, in listening to which, and smoking tobacco, they spent three hours. These stories bear some resemb-

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lance to those in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, but in general are of a more ludicrous cast.

About one o'clock in the afternoon of the 3d of December, Park took his leave of Dr. Laidley and Messrs. Ainsley, and rode slowly into the woods. He had now before him a boundless forest, and a country, the inhabitants of which were strangers to civilized life. He reflected that he had parted from the last European he might probably behold, and perhaps quitted for ever the comforts of christian society. These thoughts necessarily cast a gloom over his mind, and he rode musing along for about three miles, when he was awakened from his reverie by a number of people, who, running up, stopped the asses, giving him to understand, that he must either go with them to Peckaba, to present himself to the king of Woolli, or pay customs to them. He endeavoured to make them comprehend, that not travelling for traffic, he ought not to be subjected to a tax like merchants, but his reasoning was thrown away upon them. They said it was usual for travellers of all descriptions to make a present to the king of Woolli, and without doing so, none could be permitted to proceed. As the party were numerous, he thought it prudent to comply with their demand, and presented them with four bars of tobacco. At sunset he reached a village near Kootacunda.

The next day entering Woolli, he stopped to pay customs to an officer of the king. Passing the night at a village called Tabajang; at noon the following day Park reached Medina, the capital of the king of Woolli's dominions. It is a large place, and contains at least a thousand houses. It is fortified in the common African manner by a high mud wall, and an outward fence of pointed stakes and prickly bushes, but the walls were neglected, and the outward fence had suffered considerably by being plucked up for fire-wood. Mr. Park obtained a lodging with one of the king's near relations, who warned him, at his introduction to the king, not to shake hands with him, that liberty not being allowed to strangers. With this salutary warning, Park paid his respects to Jatta, the king, and asked his permission to pass to Bondou. He was the same old man, of whom Major Houghton speaks in such favourable terms.

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The sovereign was seated before the door of his hovel, surrounded by a number of men and women, who were singing and clapping their hands. Park, saluting him respectfully, told him the object of his visit. The monarch not only permitted him to proceed on his journey, but declared he would offer prayers for his safe return. One of Mr. Park's attendants, to manifest his sense of the king's courtesy, roared out an Arabic song, at every pause of which the king himself, and all present, striking their hands against their foreheads, exclaimed, with affecting solemnity, *Amen, Amen.* The king further assured him, that a guide should be ready on the following day, to conduct him to the frontier of Bondou. Having taken leave, he sent the king an order upon Dr. Laidley for three gallons of rum, and received in return a great store of provisions.

December the 6th, early in the morning, on visiting Jatta, he found his majesty sitting upon a bullock's hide, warming himself before a large fire, for the Africans frequently feel cold when a European is oppressed with heat. Jatta received his visitant very kindly, and earnestly entreated him to advance no farther into the interior, telling him that Major Houghton had been killed in his route. He said that travellers must not judge of the people of the eastern country by those of Woolli. The latter were acquainted with white men, and respected them; whereas, in the east, the people had never seen one, and would certainly destroy the first they beheld. Park, thanking the king for his affectionate concern, told him he was determined, notwithstanding all danger, to proceed. The king shook his head, but desisted from further persuasion, and ordered the guide to hold himself in readiness.

On the guide making his appearance, Park took his last farewell of the good old king, and in three hours reached Konjour, a small village, where he and his party rested for the night. Here he bought a fine sheep for some beads, and his attendants killed it, with all the ceremonies prescribed by their religion. Part of it was dressed for supper, after which a dispute arose between one of the negroes and Johnson, the interpreter, about the sheep's horns. The former claimed the horns as his perquisite, as he had performed the office of butcher, and Johnson disputed the claim. To settle the matter, Mr. Park gave a horn to each of the litigants.

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Leaving Konjour, and sleeping at a village called Malla, on the 8th he arrived at Kolor, a considerable town, near the entrance into which he saw hanging upon a tree, a sort of masquerade habit, made of the bark of trees, which he was told belonged to Mumbo Jumbo. The account of this personage is thus narrated by Mr. Park: "This is a strange bugbear, common to all the Mandingo towns, and much employed by the pagan natives in keeping their women in subjection, for as the kafirs are not restricted in the number of their wives, every one marries as many as he can maintain, and, as it frequently happens, that the ladies disagree among themselves, family quarrels rise sometimes to such a height, that the husband can no longer preserve peace in his household. In such cases, the interposition of Mumbo Jumbo is called in, and is always decisive.

This strange minister of justice, who is supposed to be either the husband himself, or some person instructed by him, disguised in the dress before mentioned, and armed with his rod of public authority, announces his coming by loud and continual screams in the woods near the town. He begins the pantomime at the approach of night, and, as soon as it is dark, enters the town, and proceeds to the bentang, at which all the inhabitants immediately assemble.

This exhibition is not much relished by the women, for as the person in disguise is unknown to them, every married female suspects the visit may be intended for herself, but they dare not refuse to appear, when they are summoned: and the ceremony commences with songs and dances, which continue till midnight, when Mumbo fixes on the offender. The victim, being immediately seized, is stripped naked, tied to a post, and severely scourged with Mumbo's rod, amidst the shouts and derisions of the assembly; and it is remarkable, that the rest of the women are loudest in their exclamations against their unhappy sister. Daylight puts an end to this indecent and unmanly revel.

On the 9th of December, Park reached Tambacunda, leaving which the next morning, he arrived in the evening at Kooniakary, a town of nearly the same size and extent as Kolor. On the 11th he came to Koojar, the frontier town of Woolli near Bondou.

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King Jatta's guide being now to return, Park presented him with some amber, and having been informed that it was not possible at all times to procure water in the wilderness, he inquired for men, who would serve both as guides and water-bearers, and he procured three negroes, elephant hunters, for that service, paying them three bars each in advance.

The inhabitants of Koojar beheld the white man with surprise and veneration, and in the evening invited him to see a *neobering*, or wrestling match, in the bentang. This is an exercise very common in all these countries. The spectators formed a ring round the wrestlers, who were strong, active young men, full of emulation, and accustomed to such contests. Being stripped to a short pair of drawers, and having their skin anointed with oil or *Shea* water, the combatants approached, each on all fours, parrying for some time, till at length one of them sprang forward, and caught his antagonist by the knee. Great dexterity and judgment were now displayed, but the combat was decided by strength. Few Europeans would have subdued the conqueror. The wrestlers were animated by the sound of a drum.

After the wrestling, commenced a dance, in which many performers assisted, provided with little bells fastened to their legs and arms, and here also the drum assisted their movements. The drum likewise keeps order among the spectators, by imitating the sound of certain Mandingo sentences; for example, when the sport is about to begin, the drummer strikes, which is understood to signify, *Ali boe si*, "sit all down," upon which the lookers-on immediately squat themselves on the ground, and when the combatants are to begin, he strikes, *Amuta, amuta*, "take hold, take hold."

In the morning of the 12th, he found that one of the elephant hunters had absconded with the money he had received beforehand; and to prevent the other two from following his example, Park made them instantly fill their calabashes with water, and they entered the wilderness that separates Woolli from Bondou. The attendants halted to prepare a saphie or charm, to ensure a safe journey. This was done by muttering a few sentences, and spitting upon a stone, thrown before them on the road. Having repeated

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this operation three times, the negroes proceeded with assurance of safety.

Riding along, they came to a large tree, called by the natives *neema taba*. It was decorated with innumerable rags of cloth, which persons travelling across the wilderness had at different times tied to the branches, which was done, according to the opinion of Mr. Park, to inform the traveller that water was to be found near it; but the custom has been so sanctioned by time, that nobody now presumes to pass without hanging up something. Park followed the example, and suspended a handsome piece of cloth on one of the boughs; and being informed that either a well or a pool of water was at no great distance, he ordered the negroes to unload the asses, that they might give them some corn, and regale themselves with the provisions, which they had brought, meanwhile he sent one of the elephant hunters to look for the well. A pool was found, but the water was thick and muddy, and the negro discovered near it the remains of fire and fragments of provisions, which showed that it had been lately visited, either by travellers or banditti. The attendants, apprehending the latter, and supposing that the robbers lurked at no great distance, Mr. Park proceeded to another watering place. He arrived there late in the evening, fatigued with so long a day's journey; and kindling a large fire, laid down, more than a gunshot from any bush, the negroes agreeing to keep watch by turns, to prevent surprise. The negroes were indeed very apprehensive of banditti during the whole of the journey. As soon, therefore, as daylight appeared, they filled their soofros and calabashes at the pool, took their departure, and arrived at Tallika, the first town in Bondou, on the 13th December. Mr. Park says, that he cannot take leave of Woolli without observing, that he was every where well received by the natives, and that the fatigues of the day were generally alleviated by a hearty welcome at night.

Tallika, the frontier town of Bondou towards Woolli, is inhabited chiefly by the Mohammedan Foulahs, who acquire no inconsiderable affluence by furnishing provisions to the coffles or caravans, and by the sale of ivory from hunting elephants. Here an

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officer constantly resides, whose business it is to watch the arrival of the caravans, which are taxed according to the number of loaded asses.

Mr. Park lodged with this officer, and was accompanied by him to Fatteconda, the king's residence, for which he was paid five bars. They halted for the first night at Ganado, where they partook of a good supper, and were further exhilarated by an itinerant musician, or singing man, who told a number of entertaining stories, and played some sweet airs, by blowing his breath upon a bow-string, and striking it at the same time with a stick.

At daybreak Mr. Park's fellow-travellers, the Serawoollies, took their leave, with many prayers for his safety. A mile from Ganado they crossed a branch of the Gambia, called Neriko, and in the evening reached Koorkarany, a Mohammedan town, in which the blacksmith had some relations. Koorkarany is surrounded by a high wall, and is provided with a mosque. Here a number of Arabic manuscripts were shown to Mr. Park, particularly a copy of the book called *Al Sharra*. Leaving Koorkarany, they were joined by a young man, who was travelling to Fatteconda for salt, and as night set in, they reached Dooggi, a small village about three miles from Koorkarany. There they purchased a bullock for six small stones of amber.

Early in the morning of the 18th December, they departed from Dooggi, joined by a party of Foulahs and others, in the evening arrived at a village called Buggil, and passed the night in a miserable hut, having no other bed than a bundle of corn stalks. The wells are here dug with great ingenuity, and are very deep. From Buggil they travelled along a dry, stoney height, covered with mimosas, and descended into a deep valley, in which, pursuing their course, they came to a large village, where they intended to lodge. Many of the natives were dressed in a thin French gauze, which they called *byqut*; this being a dress calculated to show the shape of their persons, was very fashionable among the women. These females were extremely rude and troublesome; they took Mr. Park's cloak, cut the buttons from the boy's clothes, and were proceeding to other outrages, when he mounted his horse, and proceeded on his journey. In the evening they reached Soobrudooka,

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and as the company were numerous, they purchased a sheep and corn wherewith to regale themselves, after which, they slept by their baggage. From Soobrudooka they came to a large village on the banks of the Faleme, which is here very rapid and rocky. The river abounds with a small fish, of the size of sprats, which are prepared for sale by pounding them in mortars, and exposing them to dry in the sun in large lumps.

An old moorish shereeff, who came to bestow his blessing on Mr. Park, and beg some paper to write saphies upon, said that he had seen Major Houghton in the kingdom of Kaarta, and that he died in the country of the moors. Mr. Park and some of his attendants gave him a few sheets of paper, on which to write his charms.

Proceeding northward along the banks of the river, they arrived at Mayemow, the chief man of which town presented Mr. Park with a bullock, and he in return gave him some amber and beads. Crossing the river, they entered Fatteconda, the capital of Bondou, and received an invitation from a slatee to lodge at his house, for as in Africa there are no inns, strangers stand at the Bentang, or market-place, till they are invited by some of the inhabitants. Soon afterwards, Mr. Park was conducted to the king, who was desirous of seeing him immediately, if he was not too much fatigued for the interview.

He took his interpreter with him, and followed the messenger till they were quite out of the town, when suspecting some trick, Mr. Park stopped and asked his guide, whither he was going?—Upon this, he pointed to a man sitting under a tree at some little distance, and told him that the king frequently gave audience in that retired manner, in order to avoid a crowd of people. When he advanced, the king desired him to come and sit by him upon the mat, and after hearing his story, on which he made no observation, he inquired of Mr. Park, if he wished to purchase any slaves or gold. Being answered in the negative, he seemed surprised, but desired him to visit him again in the evening, that he might be supplied with some provisions.

This prince was called Almami, and was a pagan. It was reported that he had caused Major Houghton to be plundered. His behaviour, therefore, at this interview, although distinguished

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by greater civility than was expected, caused Mr. Park some uneasiness, for as he was now entirely in his power, he thought it more politic to conciliate the good opinion of the monarch, by a few presents. Accordingly, in the evening, Mr. Park took with him a canister of gunpowder, some amber, tobacco, and an umbrella; and as he considered that his bundles would inevitably be searched, he concealed some few articles in the roof of the hut where he lodged, putting on his new blue coat, in order to preserve it.

Mr. Park on coming to the entrance of the court, as well as his guide and interpreter, according to custom, took off their sandals, and the former pronounced the king's name aloud, repeating it till he was answered from within. They found the monarch sitting upon a mat, and two attendants with him. Mr. Park told him his reasons for passing through his country, but his majesty did but seem half satisfied. He thought it impossible, he said, that any man in his senses would undertake so dangerous a journey, merely to look at the country and its inhabitants. When, however, Mr. Park had delivered his presents, his majesty seemed well pleased, and was particularly delighted with the umbrella, which he repeatedly furled and unfurled, to the great admiration of himself and his two attendants, who could not for some time comprehend the use of this wonderful machine. After this, Mr. Park was about to take his leave, when the king began a long preamble in favour of the whites, extolling their immense wealth and good dispositions. He next proceeded to an eulogium on Mr. Park's blue coat, of which the yellow buttons seemed particularly to please his fancy, and he concluded by entreating Mr. Park to present him with it, assuring him, as a matter of great consolation to him for the loss of it, that he would wear it on all public occasions, and inform every one who saw it, of the great liberality of Mr. Park towards him. The request of an African prince, in his own dominions, comes very little short of a command. Mr. Park, therefore, very quietly took off his coat, the only good one in his possession, and laid it at his feet. In return for his compliance, he presented Mr. Park with great plenty of provisions, and desired to see him again in the morning. Mr. Park accordingly attended, and found the king sitting on his bed. His majesty told him he was sick, and wished to

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have a little blood taken from him, but Mr. Park had no sooner tied up his arm, and displayed the lancet, than his courage failed, and he begged him to postpone the operation. He then observed, that his women were very desirous to see him, and requested that he would favour them with a visit. An attendant was ordered to conduct him, and he had no sooner entered the court appropriated to the ladies, than the whole seraglio surrounded him, some begging for physic, some for amber, and all of them trying that great African specific, blood-letting. They were ten or twelve in number, most of them young and handsome, and wearing on their heads ornaments of gold and beads of amber. They rallied him on the whiteness of his skin and the prominency of his nose. They insisted that both were artificial, the first they said, was produced when he was an infant, by dipping him in milk, and they insisted that his nose had been pinched every day, till it had acquired its present unsightly and unnatural conformation. On his part, without disputing his own deformity, he paid them many compliments on African beauty. He praised the glossy jet of their skins, and the lovely depression of their noses; but they said, that flattery, or as they emphatically termed it, *honey-mouth*, was not esteemed in Bondou. The ladies, however, were evidently not displeased, for they presented him with a jar of honey and some fish.

Mr. Park was desired to attend the king again, a little before sunset, on which occasion he presented to his majesty some beads and writing paper, as a small offering, in return for which the king gave him five drachms of gold. He seconded the act by one still greater, he suffered the baggage to pass without examination, and Mr. Park was allowed to depart when he pleased.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 23d, Mr. Park left Fatteconda, and in a few hours arrived at a small village, the boundary between Bondou and Kajaaga. Hearing it was dangerous for travellers, Mr. Park resolved to proceed by night, until they should reach a more hospitable part of the country, and directed their course through the woods. On this occasion, Mr. Park says, "the stillness of the air, the howling of the wild beasts, and the deep solitude of the forest, made the scene solemn and impressive. Not a word was uttered by any of us, but in a whisper; all were atten-

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tive, and every one anxious to show his sagacity, by pointing out to me the wolves and hyenas, as they glided, like shadows, from one thicket to another." The following afternoon they arrived at Joag, in the kingdom of Kajaaga, where they took up their abode at the house of the chief man, here called the *dooty*. He was a rigid Mohammedan, but distinguished for his hospitality. The town was supposed to contain about two thousand inhabitants; it was surrounded by a high wall, in which were a number of port-holes for musketry. Every man's possession was likewise surrounded by a wall, the whole forming so many distinct citadels, and, amongst a people unacquainted with the use of artillery, the walls answer all the purposes of stronger fortifications.

The same evening, Madiboo, the Bushreen from Pisania, went to pay a visit to his father and mother, who dwelt at a neighbouring town, called Dramanet. He was joined by the blacksmith; and as soon as it was dark, Mr. Park was invited to see the sports of the inhabitants. A great crowd surrounded a dancing party; the dances, however, consisted more in wanton gestures, than in muscular exertion or graceful attitudes. The women vied with each other in displaying the most voluptuous movements imaginable.

On the 25th December, early in the morning, a number of horsemen entered the town, and came to the bentang, on which Mr. Park had made his bed. One of them, thinking he was asleep, attempted to steal his musket; but finding that he could not effect his purpose undiscovered, he desisted.

Mr. Park now perceived, by the countenance of the interpreter, Johnson, that something bad was in agitation; he was also surprised to see Madiboo, and the blacksmith so soon returned. On inquiring the reason, Madiboo informed him, that as they were dancing at Dramanet, ten horsemen belonging to Batcheri, the king, with his second son at their head, had inquired if the white man had passed. The ten horsemen mentioned by Madiboo arrived, and entering the bentang dismounted, and seated themselves with those who had come before, the whole being about twenty in number, forming a circle round him, and each man holding his musket in his hand. Mr. Park now remarked to his landlord, that as he did not understand the Serawoolli tongue, he hoped whatever the men

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had to say, they would speak in Mandingo. To this they agreed, and a man, loaded with a remarkable number of saphies, opened the business in a long oration, purporting that the white man had entered the king's town, without having first paid the duties, or giving any present to the king, and that according to the laws of the country, his people, cattle and baggage were forfeited, and he added, that they had received orders from the king, to conduct Mr. Park to Mauna. It would have been equally vain and imprudent to have resisted or irritated such a body of men, he, therefore, affected to comply with their demands. The poor blacksmith, who was a native of Kasson, mistook this feigned compliance for a real intention, and begged Mr. Park privately, that he would not entirely ruin him by going to Mauna, adding, that as he had every reason to believe that a war would soon take place between Kasson and Kajaaga, he should not only lose his little property, the savings of four years' industry, but should certainly be detained and sold as a slave.

Mr. Park told the king's son, he was ready to go with him upon condition, that the blacksmith, who was an inhabitant of a distant kingdom, and entirely unconnected with him, should be allowed to stay at Joag until his return. To this they all objected, and insisted that as all had acted contrary to the laws, all were equally answerable for their transgressions.

Their landlord strenuously advised Mr. Park not to go to the king, who, he said, if he discovered any thing valuable in his possession, would seize it without ceremony. In consequence of this representation, Mr. Park was the more solicitous to conciliate matters with the king's officers, and acknowledged that he had indeed entered the king's frontiers, without knowing that he was to pay the duties beforehand, but was ready to pay them then; accordingly he tendered, as a present to the king, the drachms of gold, which he had received from the king of Bondou; this they accepted, but insisted on examining his baggage. The bundles were opened, but the men were greatly disappointed in not finding much gold and amber: they made up the deficiency, however, by taking whatever things they fancied, and departed, having first robbed him of half his goods. These proceedings tended, in a great degree, to dispirit the attendants of Mr. Park. Madiboo begged of him to return; Johnson

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laughed at the thoughts of proceeding without money, and the blacksmith was afraid to be seen, or even to speak, lest any one should discover him to be a native of Kasson. In this dejected state of mind, they passed the night by the side of a dim fire.

In the course of the following day Mr. Park was informed, that a nephew of Demba Sego Jalla, the Mandingo king of Kasson, was coming to visit him. The prince had been sent out on a mission to Batcheri, king of Kajaaga, to endeavour to settle some disputes between his uncle and the latter, in which, having been unsuccessful, he was on his return to Kasson, to which place he offered to conduct Mr. Park, provided he would set out on the following morning.

Mr. Park gratefully accepted this offer, and, with his attendants, was ready to set out by daylight on the 27th of December. The retinue of Demba Sego was numerous, the whole amounting, on the departure from Joag, to thirty persons and six loaded asses. Having proceeded for some hours, they came to a tree, for which Johnson had made frequent inquiry, and here, having desired them to stop, he produced a white chicken he had purchased at Joag for the purpose, and tied it by the leg to one of the branches; he then declared they might now proceed without fear, for their journey would be prosperous. This circumstance exhibits the power of superstition over the minds of the negroes, for although this man had resided seven years in England, he retained all the prejudices imbibed in his youth. He meant this ceremony, he told Mr. Park, as an offering to the spirits of the wood, who were a powerful race of beings, of a white colour, with long flowing hair.

At noon the travellers stopped at Gungadi, where was a mosque built of clay, with six turrets, on the pinnacles of which were placed six ostrich eggs. Towards evening they arrived at Samee a town on the banks of the Senegal, which is here a beautiful but shallow river, its banks high, and covered with verdure.

On the following day they proceeded to Kajee, a large village, part of which is on the north, and part on the south side of the river. About sunset Mr. Park and Demba Sego embarked in the canoe, which the least motion was likely to overset, and Demba Sego thinking this a proper time to examine a tin box belonging to

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Mr. Park, that stood in the fore part of the canoe, by stretching out his hand for it, destroyed the equilibrium and overset the vessel. As they were not far advanced, they got back to the shore without much difficulty, and after wringing the water from their clothes, took a fresh departure, and were safely landed in Kasson.

Demba Sego now told Mr. Park, that they were in his uncle's dominions, and he hoped that he would consider the obligation he owed to him, and make him a suitable return by a handsome present. This proposition was rather unexpected by Mr. Park, who began to fear that he had not much improved his condition by crossing the water, but as it would have been folly to complain, he gave the prince seven bars of amber and some tobacco, with which he seemed well satisfied.

In the evening of December the 29th, they arrived at Demba Sego's hut, and the next morning Mr. Park was introduced by the prince to his father, Tigitty Sego, brother to the king of Kasson, chief of Tesee. The old man viewed his visitor with great earnestness, having never beheld but one white man before, whom Mr. Park discovered to be Major Houghton. He appeared to disbelieve what Mr. Park asserted, in answer to his inquiries concerning the motives that induced him to explore the country, and told him that he must go to Kooniakary to pay his respects to the king, but desired to see him again before he left Tesee.

Tesee is a large unwalled town, fortified only by a sort of citadel, in which Tiggity Sego and his family reside. The present inhabitants, though possessing abundance of cattle and corn, eat without scruple rats, moles, squirrels, snakes, locusts, &c. The attendants of Mr. Park were one evening invited to a feast, where making a hearty meal of what they thought to be fish and kouskous, one of them found a piece of hard skin in the dish, which he brought away with him, to show Mr. Park what sort of fish they had been eating. On examining the skin, it was discovered they had been feasting on a large snake. Another custom, which is rigidly adhered to, is, that no woman is allowed to eat an egg, and nothing will more affront a woman of Tesee than to offer her an egg. The men, however, eat eggs without scruple.

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The following anecdote will show, that in some particulars the African and European women have a great resemblance to each other, and that conjugal infidelity is by no means confined to the latter. A young man, a kafir of considerable affluence, who had recently married a young and handsome wife, applied to a very devout Bushreen or Mussulman priest of his acquaintance, to procure him saphies for his protection during the approaching war. The Bushreen complied with his request, and to render the saphies more efficacious, enjoined the young man to avoid any nuptial intercourse with his bride for the space of six weeks. The kafir obeyed, and without telling his wife the real cause, absented himself from her company. In the mean time it was whispered that the Bushreen, who always performed his evening devotions at the door of the kafir's hut, was more intimate with the young wife, than was consistent with virtue, or the sanctity of his profession. The husband was unwilling to suspect the honour of his sanctified friend, whose outward show of religion, as is the case with the priests and parsons of the civilized part of the world, protected him from even the suspicion of so flagitious an act. Some time, however, elapsed before any jealousy arose in the mind of the husband, but hearing the charge repeated, he interrogated his wife on the subject, who confessed that the holy man had seduced her. Hereupon the kafir put her into confinement, and called a palaver on the Bushreen's conduct, which Mr. Park was invited to attend. The fact was proved against the priest, and he was sentenced to be sold into slavery, or find two slaves for his redemption, according to the pleasure of the complainant. The injured husband, however, desired rather to have him publicly flogged, before Tiggity Sego's gate; this was agreed to, and the sentence immediately carried into execution. The culprit was tied by the hands to a strong stake, and the executioner with a long black rod round his head, for some time applied it with such dexterity to the Bushreen's back, as to make him roar until the woods resounded. The multitude, by their looking and laughing, manifested how much they enjoyed the punishment of the old gallant, and it is remarkable, that the number of stripes was exactly the same as enjoined by the Mosaic law, *forty, save one.*

On the 8th of January, Demba Sego, who had borrowed Mr.

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Park's horse, for the purpose of making a small excursion into the country, returned and informed his father, that he should set out for Kooniakary early the next day. The old man made many frivolous objections, and gave Mr. Park to understand, that he must not depart without paying him the duties to which he was entitled from all travellers; besides which, he expected some acknowledgment for his kindness towards him. Accordingly, the following morning Demba Sego, with a number of people, came to Mr. Park, to see what goods he intended as a present to the old chief. Mr. Park offered them seven bars of amber, and five of tobacco, but Demba, having surveyed these articles, very coolly told him they were not a present suitable to a man of Tiggity Sego's consequence, and if he did not make him a larger offering, he would carry all the baggage to his father, and let him choose for himself. Without waiting for a reply, Demba and his attendants immediately opened the bundles, and spread the different articles upon the floor; everything that pleased them they took without a scruple, and Demba in particular seized the tin box, which had so much attracted his attention in crossing the river. Upon collecting the remains of his little fortune, after these people had left him, Mr. Park found, that as at Joag, he had been plundered of half, so he was here deprived of half the remainder. Having been under some obligations to Demba Sego, Mr. Park did not reproach him for his rapacity, but determined at all events to quit Tesee the following morning; in the mean while, to raise the drooping spirits of his attendants, he purchased a fat sheep, and had it dressed for dinner.

Early in the morning of January the 10th, Mr. Park and his company left Tesee, and about midday came in sight of the hills in the vicinity of Kooniakary. Having slept at a small village, the next morning they crossed a narrow but deep stream, called Krisko, a branch of the Senegal. Proceeding eastward, about two o'clock they came in sight of the native town of Jambo, the blacksmith, from which he had been absent about four years. He was received with the greatest affection by his relations, but he declared that he would not quit Mr. Park during his stay at Kooniakary, and they set out for that place in the morning of the 14th January. About the middle of the day, they arrived at Soolo, a small village

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about three miles to the south of it, where Mr. Park went to visit a slatee, named Salim Daucari, who had entrusted him with effects to the value of five slaves, and had given Mr. Park an order for the whole of the debt. The slatee received his visitors with great kindness. It was, however, remarkable that the king of Kasson was by some means apprized of the motions of Mr. Park, for he had not been many hours at Soolo, when Sambo Sego, the second son of the king of Kasson, came thither with a party of horse, to inquire what had prevented him from proceeding to Kooniakary, and waiting upon the king, who he said was impatient to see him. Salim Daucari apologized for Mr. Park, and promised to accompany him to Kooniakary. They accordingly departed from Soolo at sunset, and in about an hour entered Kooniakary, but as the king had gone to sleep, the interview was deferred till the next morning, and the travellers slept in the hut of Sambo Sego.

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CHAPTER VI.

On the ensuing morning Mr. Park went to have an audience of King Demba Sego Jalla, but the crowd of people that were assembled to see him was so great, that he could scarcely gain admittance; he at length arrived in the presence of the monarch, whom he found sitting upon a mat in a large hut: he appeared to be about sixty years of age. He surveyed Mr. Park with great attention, and on being made acquainted with the object of his journey, the good old king was perfectly satisfied, and promised him every assistance in his power. He said that he had seen Major Houghton, and presented him with a white horse, but that after passing the kingdom of Kaarta, he had lost his life among the moors, but in what manner he was utterly ignorant The audience being ended, Mr. Park returned to his lodging, where he made up a small present for the king, who sent him in return a large white bullock.

Although the king was well disposed towards Mr. Park, the latter soon discovered that very great and unexpected obstacles were likely to impede his progress. A war was on the eve of breaking out between Kasson and Kajaaga; the kingdom of Kaarta, through which his route lay, being involved in the issue, and was also threatened with hostilities by Bambarra. Taking these circumstances into consideration, the king advised Mr. Park to remain in the vicinity of Kooniakary, till some decisive information could be obtained of the state of the belligerents, which was expected to be

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received in four or five days. Mr. Park readily submitted to this proposal, and returned to Soolo, where he received from Salim Daucari, on Dr. Laidley's account, the value of three slaves, chiefly in gold dust.

Being anxious to proceed as soon as possible, Mr. Park begged Daucari to use his interest with the king, to procure him a guide by the way of Foolado, as it was reported that the war had commenced. Daucari accordingly set out for Kooniakary on the morning of the 20th, and the same evening returned with an answer from the king, stating that his majesty had made an agreement with the king of Kaarta, to send all merchants and travellers through his dominions, but if Mr. Park wished to take the route of Foolado, the king gave him permission to do so, though he could not consistently with his agreement send him a guide. In consequence of this answer, Mr. Park determined to wait till he could pass through Kaarta without danger.

In the interim, however, it was whispered abroad, that the white man had received abundance of gold from Salim Daucari, and on the morning of the 23rd, Sambo Sego paid Mr. Park a visit, attended by a party of horsemen, and insisted upon knowing the exact amount of the money which he had received, declaring at the same time, that one half of it must go to the king; that he himself must have a handsome present, as being the king's son, and his attendants, as being the king's relations. Mr. Park was preparing to submit to this arbitrary exaction, when Salim Daucari interposed, and at last prevailed upon Sambo to accept sixteen bars of European merchandize, and some powder and ball, as a complete payment of evey demand that could be made in the kingdom of Kasson.

Mr. Park resided at Soolo for several days, occasionally visiting the surrounding country, and he reports that the number of towns and villages, and the extensive cultivation around them, surpassed every thing he had yet seen in Africa.

The king of Kasson having now obtained information, that the war had not yet commenced between Bambarra and Kaarta, and that Mr. Park might probably pass through the latter country before the Bambarra army invaded it, sent two guides early on the morn-

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ing of the 3rd of February, to conduct him to the frontiers. He accordingly took leave of Salim Daucari, and Jambo the blacksmith, and about ten o'clock departed from Soolo. In the afternoon of the 4th, they reached Kimo, a large village, the residence of Madi Konko, governor of the hilly country of Kasson, which is called Soromma.

At Kimo, the guides, appointed by the king of Kasson, left Mr. Park, and he waited at this place till the 7th, when he departed, with Madi Konko's son as a guide. On the 8th of February they travelled over a rough stony country, and, having passed a number of villages, arrived at Lackarago, a small village standing upon the ridge of hills that separates Kasson from Kaarta. The following morning they left Lackarago, and soon perceived, towards the south-east, the mountains of Fooladoo. Proceeding with great difficulty down a stony and abrupt precipice, they continued their way in a dry bed of a river, where the trees, meeting over head, made the place dark and cool. About ten o'clock they reached the sandy plains of Kaarta, and at noon came to a watering place, where a few strings of beads purchased as much milk and corn meal as they could eat. Provisions were here so plentiful, that the shepherds seldom asked any return for the refreshment a traveller required. At sunset the travellers reached Feesurah, where they rested.

Mr. Park and his attendants remained at Feesurah, during the whole of the following day, for the purpose of learning more exactly the situation of affairs, before they ventured further. Their landlord asked so exorbitant a sum for their lodging, that Mr. Park refused to submit to his demand, but his attendants, frightened at the reports of approaching war, would not proceed unless he was satisfied, and persuaded him to accompany them to Kemmoo for their protection on the road. This Mr. Park accomplished by presenting his host with a blanket to which he had taken a liking.

Matters being thus amicably adjusted, our travellers again set out on the 11th, preceded by their landlord of Feesurah on horseback. This man was one of those negroes who observe the ceremonial part of Mahometanism, but retain all their pagan superstitions, and even drink strong liquors; they are called Johars or Jowers, and are very

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numerous in Kaarta. When the travellers had got into a lonely wood, he made a sign for them to stop, and taking hold of a hollow piece of bamboo, that hung as an amulet round his neck, whistled very loudly three times. Mr. Park began to suspect it was a signal for some of his associates to attack the travellers, but the man assured him it was done to ascertain the successful event of their journey. He then dismounted, laid his spear across the road, and having said several short prayers, again gave three loud whistles; after which he listened, as if expecting an answer, but receiving none, said they might proceed without fear, for no danger actually existed.

On the morning of the 12th, they departed from Karan Kalla, and it being but a short day's journey to Kemmoo, they travelled slower than usual, and amused themselves by collecting eatable fruits near the road side. Thus engaged, Mr. Park had wandered a short distance from his people, when two negro horsemen, armed with muskets, came galloping from the thickets. On seeing them, he made a full stop; the horsemen did the same, and all three seemed equally surprised and confounded. As he approached them, their fears increased, and one casting upon him a look of horror, rode off at full speed; while the other, in a panic of fear, put his hand over his eyes, and continued muttering prayers, till his horse, apparently without his knowledge, slowly conveyed him after his companion. About a mile to the westward they fell in with Mr. Park's attendants, to whom they related a frightful story: their fears had dressed him in the flowing robes of a tremendous spirit, and one of them affirmed, that a blast of wind, cold as water, poured down upon him from the sky, while he beheld the dreadful apparition.

About two o'clock, Mr. Park entered the capital of Kaarta, which is situate in the midst of an open plain, the country for two miles round being cleared of wood. They immediately proceeded to the king's residence, and Mr. Park, being surrounded by the astonished multitude, did not attempt to dismount, but sent in the landlord of Feesurah, and Madi Konko's son, to acquaint his majesty of his arrival. The king replied, that he would see the stranger in the evening, and ordered an attendant to procure him a lodging, and

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prevent annoyance from the crowd. Mr. Park was conducted into a large hut, in which he had scarcely seated himself, than the mob entered, it being found impossible to keep them out, and when one party had seen him, and asked a few questions, they retired, and another succeeded, party after party, during the greater part of the day.

The king, whose name was Koorabarri, now sent for Mr. Park, who followed the messenger through a number of courts, surrounded with high walls. Mr. Park was astonished at the number of the king's attendants; they were all seated, the men on the king's right hand, and the women and children on the left. The king was not distinguished from his subjects by any superiority of dress, being seated on a leopard's skin, spread upon a bank of earth, about two feet high. Mr. Park seated himself upon the ground before him, and relating the causes that induced him to pass through his country, solicited his protection. The king replied, that he could at present afford him but little assistance, all communication between Kaarta and Bambarra being cut off; and Monsong, king of Bambarra, with his army on his march to Kaarta, there was little hope of reaching Bambarra by the direct route, for coming from an enemy's country, he would certainly be plundered or taken for a spy. Under these circumstances he did not wish him to remain at Kaarta, but advised him to return to Kasson till the war was at an end, when, if he survived the contest, he would bestow every attention on the traveller, but if he should fall, his sons would take him under their care.

Mr. Park dreaded the thoughts of passing the rainy season in the interior of Africa, and was averse to return to Europe, without having made further discoveries, he therefore rejected the well-meant advice of the king, and requested his majesty to allow a man to accompany him as near the frontiers of Kaarta as was consistent with safety. The king, finding he was resolved to proceed, told him that one route, though not wholly free from danger, still remained, which was first to go into the Moorish kingdom of Ludamar, and thence by a circuitous route to Jarra, the frontier town of Ludamar. He then inquired of Mr. Park how he had been treated since he left the Gambia, and jocularly asked him how many slaves

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he expected to take home with him on his return. He was, however, interrupted by the arrival of a man mounted on a fine moorish horse covered with sweat and foam, who having something of importance to communicate, the king immediately took up his sandals, which is the signal for strangers to retire. Mr. Park accordingly took leave, but afterwards learned that this messenger was one of the scouts employed to watch the motions of the enemy, and had brought intelligence that the Bambarra army was approaching Kaarta.

In the evening the king sent to the stranger a fine sheep, a very acceptable gift, as they had not broken their fast during the whole of the day. At this time, evening prayers were announced, by beating on drums, and blowing through hollowed elephants' teeth; the sound of which was melodious, and nearly resembled the human voice.

On the following morning, Mr. Park sent his horse-pistols and holsters as a present to the king, and informed him that he wished to leave Kemmoo as soon as he could procure a guide. In about an hour the king returned thanks for his present, and sent a party of horsemen to conduct him to Jarra. On that night he slept at a village called Marena, where, during the night, some thieves broke into the hut where the baggage was deposited, cut open one of Mr. Park's bundles, and stole a quantity of beads, part of his clothes, some amber and gold. The following day was far advanced before they recommenced their journey, and the excessive heat obliged them to travel but slowly. In the evening they arrived at the village of Toorda, when all the king's people turned back with the exception of two, who remained to guide Mr. Park and his attendants to Jarra.

On the 15th of February they departed from Toorda, and about two o'clock came to a considerable town called Funing-kedy, where being informed that the road to Jarra was much infested by the moors, and that a number of people were going to that town on the following day, Mr. Park resolved to stay and accompany them. Accordingly in the afternoon of the 17th of February, accompanied by thirty people, he left Funing-kedy, it being necessary to travel in the night to avoid the moorish banditti. At midnight they stopped near a small village, but the thermometer being so low a

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68°, none of the negroes could sleep on account of the cold. They resumed their journey at daybreak, and in the morning passed Simbing, the frontier village of Ludamar.

From this village Major Houghton wrote his last letter, with a pencil, to Dr. Laidley, having been deserted by his negro servants, who refused to follow him into the moorish country. This brave but unfortunate man, having surmounted many difficulties, had endeavoured to pass through the kingdom of Ludamar, where Mr. Park learned the following particulars concerning his fate. On his arrival at Jarra, he got acquainted with some moorish merchants, who were travelling to Tisheel, a place celebrated for its salt pits in the great desert, for the purpose of purchasing salt. It is supposed that the moors deceived him, either in regard to the route he wished to pursue, or the state of the country between Jarra and Timbuctoo, and their intention probably was to rob and leave him in the desert. At the end of two days he suspected their treachery, and insisted on returning to Jarra. Finding him to persist in this determination, the moors robbed him of every thing he possessed, and went off with their camels; the major, being thus deserted, returned on foot to a watering place called Tarra. He had been some days without food, and the unfeeling moors refusing to give him any, he sunk at last under his distresses. Whether he actually perished of hunger, or was murdered by the savage Mahometans, is not certainly known. His body was dragged into the woods, and Mr. Park was shown at a distance, the spot where his remains were left to perish.

Leaving Simbing, the travellers arrived in safety at Jarra, which is a large town situate at the bottom of rocky hills; the houses being built of clay and stones intermixed, the former answering the purpose of mortar. It forms part of the moorish kingdom of Ludamar, but the majority of the inhabitants are negroes, who purchase a precarious protection from the moors, in order to avert their depredations.

On Mr. Park's arrival at Jarra, he obtained a lodging at the house of Daman Jumma, a Gambia slatee, to whom he had an order from Dr. Laidley for a debt of the value of six slaves. Daman readily acknowledged the debt, but said he was afraid he could not pay

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more than two slaves' value. He was, however, very useful to Mr. Park, by procuring his beads and amber to be exchanged for gold, which being more portable, was more easily concealed from the moors.

The difficulties, which they had already encountered, and the savage deportment of the moors, had completely frightened Mr. Park's attendants, and they declared they would not proceed one step further to the eastward. In this situation, Mr. Park applied to Daman, to obtain from Ali, king of Ludamar, a safe conduct into Bambarra, and he hired one of Daman's slaves to guide him thither, as soon as the passport should be obtained. A messenger was despatched to Ali, then encamped near Benown, and Mr. Park sent that prince, as a present, five garments of cotton cloth purchased from Daman. On the 26th of February, one of Ali's slaves arrived, as he said, to conduct Mr. Park as far as Goomba, and demanded one garment of blue cotton cloth for his attendance. About this time the negro boy Demba declared, that he would never desert his master, although he wished that he would turn back, to which he was strongly recommended by Johnson, who had declared his reluctance to proceed.

On the following day, Mr. Park delivered a copy of his papers to Johnson, to convey them to Gambia with all possible expedition, and he left in Daman's possession various articles, which he considered not necessary to take with him. He then left Jarra, accompanied by his faithful boy, the slave sent by king Ali, and one of Daman's slaves. Without meeting with any occurrence of note, Mr. Park arrived on the 1st of March at a large town called Deena, inhabited by a greater proportion of moors than of negroes. Mr. Park lodged in a hut belonging to one of the latter. The moors, however, assembled round it, and treated him with every sort of indignity, with a view to irritate him, and afford them a pretence for pillaging his baggage. Finding, however, their attempts ineffectual, they at last declared that the property of a Christian was lawful plunder to the followers of Mahomet, and accordingly opened his bundles, and robbed him of every thing they chose.

Mr. Park spent the 2d of March, in endeavouring to prevail on his people to proceed with him, but so great was their dread of the

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moors, that they absolutely refused. Accordingly, the next morning, about two o'clock, Mr. Park proceeded alone on his adventurous journey. He had not, however, got above half a mile from Deena, when he heard some one calling after him, and on looking back, saw his faithful boy running after him. He was informed by the boy, that Ali's man had set out for Benown, but Daman's negro was still at Deena, but that if his master would stop a little, he could persuade the latter to join him. Mr. Park waited accordingly, and in about three hours the boy returned with the negro. In the afternoon, they reached a town called Samamingkoos, inhabited chiefly by Foulahs.

On the 4th they arrived at a large town called Sampaka, where, on hearing that a white man was come into the town, the people, who had been keeping holiday and dancing, left of this pastime, and walking in regular order two by two, with the music before them, came to Mr. Park. They played upon a flute, which they blowed obliquely over the end, and governed the holes on the sides with their fingers. Their airs were plaintive and simple.

Mr. Park stopped at Sampaka for the sake of being accompanied by some of the inhabitants, who were going to Goomba; but in order to avoid the crowd of people, whom curiosity had assembled round him, he visited in the evening a negro village called Samee, where he was kindly received by the dooty, who killed two fine sheep, and invited his friends to the feast. On the following day his landlord insisted on his staying till the cool of the evening, when he would conduct him to the next village. Mr. Park was now within two days journey of Goomba, and had no further apprehension of being molested by the moors. He therefore accepted the invitation, and passed the forenoon very agreeably with the poor negroes, the mildness of their manners forming a striking contrast to the savageness and ferocity of the moors. In the midst of their cheerfulness, a party of moors unexpectedly entered the hut. They came, they said, by Ali's orders, to convey the white man to his camp at Benown. They told Mr. Park, that if he did not make any resistance, he was not in any danger, but if he showed any reluctance, they had orders to bring him by force. Mr. Park was confounded and terrified; the moors, observing his consternation, repeated the

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assurance of his safety, and added, that they had come to gratify the curiosity of Ali's wife, who was extremely desirous to see a Christian, but that afterwards, they had no doubt that Ali would make him a present, which would compensate for his trouble, and conduct him safely to Bambarra. Entreaty or refusal would have been equally unavailing. Mr. Park took leave of his landlord and company with great reluctance, and, attended by his negro boy (for Daman's slave made his escape on seeing the Moors), followed the messengers, and reached Dalli in the evening, where they were strictly watched for the night.

On the following day, Mr. Park and his boy were conducted by a circuitous path, through the woods to Dangoli, where they slept. They continued their journey on the 9th, and without any particular occurrence arrived at Deena, when Mr. Park went to pay his respects to one of Ali's sons. He sat in a hut, with five or six companions, washing their hands, feet, and mouths. The prince handed Mr. Park a double-barrelled gun, and told him to dye the stock blue, and repair one of the locks. Mr. Park with great difficulty persuaded him that he knew nothing of gun-making, then, said he, you shall give me some knives and scissors immediately. The boy, who acted as interpreter, declaring Mr. Park had no such articles, he hastily snatched up a musket, and would have shot the boy dead upon the spot, had not the Moors interfered, and made signs to the strangers to retreat. The boy attempted to make his escape in the night, but was prevented by the Moors, who guarded both him, and his master, with the strictest attention.

On the 12th, Mr. Park and his guards departed for Benown, and reached the camp of Ali a little before sunset. It was composed of a great number of dirty tents, scattered without order, amongst which appeared large herds of camels, cattle, and goats. Mr. Park had no sooner arrived, than he was surrounded by such a crowd, that he could scarcely move. One pulled his clothes, another took off his hat, a third examined his waistcoat buttons, and a fourth calling out, *La illa el Allah, Mahomet ra sowl Allahi* (there is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet), signifying, in a menacing tone, that he must repeat those words. At length, he was conducted to the king's tent, where a number of both sexes were wait-

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ing his arrival. Ali appeared to be an old man of the Arab cast, with a long white beard, and of a sullen and proud countenance. Having gazed on the stranger, he inquired of the Moors, if he could speak Arabic, hearing that he could not, he appeared much surprised, but made no remarks. The ladies were more inquisitive; they asked many questions, inspected every part of Mr. Park's dress, unbuttoned his waistcoat to display the whiteness of his skin; they even counted his toes and fingers. In a short time, the priest announced evening prayers, but before the people departed, some boys had tied a wild hog to one of the tent strings. Ali made signs to Mr. Park to kill it, and dress it for food to himself, he, however, did not think it prudent to eat any part of an animal so much detested by the Moors, and accordingly replied, that he never ate the flesh of swine. They then untied the hog, in hopes that it would run immediately at him, the Moors believing that a great enmity subsists between hogs and Christians, but the animal no sooner regained his liberty, than he attacked every person he met, and at last took shelter under the king's couch. Mr. Park was then conducted to the tent of Ali's chief slave, but was not permitted to enter, nor touch any of the furniture. A little boiled corn, with salt and water, was afterwards served him for supper, and he lay upon a mat spread upon the sand, surrounded by the curious multitude.

The next day, Mr. Park was conducted by the king's order, to a hut constructed of corn stalks of a square form, and a flat roof, supported by forked sticks; but out of derision to the Christian, Ali had ordered the wild hog before mentioned to be tied to one of the sticks, and it proved a very disagreeable inmate, the boys amusing themselves by beating and irritating the animal. Mr. Park was also again tormented by the curiosity of the Moors. He was obliged to take off his stockings to exhibit his feet, and even his jacket and waistcoat to show them the mode of his toilet. This exercise he was obliged to repeat the whole day. About eight o'clock in the evening, Ali sent him some kouskous and salt and water, being the only victuals he had tasted since the morning. During the night, the Moors kept a regular watch, and frequently looked into the hut to see if he was asleep. About two o'clock a

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Moor entered the hut, probably with a view of stealing something, and groping about, laid his hand upon Mr. Park's shoulder. He immediately sprang up, and the Moor in a hurry, fell upon the wild hog, which returned the attack by biting his arm. The cries of the Moor alarmed his countrymen, who conjecturing their prisoner had made his escape, prepared for pursuit. Ali did not sleep in his own tent, but came galloping upon a white horse from a tent at a considerable distance; the consciousness of his tyrannical and cruel behaviour had made him so suspicious, that even his own domestics knew not where he slept. The cause of the outcry being explained, the prisoner was allowed to sleep until morning without further disturbance.

With the returning day, the boys, says Mr. Park, assembled to beat the hog, and the men and women to plague the Christian. On this subject, Mr. Park expresses himself most feelingly, for he adds, "it is impossible for me to describe the behaviour of a people, who study mischief as a science, and exult in the miseries and misfortunes of their fellow-creatures. It is sufficient to observe, that the rudeness, ferocity, and fanaticism, which distinguish the Moors from the rest of mankind, found here a proper subject whereon to exercise their propensities. I was a *stranger*, I was *unprotected*, and I was a *Christian*, each of these circumstances is sufficient to drive every spark of humanity from the heart of a Moor; but when all of them, as in my case, were combined in the same person, and a suspicion prevailed withal, that I was come as a spy into the country, the reader will easily imagine that, in such a situation, I had every thing to fear. Anxious, however, to conciliate favour, I patiently bore every insult, but never did any period of my life pass so heavily; from sunrise to sunset was I obliged to suffer, with unruffled countenance, the insults of the rudest savages on earth."

Mr. Park had now a new occupation thrust upon him, which was that of a *barber*. His first display of official skill in his new capacity, was in shaving the head of the young prince of Ludamar, in the presence of the king, his father, but happening to make a slight incision, the king ordered him to resign the razor, and walk out of the tent. This was considered by Mr. Park as a very fortu-

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nate circumstance, as he had determined to make himself as useless and insignificant as possible, being the only means of recovering his liberty.

On the 18th of March, four Moors arrived from Jarra, with Johnson the interpreter, having seized him before he knew of Mr. Park's confinement, and brought with them the bundle of clothes left at Daman Jumma's house. Johnson was led into Ali's tent and examined; the bundle was opened, and Mr. Park was sent for, to explain the use of the various contents. To Mr. Park's great satisfaction, however, Johnson had committed his papers to the charge of one of Daman's wives. The bundle was again tied up, and put into a large cowskin bag. In the evening Ali sent to Mr. Park for the rest of his effects, to secure them, according to the report of the messengers, *as there were many thieves in the neighbourhood.* Every thing was accordingly carried away, nor was he suffered to retain a single shirt. Ali, however, disappointed at not finding a great quantity of gold and amber, the following morning sent the same people, to examine whether any thing was concealed about his person. They searched his apparel, and took from him his gold, amber, watch and a pocket compass. He had fortunately in the night buried another compass in the sand, and this, with the clothes he had on, was all that was now left him by this rapacious and inhospitable savage.

The pocket compass soon became an object of superstitious curiosity, and Ali desired Mr. Park to inform him, why the small piece of iron always pointed to the Great Desert? Mr. Park was somewhat puzzled: to have pleaded ignorance, would have made Ali suspect he wished to conceal the truth; he therefore replied, that his mother resided far beyond the land of Sehara, and whilst she lived, the piece of iron would always point that way, and serve as a guide to conduct him to her, and that if she died, it would point to her grave. Ali now looked at the compass with redoubled wonder, and turned it round and round repeatedly, but finding it always pointed the same way, he returned it to Mr. Park, declaring he thought there was magic in it, and he was afraid to keep so dangerous an instrument in his possession.

On the morning of the 20th, a council was held in Ali's tent

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respecting Mr. Park, and its decision was differently related to him by different persons, but the most probable account he received from Ali's son, a boy, who told him it was determined to put out his eyes, by the special advice of the priests, but the sentence was deferred until Fatima, the queen, then absent, had seen the white man. Mr. Park, anxious to know his destiny, went to the king and begged permission to return to Jarra. This was, however, flatly refused, as the queen had not yet seen him, and he must stay until she arrived, after which his horse would be restored, and he should be at liberty to return to Ludamar. Mr. Park appeared pleased; and without any hope of at present making his escape, on account of the excessive heat, he resolved to wait patiently for the rainy season. Overcome with melancholy, and having passed a restless night, in the morning he was attacked by a fever. He had wrapped himself up in a cloak to promote perspiration, and was asleep, when a party of Moors entered the hut, and pulled away the cloak. He made signs that he was sick, and wished to sleep, but his distress afforded sport to these savages. "This studied and degrading insolence," says Mr. Park, "to which I was constantly exposed, was one of the bitterest ingredients in the cup of captivity, and often made life itself a burthen to me. In these distressing moments I have frequently envied the situation of the slave, who, amidst all his calamities, could still possess the enjoyment of his own thoughts, a happiness to which I had for some time, been a stranger. Wearied out with such continual insults, and perhaps a little peevish from the fever, I trembled, lest my passion might unawares overleap the bounds of prudence, and spur me to some sudden act of resentment, when death must be the inevitable consequence."

In this miserable situation he left the hut, and laid down amongst some shady trees, a small distance from the camp, but Ali's son, with a number of horsemen galloping to the place, ordered him to follow them to the king. He begged them to allow him to remain where he was for a few hours, when one of them presented a pistol towards him, and snapped it twice; he cocked it a third time, and was striking the flint with a piece of steel, when Mr. Park

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begged him to desist, and returned with them to the camp. Ali appeared much out of humour, and taking up a pistol fresh primed it, and turning towards Mr. Park with a menacing look, said something to him in Arabic. Mr. Park desired his boy to ask what offence he had committed, and was informed, that having gone out of the camp without Ali's permission, it was suspected he had some design to make his escape, but in future, if he were seen without the skirts of the camp, orders were given that he should be immediately shot.

About this time all the women of the camp had their feet, and the ends of their fingers stained of a dark saffron colour, but whether for religion or ornament, Mr. Park could not discover. On the evening of the 26th, a party of these ladies visited him, *to ascertain by actual inspection, whether the rites of circumcision extended to Christians.* Mr. Park was not a little surprised at this unexpected requisition, and to treat the business jocularly, he told them it was not customary in his country, to give ocular demonstration before *so many* beautiful women, but if all would retire, one young lady excepted, to whom he pointed, he would satisfy her curiosity. The ladies enjoyed the joke, and went away laughing, The preferred damsel, although she did not avail herself of the offer, to show she was pleased with the *compliment,* sent him meal and milk.

On the morning of the 28th, Ali sent a slave to order Mr. Park to be in readiness to ride out with him in the afternoon, as he intended to show him to some of his women, and about four o'clock the king with six attendants came riding to the hut. But here a new difficulty occurred, the Moors objected to Mr. Park's *nankeen breeches,* which they said were inelegant and indecent, as this was a visit to ladies, but Ali ordered him to wrap his cloak around him. They visited four different ladies, by each of whom Mr. Park was presented with a bowl of milk and water. They were very inquisitive, and examined his hair and skin with great attention, but affected to consider him as an inferior being, and knit their brows, and appeared to shudder when they looked at the whiteness of his skin. All the seladies were remarkably corpulent, which the Moors esteem as the highest mark of beauty. In the course of the ex-

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cursion, the dress and appearance of Mr. Park afforded infinite mirth to the company, who galloped round him, exhibiting various feats of activity and horsemanship.

The Moors are very good horsemen, riding without fear, and their saddles being high before and behind, afford them a very secure seat, and should they fall, the country is so soft and sandy, that they are seldom hurt. The king always rode upon a milk-white horse, with its tail dyed red. He never walked, but to prayers, and two or three horses were always kept ready saddled near his tent. The Moors set a high value upon their horses, as their fleetness enables them to plunder the negro countries.

On the same afternoon, a whirlwind passed through the camp, with such violence, that it overturned three tents, and blew down one side of the hut in which Mr. Park was. These whirlwinds come from the Great Desert, and at that season of the year are so common, that Mr. Park has seen five or six of them at one time. They carry up quantities of sand to an amazing height, which resemble at a distance so many moving pillars of smoke.

The scorching heat of the sun, upon a dry and sandy country, now made the air insufferably hot. Ali having robbed Mr. Park of his thermometer, he had no means of forming a comparative judgment; but in the middle of the day, when the beams of the vertical sun are seconded by the scorching wind from the desert, the ground is frequently heated to such a degree, as not to be borne by the naked foot; even the negro slaves will not run from one tent to another without their sandals. At this time of the day, the Moors are stretched at length in their tents, either asleep or unwilling to move, and Mr. Park has often felt the wind so hot, that he could not hold his hand in the current of air, which came through the crevices of his hut, without feeling sensible pain.

During Mr. Park's stay, a child died in an adjoining tent. The mother and relations immediately began the death howl, in which they were joined by several female visitors. He had no opportunity of seeing the burial, which is performed secretly during night, near the tent. They plant a particular shrub over the grave, which no stranger is allowed to pluck, nor even touch.

About the same time a moorish wedding was celebrated, the

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ceremony of which is thus described by Mr. Park. "In the evening, the tabala or large drum was beaten to announce a wedding, which was held at one of the neighbouring tents. A great number of people of both sexes assembled, but without that mirth and hilarity which take place at a negro wedding; here there was neither singing nor dancing, nor any other amusement that I could perceive. A woman was beating the drum, and the other women joining at times like a chorus, by setting up a shrill scream, and at the same time moving their tongues from one side of the mouth to the other with great celerity. I was soon tired and had returned to my hut, where I was sitting almost asleep, when an old woman entered with a wooden bowl in her hand, and signified that she had brought me a present from the bride. Before I could recover from the surprise which this message created, the woman discharged the contents of the bowl full in my face. Finding that it was the same sort of *holy water*, with which, among the Hottentots, a priest is said to sprinkle a new-married couple, I began to suspect that the old lady was actuated by mischief or malice, but she gave me seriously to understand, that it was a nuptial benediction from the bride's own person, and which, on such occasions, is always received by the young unmarried Moors as a mark of distinguished favour. This being the case, I wiped my face and sent my acknowledgments to the lady. The wedding drum continued to beat, and the women to sing, or rather to whistle during the whole of the night. About nine in the morning, the bride was brought in state from her mother's tent, attended by a number of women, who carried her tent, being a present from her husband, some bearing up the poles, others holding by the strings, and in this manner they marched, whistling as formerly, until they came to the place appointed for her residence, where they pitched the tent. The husband followed with a number of men leading four bullocks, which they tied to the tent strings, and having killed another, and distributed the beef among the people, the ceremony was concluded."

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CHAPTER VII.

Mr. Park had now been detained a whole month in Ali's camp, during which each returning day brought him fresh distresses. In the evening alone, his oppressors left him to solitude and reflection. About midnight, a bowl of kouskous, with some salt and water, was brought for him and his two attendants, being the whole of their allowance for the following day, for it was at this time the Mahometan Lent, which, being kept with religious strictness by the Moors, they thought proper to compel their christian captive to a similar abstinence. Time, in some degree, reconciled him to his forlorn state: he now found that he could bear hunger and thirst better than he could have anticipated; and at length endeavoured to amuse himself by learning to write Arabic. The people, who came to see him, soon made him acquainted with the characters. When he observed any one person, whose countenance he thought malignant, Mr. Park almost always asked him to write on the sand, or to decipher what he had written, and the pride of showing superior attainment generally induced him to comply with the request.

Mr. Park's sufferings and attendant feelings decreased in intenseness from time and custom; his attempts, as the first paroxysms ceased, to find the means to amuse and shorten the tedious hours, is a fine picture of human passions; and their variations, circumstances, and situations, which, before they were encountered, would appear intolerable, generate a resolution and firmness, which render them

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possible to be borne. Providence, with its usual benevolence, willing the happiness of mankind, fortifies the heart to the assaults, which it has to undergo.

On the 14th of April, Ali proposed to go two days journey, to fetch his queen Fatima. A fine bullock was therefore killed, and the flesh cut into thin slices, was dried in the sun; this, with two bags of dry kouskous, served for food on the road. The tyrant, fearing poison, never ate any thing not dressed under his immediate inspection. Previously to his departure, the negroes of Benown, according to a usual custom, showed their arms and paid their tribute of corn and cloth.

Two days after the departure of Ali, a shereef arrived with merchandize from Walet, the capital of the kingdom of Biroo. He took up his abode in the same hut with Mr. Park, and appeared to be a well-informed man, acquainted with the Arabic and Bambarra tongues; he had travelled through many kingdoms; he had visited Houssa, and lived some years at Timbuctoo. Upon Mr. Park's inquiring the distance from Walet to Timbuctoo, the shereef, learning that he intended to travel to that city, said, *it would not do*, for Christians were there considered as *the devil's children*, and enemies to the prophet.

On the 24th, another shereef arrived, named Sidi Mahomed Moora Abdallah, and with these two men Mr. Park passed his time with less uneasiness than formerly, but as his supply of victuals was now left to slaves, over whom he had no controul, he was worse supplied than during the past month. For two successive nights, they neglected to send the accustomed meal, and the boy, having begged a few handfuls of ground nuts, from a small negro town near the camp, readily shared them with his master. Mr. Park now found that when the pain of hunger has continued for some time, it is succeeded by languor and debility, when a draught of water, by keeping the stomach distended, will remove for a short time every sort of uneasiness. The two attendants, Johnson and Demba, lay stretched upon the sand in torpid slumber, and when the kouskous arrived, were with difficulty awakened. Mr. Park felt no inclination to sleep, but was affected with a deep convulsive respiration, like constant sighing, a dimness of sight, and a tendency to faint,

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when he attempted to sit up. These symptoms went off when he had received nourishment.

On the 29th of April, intelligence arrived at Benown, that the Bambarra army was approaching the frontiers of Ludamar. Ali's son, with about twenty horsemen, arriving, ordered all the cattle to be driven away, the tents to be struck, and the people to depart. His orders were instantly obeyed; the baggage was carried upon bullocks, one or two women being commonly placed upon the top of each burden. The king's concubines rode upon camels, with a saddle of an easy construction, and a canopy to keep the sun from them. On the 2d of May, they arrived at Ali's camp, and Mr. Park waited immediately upon him; he seemed much pleased with his coming, and introduced him to Fatima, his favourite princess, saying, "that was the Christian." The queen had long black hair, and was remarkably corpulent; she appeared at first shocked at having a Christian so near her, but when Mr. Park had, by means of a negro boy, satisfied her curiosity, she seemed more reconciled, and presented him with a bowl of milk.

The heat and the scarcity of water were greater here than at Benown. One night, Mr. Park, having solicited in vain for water at the camp, resolved to try his fortune at the wells, to which he was guided by the lowing of cattle. The Moors were very busy in drawing water, and when Mr. Park requested permission to drink, they drove him away with outrageous abuse. He at last came to a well, where there were an old man and two boys, to whom he made the same request. The former immediately drew up a bucket of water, but recollecting Mr. Park was a Christian, and fearing the bucket would be polluted by his lips, he dashed the water into the trough, and told him to assuage his thirst from it. The cows were already drinking at the trough, but Mr. Park resolved to come in for his share, and, accordingly, thrusting his head between two of the cows, he drank with great pleasure till the water was nearly exhausted.

Thus passed the month of May, Ali still considered Mr. Park as his lawful prisoner, and Fatima, though she allowed him a greater quantity of victuals than fell to his portion at Benown, yet she made no efforts for his release. Some circumstances, however, now oc-

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curred, which produced a change in his favour more suddenly than he expected. The fugitive Kaartans, dreading the resentment of the sovereign, whom they had so basely deserted, offered to treat with Ali for two hundred Moorish horsemen to assist them in an effort to expel Daisy from Gedinggooma, for till Daisy should be vanquished, they could neither return to their native town, nor live in security in the neighbouring kingdoms. Ali, with a view to extort money from these people, despatched his son to Jarra, and prepared himself to follow him. Mr. Park, believing that he might escape from Jarra, if he could get there, immediately applied to Fatima, prime counsellor of the monarch, and begged her to intercede with Ali for leave to accompany him to Jarra. The request was at length granted. His bundles were brought before the royal consort, and Mr. Park explained the use of the several moveables, for the amusement of the queen, and received a promise of speedy permission to depart.

In regard to the moorish character, especially the female, which Mr. Park had frequent opportunities of studying during his captivity at Benown; it appears that the education of the women is neglected altogether, they being evidently regarded merely as administering to sensual pleasure. The Moors have singular ideas of feminine perfection. With them, gracefulness of figure, and an expressive countenance, are by no means requisite. Beauty and corpulency are synonymous. A perfect moorish beauty is a load for a camel, and a woman of moderate pretensions to beauty requires a slave on each side to support her. In consequence of this depraved taste for unwieldiness of bulk, the moorish ladies take great pains to acquire it early in life, and for this purpose, the young girls are compelled by their mothers to devour a great quantity of kouskous, and drink a large portion of camel's milk every morning. It is of no importance whether the girl has an appetite or not, the kouskous and milk must be swallowed, and obedience is frequently enforced by blows.

The usual dress of the women is a broad piece of cotton cloth, wrapped round the middle, which hangs down like a petticoat; to the upper part of this are sewed two square pieces, one before and the other behind, which are fastened together over the shoulders.

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The head dress is a bandage of cotton cloth, a part of which covers the face when they walk in the sun, but frequently, when they go abroad, they veil themselves from head to foot. Their employment varies according to their situation. Queen Fatima passed her time in conversing with visitors, performing devotions, or admiring her charms in a looking-glass. Other ladies of rank amuse themselves in similar idleness. The lower females attend to domestic duties. They are very vain and talkative, very capricious in their temper, and when angry vent their passion upon the female slaves, over whom they rule despotically.

The men's dress differs but little from that of the negroes, except that they all wear the turban, universally made of white cotton cloth. Those who have long beards display them with pride and satisfaction, as denoting an Arab ancestry. "If any one circumstance," says Mr. Park, "excited amongst the Moors favourable thoughts towards my own person, it was my beard, which was now grown to an enormous length, and was always beheld with approbation or envy. I believe, in my conscience, they thought it too good a beard for a Christian."

The great desert of Jarra bounds Ludamar on the north. This vast ocean of sand is almost destitute of inhabitants. A few miserable Arabs wander from one well to another, their flocks subsisting upon a scanty vegetation in a few insulated spots. In other places, where the supply of water and pasturage is more abundant, small parties of Moors have taken up their residence, where they live in independent poverty, secure from the government of Barbary. The greater part of the desert, however, is seldom visited, except where the caravans pursue their laborious and dangerous route. In other parts, the disconsolate wanderer, wherever he turns, sees nothing around him but a vast indeterminable expanse of sand and sky; a gloomy and barren void, where the eye finds no particular object to rest upon, and the mind is filled with painful apprehensions of perishing with thirst. Surrounded by this dreary solitude, the traveller sees the dead bodies of birds, that the violence of the wind has brought from happier regions; and as he ruminates on the fearful length of his remaining passage, listens with horror

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to the voice of the driving blast, the only sound that interrupts the awful repose of the desert.

The antelope and the ostrich are the only wild animals of these regions of desolation, but on the skirts of the desert are found lions, panthers, elephants, and wild boars. Of domestic animals the camel alone can endure the fatigue of crossing it: by the conformation of his stomach, he can carry a supply of water for ten or twelve days; his broad and yielding foot is well adapted for treading the sand; his flesh is preferred by the Moors to any other, and the milk is pleasant and nourishing.

On the evening of the 25th of May, Mr. Park's horse and accoutrements were sent to him by order of Ali. He had already taken leave of queen Fatima, who most graciously returned him part of his apparel, and early on the 26th, he departed from the camp of Bubaker, accompanied by Johnson and Demba, and a number of moorish horsemen.

Early in the morning of the 28th of May, Mr. Park was ordered to get in readiness to depart, and Ali's chief slave told the negro boy, that Ali was to be his master in future; then turning to Mr. Park, he said, the boy and every thing but your horse go back to Bubaker, but you may take the old fool (meaning Johnson, the interpreter,) with you to Jarra. Mr. Park, shocked at the idea of losing the boy, represented to Ali, that whatever imprudence he had himself been guilty of, in coming into Ludamar, he thought he had been sufficiently punished by being so long detained, and then plundered of his property. This, however, gave him no uneasiness, compared to the present injury. The boy seized on was not a slave, and accused of no offence. His fidelity to his master had brought him into his present situation, and he, as his protector, could not see him enslaved without deprecating the cruelty and injustice of the act. Ali, with a haughty and malignant smile, told his interpreter, that if Mr. Park did not depart that instant, he would send him back likewise. Finding it was vain to expect redress, Mr. Park shook hands with his affectionate boy, who was not less affected than himself, and having blended his tears with those of the boy, assured him he would spare no pains to effect his

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release. Poor Demba was led off by three of Ali's slaves towards the camp at Bubaker.

On the 1st of June, they departed for Jarra, where Mr. Park took up his residence with his old friend, Daman Jamma, whom he informed of every thing that had befallen him. Mr. Park then requested Daman to endeavour to ransom the boy, and promised him a bill upon Dr. Laidley for the value of two slaves as soon as Demba arrived at Jarra. Daman undertook the business, but Ali, considering the boy as Mr. Park's principal interpreter, and fearing he should be instrumental in conducting him to Bambarra, deferred the matter day after day, but told Daman, he himself should have him hereafter, if he would, at the price of a common slave. To this Daman agreed whenever the boy was sent to Jarra.

On the 8th of June, Ali returned to Bubaker to celebrate a festival, and permitted Mr. Park to remain with Daman until his return. Finding that every attempt to recover his boy was ineffectual, he considered it an act of necessity to provide for his own safety before the rains should be fully set in, and accordingly resolved to escape and proceed alone to Bambarra, as Johnson, the interpreter, had refused further attendance. On the 28th of June, at daybreak, Mr. Park took his departure, and in the course of the day arrived at Queira; where he had not been a long time, before he was surprised by the appearance of Ali's chief slave and four Moors. Johnson having contrived to overhear their conversation, learned that they were sent to convey Mr. Park back to Bubaker. In the evening two of the Moors were observed privately to examine Mr. Park's horse, which they concluded was in too bad a condition for his rider's escape, and having inquired where he slept, they returned to their companions. Mr. Park, on being informed of their motions, determined to set off immediately for Bambarra to avoid a second captivity. Johnson applauded his resolution, but positively refused to accompany him, having agreed with Daman to assist in conducting a caravan of slaves to Gambia.

In this emergency Mr. Park resolved to proceed by himself, and about midnight got his clothes in readiness, but he had not a single bead, nor any other article of value, wherewith to purchase victuals for himself or his horse. At daybreak, Johnson, who had been

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listening to the Moors all night, came to inform him they were asleep, on which, taking up his bundle, Mr. Park stepped gently over the negroes, who were sleeping in the open air, and having mounted his horse, bade Johnson farewell, desiring him to take particular care of the papers, with which he had intrusted him, and to inform his friends on the Gambia, that he had left him in good health proceeding to Bambarra.

Mr. Park advanced with great caution for about the space of a mile, when looking back he saw three Moors on horseback, galloping at full speed and brandishing their double-barrelled guns. As it was impossible to escape, he turned and met them, when two caught hold of his bridle, and the third presenting his musket, said he must go back to Ali. Mr. Park rode back with the Moors, with apparent unconcern, when, in passing through some thick bushes, one of them desired him to untie his bundle and show them the contents, but finding nothing worth taking, one of them pulled his cloak from him, and wrapped it about himself. This was the most valuable article in Mr. Park's possession, as it defended him from the rains in the day, and from the musquitoes at night, he therefore earnestly requested them to return it, but to no purpose. Mr. Park now perceived, that these men had only pursued him for the sake of plunder, and turned once more towards the east. To avoid being again overtaken, he struck into the woods, and soon found himself on the right road.

Joyful as he now was, when he concluded he was out of danger, he soon became sensible of his deplorable situation, without any means of procuring food, or prospect of finding water. Oppressed with excessive thirst, he travelled on without having seen a human habitation. It was now become insufferable; his mouth was parched and inflamed, a sudden dimness frequently came over his eyes, and he began seriously to apprehend that he should perish for want of drink. A little before sunset, he climbed a high tree, from the topmost branches of which he took a melancholy survey of the barren wilderness. A dismal uniformity of shrubs and sand every-where presented itself, and the horizon was as level and uninterrupted as that of the sea. Descending from the tree, Mr. Park found his horse devouring the stubble and brushwood with great avidity.

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Being too faint to attempt walking, and his horse too much fatigued to carry him, Mr. Park thought it was the last act of humanity he should ever be able to perform, to take off his bridle and let him shift for himself; in doing which he was suddenly affected with sickness and giddiness, and falling upon the sand, felt as if the hour of death was approaching. "Here then," said he, "after a short but ineffectual struggle, terminate all my hopes of being useful in my day and generation; here must the short span of my life come to a end. I cast, as I believe, a last look on the surrounding scene, and whilst I reflected on the awful change that was about to take place, this world, with all its enjoyments, seemed to vanish from my recollection." Nature, however, resumed her functions, and on recovering his senses, he found the bridle still in his hand, and the sun just setting. He now summoned all his resolution, and determined to make another effort to prolong his existence. With this view he put the bridle on his horse, and driving him before him went slowly along for about an hour, when he perceived some lightning from the north-east; to him a delightful sight, as it promised rain. The wind began to roar amongst the bushes, and he was nearly suffocated with sand and dust, when the wind ceased, and for more than an hour the rain fell plentifully. He spread out his clothes to collect it, and assuaged his thirst by wringing and sucking them. The night was extremely dark, and Mr. Park directed his way by the compass, which the lightning enabled him to observe. On a sudden he was surprised to see a light at a short distance, and leading his horse cautiously towards it, heard by the lowing of the cattle and the clamour of the herdsmen, that it was a watering place. Being still thirsty, he attempted to search for the wells, but on approaching too near to one of the tents, he was perceived by a woman, who immediately gave an alarm; Mr. Park, however, eluded pursuit by immerging into the woods. He soon after heard the croaking of frogs, and following the sound arrived at some shallow muddy pools, where he and his horse quenched their thirst.

The morning being calm, Mr. Park ascended a tree, and not only saw the smoke of the watering place which he had passed in the night, but also another pillar of smoke to the east, about twelve or fourteen miles distant. Directing his course thither, he reached

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some cultivated ground, on which some negroes were at work, by whom he was informed that he was near a Foulah village, belonging to Ali, called Shrilla. He had some doubts about entering it, but at last ventured, and riding up to the dooty's house was denied admittance, and even refused a handful of corn for his horse. Leaving this inhospitable door, he rode slowly out of the town towards some low huts scattered in the suburbs. At the door of a hovel hut, an old woman with a benevolent countenance sat spinning cotton. Mr. Park made signs that he was hungry, on which she immediately laid down her distaff, invited him to the hut, and set before him a dish of kouskous, of which he made a comfortable meal. In return for her kindness Mr. Park gave her a pocket handkerchief, begging at the same time a little corn for his horse, which she readily brought.

While the horse was feeding, the people began to assemble, and one of them whispered something to the old woman, which greatly excited her surprise. Mr. Park knew enough of the Foulah language, to discover that some of the men wished to apprehend and carry him to Ali, in hope of receiving a reward. He therefore tied up the corn, and to prevent suspicion that he had run away from the Moors, took a northerly direction. When he found himself clear of his attendants, he plunged again into the woods, and slept under a large tree. He was awakened by three Foulahs, who supposing him to be a Moor, pointed to the sun, and said it was time to pray. Coming to a path leading southwards, which he followed until midnight, he arrived at a small pool of rain water. Resting here for the night, the musquitoes and flies prevented him from sleeping, and the howling of the wild beasts in the vicinity kept his horse in continual terror.

On the following morning, he came to a watering place belonging to the Foulahs, one of the shepherds invited him to come into his tent, and partake of some dates. There was just room enough in this tent to sit upright, and the family and furniture were huddled together in the utmost confusion. When Mr. Park had crept into it upon his hands and knees, he found in it a woman and three children, who with the shepherd and himself completely occupied the floor. A dish of boiled corn and dates was produced, and the

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master of the family, according to the custom of the country, first tasted it himself, and then offered a part to his guest. Whilst Mr. Park was eating, the children kept their eyes fixed upon him, and no sooner had their father pronounced the word *nasarini*, than they began to cry; their mother crept cautiously towards the door, and springing out of the tent, was instantly followed by her children; so truly alarmed were they at the name of a Christian. Here Mr. Park procured some corn for his horse, in exchange for some brass buttons, and thanking the shepherd for his hospitality departed. At sunset he came into the road which led to Bambarra, and in the evening arrived at Wawra, a negro town belonging to Kaarta.

Now secure from the Moors, and greatly fatigued, Mr. Park meeting with a hearty welcome from the dooty, rested himself at this place. He slept soundly for two hours on a bullock's hide. Numbers assembled to learn who the stranger was, and whence he came; some thought him an Arab, others a moorish sultan, and they debated the matter with such warmth, that their noise at length awoke him. The dooty, however, who had been at Gambia, at last interposed, and assured them that he was certainly a white man, but from his appearance a very poor one.

In the afternoon, the dooty examined Mr. Park's bag, but finding nothing valuable, returned it, and told him to depart in the morning. Accordingly Mr. Park set out, accompanied by a negro, but they had not proceeded above a mile, when the ass upon which the negro rode, kicked him off, and he returned, leaving Mr. Park to travel by himself. About noon he arrived at a town, called Dingyee, where he was hospitably entertained by an old Foulah.

When Mr. Park was about to depart on the following day, the Foulah begged a lock of his hair, because "white men's hair made a saphie, that would give to the possessor all the knowledge of white men." Mr. Park instantly complied with his request, but his landlord's thirst for learning was such, that he had cropped one side of his head, and would have done the same with the other, had not Mr. Park signified his disapprobation, and told him that he wished to preserve some of this precious ware.

After travelling several days, without meeting with any occurrence of particular note, Mr. Park arrived at Doolinkeaboo, where

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the dooty, at his request, gave him a draught of water, which is usually given as an earnest of greater hospitality. Mr. Park promised himself here a good supper and a comfortable bed, but he had neither the one nor the other. The night was rainy and tempestuous, and the dooty limited his hospitality to the draught of water. The next morning, however, when the dooty was gone to the fields, his wife sent Mr. Park a handful of meal, which, mixed with water, served him for breakfast.

He departed from Doolinkeaboo in company with two negroes, who were going to Sego. They stopped at a small village, where an acquaintance of one of the negroes invited them to a public entertainment. They distributed with great liberality a dish called *sinkatoo*, made of sour milk, meal, and beer. The women were admitted into the society, a circumstance which had never come under Mr. Park's observation before; every one drank as he pleased; they nodded to each other when about to drink, and on setting down the calabash, commonly said *berha* (thank you.) Both men and women were in a state of intoxication, but were far from being quarrelsome.

Mr. Park and the two negroes then resumed their journey, and passed several large villages, where the former was constantly taken for a Moor, and with his horse, which he drove before him, afforded much mirth to the Bambarrans. "He has been at Mecca," says one; "you may see that by his clothes." Another asked him if his horse was sick? a third wished to purchase it, &c., and even the negroes at last seemed ashamed of his company. They lodged that night at a small village, where Mr. Park procured victuals for himself and corn for his horse, in exchange for a button, and was told that he should see the Niger, which the negroes call Joliba, or the Great Water, early on the following day. The thought of seeing the Niger in the morning, and the buzzing of the musquitoes, kept Mr. Park awake the whole of the night, he had saddled his horse, and was in readiness before daylight, but as the gates of the village were shut on account of the wild beasts, he was obliged to wait until the people were stirring. At length, having departed, they passed four large villages, and in a short time saw the smoke over Sego.

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On approaching the town, Mr. Park was fortunate enough to overtake the fugitive Kaartans, to whose kindness he had been so much indebted in his journey through Bambarra. They readily agreed to introduce him to the king, and they rode together through some marshy ground, where, as he was anxiously looking round for the river, one of them exclaimed, "*Geo affilli*," see the water! and looking forwards, Mr. Park says, "I saw, with infinite pleasure, the great object of my mission, the long sought for majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing *slowly to the eastward*.* I hastened to the brink, and having drank of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer to the great Ruler of all things, for having thus far crowned my endeavours with success.

Mr. Park now proceeded towards Sego, the capital of Bambarra, which consists of four distinct towns; two on the northern bank of the Niger, called Sego Korro and Sego Koo, and two on the southern bank, called Sego Soo Korro and Sego See Korro. The king of Bambarra always resides at the latter place. He employs a great many slaves to convey people over the river, and the fare paid by each individual, ten kowrie shells, furnishes a considerable revenue. When Mr. Park arrived at one of the places of embarkation, the people, who were waiting for a passage, looked at him with silent wonder, and he saw with concern many Moors amongst them. He had continued on the bank more than two hours, without having an opportunity of crossing, during which time information was carried to Mansong, the king, that a white man was coming to see him. Mansong immediately sent over one of his chief men, who informed Mr. Park that the king could not possibly see him until he knew what had brought him to Bambarra. He then pointed towards a distant village, and desired Mr. Park to take up his lodgings there, and in the morning he would give him further instructions.

* We cannot reconcile this statement of Park with the subsequent discovery of Lander, who established the fact, that the Niger empties itself into the Bight of Benin. The Niger, flowing to the eastward, could not possibly have the Bight of Benin for its estuary, nor is it laid down in any of the recent maps as having an easterly direction.

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Greatly discouraged at this reception, Mr. Park set off for the village, but found, to his further mortification, that no person would admit him into his house, and that he was regarded with general astonishment and fear. Thus situated, he sat all day without victuals, under the shade of a tree. Towards night, the wind arose, and as there was great appearance of a heavy rain, he thought of passing the night among the branches of the trees, to secure himself from wild beasts. About sunset a woman, returning from the labours of the field, stopped to observe him, and perceiving that he was weary and dejected, inquired into his situation, which he briefly explained to her; whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up his saddle and bridle, and told him to follow her. Having conducted him into her hut, she lighted up a lamp, spread a mat on the floor, and told him he might remain there for the night. She then went out, and returned in a short time with a fine fish, which, having half broiled, she gave him for supper. After telling him that he might sleep without apprehension, she called to the female part of the family, who stood gazing in fixed astonishment, to resume their task of spinning cotton, in which they employed themselves the greater part of the night. They lightened their labours by songs, one of which at least was extempore, as their guest was the subject of it. It was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words, literally translated, were as follow:—

> "The winds roared, and the rains fell;
> The poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree.
> He has no mother to bring him milk—no wife to grind his corn.
>
> CHORUS.
>
> Let us pity the white man, no mother has he," &c.

This circumstance was, to Mr. Park, affecting in the highest degree. He was oppressed by such unexpected kindness, and the sleep fled from his eyes. In the morning he presented his compassionate landlady with two of the four buttons which remained on his waistcoat, the only recompense which he had in his power.

Mr. Park remained in the village the whole of July the 21st, in conversation with the natives. Towards evening he grew uneasy,

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to find that no message arrived from the king, the more so, when he learned from the villagers, that the Moors and Slatees, resident at Sego, had given Mansong very unfavourable accounts of him, and that many consultations had been held concerning his reception and disposal; that he had many enemies, and must expect no favour. On the following day, a messenger arrived from the king, who inquired if Mr. Park had brought any present, and seemed much disappointed, on being told that he had been robbed of all his effects by the Moors. When Mr. Park proposed to go to court, he said he must stop until the afternoon, when the king would send for him. It was the afternoon of the next day, however, before another messenger arrived from Mansong, who told Mr. Park, it was the king's pleasure he should depart immediately from the environs of Sego, but that Mansong, wishing to relieve a white man in distress, had sent five thousand kowries* to him to continue his journey, and if it were his intention to proceed to Jenne, he (the messenger) had orders to guide him to Sansanding. Mr. Park concludes his account of this adventure in the following words:—

"I was at first puzzled to account for this behaviour of the king, but from the conversation I had with the guide, I had afterwards reason to believe, that Mansong would willingly have admitted me into his presence at Sego, but was apprehensive he might not be able to protect me against the blind and inveterate malice of the moorish inhabitants. His conduct, therefore, was at once prudent and liberal. The circumstances, under which I made my appearance at Sego, were undoubtedly such as might create in the mind of the king a well-warranted suspicion, that I wished to conceal the true object of my journey. He argued, probably as my guide argued, who, when he was told that I was come from a great distance, and through many dangers, to behold the Joliba (Niger) river, naturally inquired if there were no rivers in my own country, and whether one river was not like another? Notwithstanding this,

* Kowries are little shells, which pass current as money, in many parts of the East Indies as well as in Africa. Mr. Park estimates about 250 kowries equal to one shilling. One hundred of them would purchase a day's provision for himself and corn for his horse.

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and in spite of the jealous machinations of the Moors, this benevolent prince thought it sufficient, that a white man was found in his dominions in a condition of extreme wretchedness, and that no other plea was necessary to entitle the sufferer to his bounty."

Being thus obliged to leave Sego, Mr. Park was conducted the same evening to a village, about seven miles eastward, where he and his guide were well received, as Mr. Park had learned to speak the Bambarra tongue without difficulty. The guide was very friendly and communicative, and spoke highly of the hospitality of his countrymen; but he informed Mr. Park, that if Jenne was the place of his destination, he had undertaken a very dangerous enterprise, and that Timbuctoo, the great object of his search, was altogether in possession of the Moors, who would not allow any Christians to reside in it. In the evening they passed a large town called Kabba, situated in the midst of a beautiful and highly cultivated country, bearing a great resemblance to the centre of England

In the course of the following day, they arrived at Sansanding, a large town, containing 10,000 inhabitants, much frequented by the Moors, in their commercial dealings. Mr. Park desired his guide to conduct him to the house where they were to lodge, by the most private way possible They accordingly rode along between the town and the river, and the negroes, whom they met, took Mr. Park for a Moor, but a Moor, who was sitting by the river side, discovered the mistake, and, making a loud exclamation, brought together a number of his countrymen; and when Mr. Park arrived at the house of the dooty, he was surrounded by a number of people, speaking a variety of dialects. By the assistance of his guide, however, who acted as interpreter, Mr. Park at length understood that one of the Moors pretended to have seen him at one place, and another at some other place; and a Moorish woman absolutely swore, that she had kept his house three years at Gallam, on the river Senegal. The Moors now questioned Mr. Park about his religion, but finding he was not master of the Arabic, they sent for two Jews, in hopes that they might be able to converse with him. The Moors now insisted that he should repeat the Mahometan prayers, and when he told them that he could not speak Arabic,

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one of them started up, and swore by the prophet, if Mr. Park refused to go to the mosque, he would assist in carrying him thither.

Finding the Moors becoming exceedingly clamorous, the dooty interfered, and told them that he would not see the king's stranger ill treated while under his protection, but that in the morning he should be sent about his business. This somewhat appeased their clamour, but they compelled Mr. Park to ascend a high seat by the door of the mosque, that every one might see him, where he remained till sunset, when he was conducted to a neat little hut, with a small court before it; but the Moors climbed in crowds over the mud walls, to see the white man perform his evening devotions, and eat eggs. The first demand was positively declined, but he professed his utmost readiness to comply with the second; the dooty immediately brought seven hens' eggs, but was much surprised that Mr. Park would not eat them raw, as it is a prevalent opinion in the interior of Africa, that Europeans subsist chiefly on this diet. His reluctance to partake of this fare exalted him in the eyes of his sage visitants; his host accordingly killed a sheep, and gave him a plentiful supper.

Mr. Park's route now lay through woods, much infested with all kinds of wild animals. On one occasion, his guide suddenly wheeled his horse round, calling out (*Wara billi billi*, a very large lion.) Mr. Park's steed was ill fitted to convey him from the scene of danger, but seeing nothing, he supposed his guide to be mistaken, when the latter exclaimed, "God preserve me;" and Mr. Park then saw a very large red lion, with his head couched between his fore paws. His eyes were fixed, as by fascination, on this sovereign of the beasts, and he expected every moment the fatal spring; but the savage animal, either not pressed by hunger, or struck with some mysterious awe, remained immovable, and allowed the party to pass without molestation. Real misery arose from a meaner cause, namely, the amazing swarms of musquitoes, which ascended from the swamps and creeks, to whose attack, from the ragged state of his garments, he was exposed at every point, and so covered over with blisters, that he could not get any rest at night. An affecting crisis next arrived. His horse, the faithful and suffering companion

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of his journey, had been daily becoming weaker. At length, stumbling over some rough ground, he fell; all his master's efforts were insufficient to raise him, and no alternative remained, but to leave the poor animal, which Mr. Park did, after collecting some grass and laying it before him, not without, however, a sad presentiment, that, ere long, he also might have to lie down and perish with hunger and fatigue.

Proceeding along the banks of the river, he reached Kea, a small fishing village. The dooty, a surly old man, received him very coolly, and when Mr. Park solicited his protection, replied with great indifference, that he should not enter his house. Mr. Park knew not now where to rest, but a fishing canoe at that moment coming down the river, the dooty waved to the fisherman to land, and desired him to take charge of the stranger as far as Moorzan.

When the canoe had proceeded about a mile down the river, the fisherman paddled to the bank, and having desired Mr. Park to jump out, tied the canoe to a stake; he then stripped off his clothes, and dived into the water, where he remained so long that Mr. Park thought he was drowned, when he suddenly raised up his head astern of the canoe, and called for a rope. With this rope he dived a second time, and then got into the canoe, and with the assistance of the boy, they brought up a large basket, ten feet in diameter, containing two fine fish, which the fisherman carried ashore, and hid in the grass. The basket was then returned into the river, and having proceeded a little further down, they took up another basket, in which was one fish.

About four o'clock, they arrived at Moorzan, where Mr. Park was conveyed across the river to Silla, a large town. Here he remained under a tree, surrounded by hundreds of people, till it was dark, when, with a great deal of entreaty, the dooty allowed him to enter his balloon to avoid the rain, but the place was very damp, and his fever returned.

The reflections, which now occurred to him, with the determination those reflections produced, are here given in his own words. "Worn down by sickness, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, half naked, and without any article of value, by which I might procure provisions, clothes, or lodging, I was now convinced, that the

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obstacles to my further progress were insurmountable. The tropical rains were already set in, the rice grounds and swamps were every where overflowed, and in a few days more, travelling of every kind, except by water, would be completely obstructed. The kowries, which remained of the king of Bambarra's present, were not sufficient to enable me to hire a canoe for any great distance, and I had little hope of subsisting by charity, in a country where the Moors have such influence. I saw inevitable destruction in attempting to proceed to the eastward. With this conviction on my mind, I hope it will be acknowledged, that I did right in going no further. I had made every effort to execute my mission in its fullest extent, which prudence could justify. Had there been the most distant prospect of a successful termination, neither the unavoidable hardships of the journey, nor the dangers of a second captivity should have forced me to desist."

Mr. Park now acquainted the dooty with his intention of returning to Sego, proposing to travel along the southern side of the river, but the dooty informed him, that from the number of creeks and swamps on that side, it was impossible to travel by any other route than the northern bank, and even that route would soon be impassable from the overflowing of the river. However, by the dooty's recommendation, Mr. Park was conveyed to Moorzan in a canoe, where he hired another canoe for thirty kowries, which conveyed him to Kea, where, for forty kowries more, the dooty permitted him to sleep in the same hut with one of his slaves. This poor negro, perceiving he was sickly, and his clothes very ragged, humanely lent him a large cloth to cover him for the night.

The following day Mr. Park set out for Madiboo, in company with the dooty's brother, who promised to carry his saddle, which he had before left at Kea. On their road they observed a great number of earthen jars, piled up on the bank of the river. As they approached towards them, the dooty's brother plucked up a large handful of herbage, which he threw upon them, making signs for Mr. Park to do the same, which he did. The negro then informed him, that these jars belonged to some supernatural power, and were found in their present situation about two years ago, and that every traveller, as he passed them, from respect to the invisible proprie-

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tor, threw some grass upon the heap to defend them from the rain. Thus conversing, they travelled on in the most friendly manner, until they perceived the footsteps of a lion, when the negro insisted that Mr. Park should walk before. The latter refused, on which the negro, after a few high words, and menacing looks, threw down the saddle and left him. Mr. Park having given up all hope of obtaining a horse, took off the stirrups and girth, and threw the saddle into the river. The negro, however, when he saw the saddle in the water jumped in, and bringing it out by the help of his spear, ran away with it.

Mr. Park now continued his course alone, and in the afternoon reached Madiboo. His guide, who had got there before him, being afraid he should complain of his conduct, restored the saddle, and Mr. Park also found his horse alive.

On the 1st of August, Mr. Park proceeded to Nyamere, where he remained three days, on account of the continual rain. On the 5th, he again set out, but the country was so deluged, that he had to wade across creeks for miles together, knee-deep in water. He at length arrived at Nyara, and on the subsequent day, with great difficulty reached a small village called Nemaboo.

Mr. Park being assured that in the course of a few days, the country would be overflowed, was anxious to engage a fellow traveller, when a Moor and his wife who were going to Sego, riding on bullocks, agreed to take him along with them; they were, however, unacquainted with the road, and were very bad travellers. Instead of wading before the bullocks, to feel if the ground was solid, the woman boldly entered the first swamp, seated upon the top of the load, but when she had proceeded about two hundred yards, the bullock sunk into a hole, and threw both the load and herself amongst the reeds; she was nearly drowned before her husband went to her assistance.

At sunset they reached Sibity, but the dooty received Mr. Park very coolly, and when he solicited a guide to Sansanding, told him his people were otherwise engaged. Mr. Park passed the night in a damp old hut, which he expected every moment would fall upon him; for when the walls of the huts are softened with the rain, they frequently become too weak to support the roof. Mr.

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Park heard three huts fall in during the night, and the following morning, saw fourteen in like manner destroyed. The rain continued with great violence, and Mr. Park being refused provisions by the dooty, purchased some corn, which he divided with his horse.

The dooty now compelled Mr. Park to leave Sibity, and accordingly he set out for Sansanding, with little hope of receiving better treatment, for he had discovered that it was universally believed, he had come to Bambarra as a spy; and as Mansong had not admitted him into his presence, the dooties of the different towns were at liberty to treat him as they pleased. He arrived at Sansanding at sunset, where his reception was just what he expected. The dooty, who had been so kind to him formerly, privately informed him, that Mansong had sent a canoe to Jenne to bring him back, he therefore advised him to leave Sansanding before day-break, and not to stop at any town near Sego. Mr. Park accordingly took his departure from Sansanding, and proceeded to Kabba. Several people were assembled at the gate, one of whom running towards him, took his horse by the bridle, and led him round the walls of the town, then pointing to the west, told him to go along, or it would fare worse with him. Mr. Park hesitating, a number of people came up, and urged him in the same manner, and he now suspected that some of the king's messengers, who were in search of him, were in the town, and that these negroes from humanity wished him to escape. He accordingly took the road for Sego, and having passed a village, the dooty of which refused him admittance, proceeded to a smaller one, where the dooty permitted him to sleep in a large balloon.

Leaving his miserable residence by break of day, he arrived in the afternoon at a small village within half a mile of Sego, where he endeavoured in vain to procure some provisions. He was again informed that Mansong had sent people to apprehend him, and the dooty's son told him he had no time to lose, if he wished to escape. Mr. Park now fully saw the danger of his situation, and determined to avoid Sego altogether, and taking the road to Diggani, until he was out of sight of the village, struck to the westward through high grass and swampy ground. About noon he stopped under a tree.

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to consider what course to take, and at length determined to proceed along the Niger, and endeavour to ascertain how far the river was navigable. About sunset he arrived at a village called Sooboo, where, for two hundred kowries, he procured a lodging for the night.

After passing the villages of Samee and Kaimoo, he arrived at a small town called Song, the inhabitants of which would not permit him to enter the gate, but as lions were numerous in the adjoining woods, he resolved to stay near the town, and accordingly laid down under a tree by the gate. In the night, a lion kept prowling round the village, and once advanced so near Mr. Park, that he heard him rustling amongst the grass, and climbed the tree for safety. He had before attempted to enter the gate, and on being prevented, informed the people of his danger. About midnight the dooty, with some of the inhabitants, desired him to come in; they were convinced, they said, that he was not a Moor, for no Moor ever waited at the gate of a village, without cursing the inhabitants.

Mr. Park now proceeded on his journey; the country began to rise into hills, and he saw the summits of high mountains to the westward. He had very disagreeable travelling, on account of the overflow of the river; and in crossing a swamp, his horse sunk suddenly into a deep pit, and was almost drowned. Both the horse and his rider were so covered with mud, that in passing a village, the people compared them to two dirty elephants. Mr. Park stopped at a village near Yamina, where he purchased some corn, and dried his paper and clothes. As Yamina is much frequented by the Moors, Mr. Park did not think it safe to lodge there; he therefore rode briskly through it, and the people, who looked at him with astonishment, had no time to ask questions.

On the following day, Mr. Park passed a town called Balaba, the prospect of the country was by no means inviting, for the high grass and bushes seemed completely to obstruct the road, and the Niger having flooded the low lands, had the appearance of an extensive lake.

On the following day, Mr. Park took the wrong road, and when he discovered his error, on coming to an eminence, he observed the Niger considerably to the left. Directing his course

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towards it, through long grass and bushes, he came to a small but rapid stream, which he took at first for a branch of the Niger, but, on examination, was convinced it was a distinct river, which the road evidently crossed, as he saw the pathway on the opposite side. He sat down upon the bank, in hopes that some traveller might arrive, who could inform him of the situation of the ford; but none arriving, and there being a great appearance of rain, he determined to enter the river considerably above the pathway, in order to reach the other side before the stream swept him too far down. With this view he fastened his clothes upon the saddle, and was standing up to the neck in water, pulling his horse by the bridle to make him follow, when a man, who came accidentally to the place, called to him with great vehemence, to come out, or the alligators would destroy both him and his horse. Mr. Park obeyed, and the stranger who had never before seen a white man, seemed wonderfully surprised, exclaiming in a low voice, "God preserve me, who is this?" But when he found Mr. Park could speak the Bambarra tongue, and was going the same way as himself, he promised to assist him in crossing the river, which was named the Frina. He then called to some person, who answered from the other side, and a canoe with two boys came paddling from amongst the reeds. Mr. Park gave the boys fifty kowries to ferry himself and his horse to the opposite shore, and in the evening, arrived at Taffara, a walled town, where he discovered that the language of the people was pure Mandingo.

On the 20th, Mr. Park stopped at a village called Sominoo, where he obtained some coarse food, prepared from the husks of corn, called *boo*. On the same day he arrived at Sooba, where the dooty refused either to sell or to give him any provisions. Mr. Park stopped a while to examine the countenance of this inhospitable man, and endeavoured to find out the cause of his visible discontent. The dooty ordered a slave to dig a hole, and while the slave was thus employed, the dooty kept muttering and talking to himself, repeatedly pronouncing the words "*Dankatoo*" (good for nothing), "*jankra lemen*," (a real plague). These expressions Mr. Park thought could not apply to any one but himself; and as the pit had much the appearance of a grave, thought it prudent to mount his

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horse, and was about to decamp, when the slave, who had gone into the village, brought the corpse of a boy by the leg and arm, and threw it into the pit with savage indifference. As he covered the body with earth, the dooty often repeated, "*Naphula attinlata,*" (money lost;) from which it appeared that the boy had been one of his slaves.

About sunset Mr. Park came to Kollikorro, a considerable town, and a great market for salt. Here he lodged with a Bambarran, who had travelled to many parts of Africa, and who carried on a considerable trade. His knowledge of the world had not lessened his confidence in saphies and charms, for when he heard that his guest was a Christian, he brought out his *walha*, or writing-board, and assured Mr. Park he would dress him a supper of rice, if he would write him a saphie, to protect him from wicked men. Mr. Park wrote the board full from top to bottom on both sides, and his landlord, to possess the full force of the charm, washed the writing off into a calabash with a little water, and having said a few prayers over it, drank this powerful draught, after which he licked the board quite dry. Information being carried to the dooty that a saphie writer was in the town, he sent his son with half a sheet of writing paper, desiring Mr. Park to write him a *naphula saphie*, a charm to procure wealth. He brought, as a present, some meal and milk, and when the saphie was finished, and read to him with an audible voice, he promised to bring Mr. Park some milk in the morning for breakfast.

The following day, Mr. Park proceeded on his journey, and in the afternoon arrived at Marraboo, where he lodged in the house of a Kaartan, who, from his hospitality to strangers, was called *Jatee*, (the landlord,) his house being a sort of public inn for all travellers. Those who had money were well lodged, for they always made him some return for his kindness; but those who had nothing to give were content to accept whatever he thought proper. Mr. Park, belonging to the latter class, took up his lodging in the same hut with seven poor fellows, who had come from Kancaba in a canoe, but their landlord sent them some victuals.

Mr. Park now altered his course from the river to the mountains, and in the evening arrived at a village, called Frookaboo, from

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which place he proceeded on the following day to Bambakoo. This town is not so large as Marraboo, but the inhabitants are rich; for when the Moors bring their salt through Kaarta or Bambarra, they rest at this place; the negro merchants purchasing the salt by wholesale, and retailing it to great advantage. Here Mr. Park lodged at the house of a Serawoolli negro, and was visited by a number of Moors, who treated him with great civility. A slave-merchant, who had resided many years on the Gambia, gave Mr. Park an imperfect account of the distance to that river, but told him the road was impassable at that season of the year, and added, that it crossed the Joliba at about half a day's journey westward of Bammakoo; and as there were not any canoes large enough to receive his horse, he could not possibly get him over for some months to come. Mr. Park consulted with his landlord how to surmount this difficulty, who informed him that one road which was very rocky, and scarcely passable for horses, still remained, but if he procured a proper guide over the hills to a town called Sibidooloo, he had no doubt but he might travel forwards through Manding. Being informed that a *jilli-kea*, or singing-man, was about to depart for Sibidooloo, Mr. Park set out in company with him; but when they had proceeded up a rocky glen about two miles, the singing-man discovered that he had brought him the wrong road, as the horse-road lay on the other side of the hill. He then threw his drum upon his back, and mounted up the rocks, where, indeed, no horse could follow him, leaving Mr. Park to admire his agility, and trace out a road for himself.

Mr. Park rode back to the level ground, and following a path, on which he observed the marks of horses' feet, came to some shepherds' huts, where he was informed that he was on the right road to Sibidooloo. In the evening he arrived at a village called Kooma, situated in a delightful valley. This village is the sole property of a Mandingo merchant, who fled thither with his family during a former war. The harmless villagers surrounded Mr. Park, asked him a thousand questions about his country, brought corn and milk for himself, and grass for his horse, and appeared very anxious to serve him.

On the 25th, he departed from Kooma, in company with two

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shepherds, who were going towards Sibidooloo; but as the horse travelled slowly, and with great difficulty, the shepherds kept walking on at a considerable distance, when on a sudden Mr. Park heard some people calling to each other, and presently a loud screaming, as from a person in great distress. He rode slowly to the place whence the noise proceeded, and in a little time perceived one of the shepherds lying among the long grass near the road. When Mr. Park came close to him, he whispered that a party of armed men had seized his companion, and shot two arrows at himself, as he was making his escape. Mr. Park now stopped to consider what course it was most proper for him to pursue, and looking round, saw, at a small distance, a man sitting on the stump of a tree, and six or seven more sitting among the grass, with muskets in their hands. He had now no hopes of escaping, and therefore rode on towards them, in hopes they were elephant hunters. On coming up to them, he inquired if they had caught any thing, when one of them ordered him to dismount, but appearing suddenly to recollect himself, made signs to him to proceed. He accordingly rode past, but was soon followed by the men, who ordered him to stop, and informed him, that the king of the Foulahs had sent them to bring him his horse, and all that belonged to him, to Fooladoo. Mr. Park turned round, and went with them, till they came to a dark part of the wood, when one of them said, "This place will do," and immediately snatched his hat from his head, another drew a knife, and cut off a metal button that remained upon his waistcoat, and put it into his pocket. They then searched Mr. Park's pockets, examined every part of his apparel, and at length stripped him quite naked. While they were examining the plunder, he begged them, with great earnestness, to return his pocket-compass; but when he pointed it out to them, as it lay on the ground, one of the banditti, thinking he meant to take it up, cocked his musket, and swore he would lay him dead on the spot, if he presumed to lay his hand upon it. After this, some went away with his horse, and the remainder, after some deliberation, returned him the worst of the two shirts and a pair of trousers; and on going away, one of them threw back his hat, in the crown of which he kept his memorandums. After they were gone, Mr. Park sat for some time, looking

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around him with amazement and terror. "Whatever way I turned," says he, "nothing appeared but danger and difficulty. I saw myself in the midst of a vast wilderness, in the depth of the rainy season, naked and alone, surrounded by savage animals, and men still more savage. I was five hundred miles from the nearest European settlement. All these circumstances crowded at once to my recollection, and I confess that my spirits began to fail me. I considered my fate as certain, and that I had no alternative but to lie down and perish. The influence of religion, however, aided and supported me. I reflected that no human prudence or foresight could possibly have averted my present sufferings. I was indeed a stranger in a strange land, yet I was still under the protecting eye of that Providence, who has condescended to call himself the stranger's friend. At this moment, painful as my reflections were, the extraordinary beauty of a small moss in fructification irresistibly caught my eye. I mention this, to show from what trifling circumstances the mind will sometimes derive consolation, for though the whole plant was not larger than the top of one of my fingers, I could not contemplate the delicate conformation of its roots, leaves, and capsules, without admiration. Can that Being, thought I, who planted, watered, and brought to perfection, in this obscure part of the world, a thing which appears of so small importance, look with unconcern upon the situation and sufferings of creatures formed after his own image? Surely not. Reflections like these would not allow me to despair. I started up, and disregarding both hunger and fatigue, travelled forwards, assured that relief was at hand, and I was not disappointed."

In a short time Mr. Park came to a small village, where he overtook the two shepherds, who had come with him from Koona. They were much surprised to see him, as they expected the Foulahs had murdered him. Departing from this village, they travelled over several rocky ridges, and at sunset arrived at the town of Sibidooloo.

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CHAPTER VIII.

SIBIDOOLOO is the frontier town of Manding, and is situated in a fertile valley, surrounded with high rocky hills. The chief man is here called the mansa, which usually signifies king; but it appear that the government of Manding is a sort of republic, as every town has a particular mansa, and the chief power of the state is lodged in an assembly of the whole body.

Mr. Park related to the mansa the circumstance of the robbery, and his story was confirmed by the two shepherds. The mansa continued smoking his pipe while he heard the relation, when, tossing up the sleeve of his coat with an indignant air, "Sit down," said he to Mr. Park, "you shall have every thing restored to you. I hav sworn it." Then turning to an attendant, "Give the white man," said he, "a draught of water, and with the first light of the morning go over the hills, and inform the dooty of Bammakoo that a poor white man, the king of Bambarra's stranger, has been robbed by the king of Fouladoo's people."

He heartily thanked the mansa for his kindness, and accepted his invitation, but having waited two days without receiving any intelligence, and there being a great scarcity of provisions, he was unwilling to trespass further on the generosity of his host, and begged permission to depart. The mansa told him, he might go as far as a town called Wonda, and remain there until he heard some account of his property. Accordingly, departing from that place, he reached it on the 30th. The mansa of Wonda was a Mahome-

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tan, and, as well as chief magistrate of the town, was a schoolmaster. Mr. Park lodged in the school, which was an open shed; tho little raiment upon him could neither protect him from the sun by day, nor the dews and musquitoes by night; his fever returned with great violence, and he could not procure any medicine wherewith to stop its progress. He remained at Wonda nine days, endeavouring to conceal his distress from his landlord, for which purpose, he several times lay down the whole of the day, out of his sight, in a field of corn, yet he found that the mansa was apprised of his situation, for one morning as he feigned to be asleep by the fire, he heard the mansa complain to his wife, that they were likely to find him a very troublesome guest, as, in his present sickly state, they should be obliged, for the sake of their good name, to maintain him till he recovered or died.

The scarcity of provisions was at this time severely felt by the poor people. Mr. Park, having observed every evening five or six women come to the mansa's house, and each receive a portion of corn, inquired of the mansa, whether he maintained these women from charity, or expected a return from the next harvest. "Observe that boy," replied the Mansa, pointing to a fine child about five years of age, "his mother has sold him to me for forty days' provisions for herself and the rest of the family. I have bought another boy in the same manner."

Mr. Park was much afflicted with this melancholy circumstance, but he afterwards observed that the mother, when she had received her corn, would come and talk to her son with much cheerfulness, as if he had still been under her care.

On the 6th of September, two people arrived from Sibidooloo with Mr. Park's horse and clothes; the pocket-compass was, however, broken to pieces. The horse was now so much reduced, that he saw that it would be impracticable to travel any further with him; he therefore presented him to his landlord, and requested him to send the saddle and bridle to the mausa of Sibidooloo, as an acknowledgment for his trouble and kindness.

On the morning of September 8th, Mr. Park took leave of his hospitable landlord, who presented him with a spear, as a token of remembrance, and a leathern bag to contain his clothes. On the

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9th, he reached Nemacoo, where he could not procure any provisions, as the people appeared to be actually starving, but in the afternoon of the 10th, a negro trader, named Modi Lemina Taura, brought him some victuals, promising to conduct him to his house at Kennyetoo on the following day.

In travelling to Kennyetoo, Mr. Park hurt his ancle, and was unable to proceed. The trader, in consequence, invited him to stop with him a few days, and accordingly he remained there until the 14th.

On the 17th, he proceeded to Mansia, a considerable town, where small quantities of gold are collected. The mansa of this town gave him a little corn, but demanded something in return, and on Mr. Park's assuring him that he had not anything in his possession, replied, as if in jest, that his white skin should not defend him, if he told him any falsehoods. He then conducted him to the hut wherein he was to sleep, but took away his spear, saying it should be returned in the morning. This circumstance raised Mr. Park's suspicions, and he requested one of the inhabitants, who had a bow and quiver, to sleep in the hut with him. About midnight a man made several attempts to enter the hut, but was prevented by Mr. Park and the negro, and the latter, on looking out, perceived it was the mansa himself. In the morning, Mr. Park, fearing the mansa might devise some means to detain him, departed before he was awake, the negro having recovered the spear.

On the arrival of Mr. Park at Kamalia, a small town, he proceeded to the house of Karfa Taura, the brother of his hospitable landlord at Kennyetoo. He was sitting in his balloon, surrounded by several slatees, to whom he was reading from an Arabic book. He asked Mr. Park if he understood it, and being answered in the negative, desired one of the slatees to fetch the little curious book that was brought from the west country. Mr. Park was surprised and delighted to find this volume "*The Book of Common Prayer*," and Karfa expressed great joy to hear he could read it, as some of the slatees, who had seen Europeans upon the coast, were unwilling, from his distressed appearance, to admit that Mr. Park was a white man, but suspected that he was some Arab in disguise. Karfa, however, perceiving he could read this book, had no doubt concern-

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ing Mr. Park, and promised him every assistance in his power, at the same time informing him, that it was impossible to cross the Jallonka wilderness for many months to come, as eight rapid rivers lay in the way. He added, that he himself intended to set out for Gambia, with a caravan of slaves, as soon as the rivers were fordable, and the grass burnt, and invited Mr. Park to stay and accompany him, remarking that when a caravan could not travel through the country, it was idle for a single man to attempt it. Mr. Park admitted the rashness of the attempt, but assured him that he had no alternative, for not having any money, he must either beg his subsistence by travelling from place to place, or perish from want.

Karfa now looked at him with great earnestness, informing him that he had never before seen a white man, and inquired if he could eat the common victuals of the country. He added, that if he would remain with him till the rains were over, he would conduct him in safety to the Gambia, and then he might make him what return he pleased. Mr. Park having agreed to give him the value of one prime slave, he ordered a hut to be swept for his accommodation.

Thus was Mr. Park delivered by the friendly care of this benevolent negro, from a situation truly deplorable, but his fever became daily more alarming. On the third day after his arrival, as he was going with Karfa to visit some of his friends, he was so faint that he staggered and fell into a pit; Karfa endeavoured to console him, and assured him that if he would not walk out into the wet, he would soon be well. Mr. Park followed his advice, and in general confined himself to his hut, but was still tormented with the fever for five ensuing weeks. His benevolent landlord came every day to inquire after his health. When the rains became less frequent, the fever left him, but in so debilitated a condition, that it was with great difficulty he could get to the shade of a tamarind tree, at a short distance, to enjoy the refreshing smell of the corn fields, and the delightful prospect of the country. At length he found himself recovering, towards which the benevolent manners of the negroes, and the perusal of Karfa's little volume, greatly contributed.

Meanwhile many of the slatees who resided at Kamalia, having spent all their money, and become in a great measure dependent on

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Karfa's bounty, beheld Mr. Park with envy, and invented many ridiculous stories to lessen him in his host's esteem, but Karfa paid no attention to them, and treated him with unabated kindness. As he was one day conversing with some slaves, which a Serawoolli merchant had brought from Sego, one of them begged him to give him some victuals, Mr. Park replied, he was a stranger and had none to give. "I gave *you* some victuals said the slave, when *you* were hungry. Have you forgotten the man who brought you milk at Karrankalla? But," added he with a sigh, "*the irons were not then on my legs.*" Mr. Park immediately recollected him, procured for him some ground nuts, and learned that he had been taken by the Bambarrans, the day after the battle at Joka, and sent to Sego, where he had been purchased by his present master, who was carrying him to Kajaaga.

In the middle of December, Karfa, who proposed to complete his purchase of slaves, departed for Kancaba, a large town on the banks of the Niger, and a great slave market. It was his intention to return in a month, and during his absence left Mr. Park to the care of a good old bushreen, who was schoolmaster at Kamalia. The name of this schoolmaster was Fankooma, and although a Mahometan, was not intolerant in his principles. He read much, and took great pleasure in professional efforts. His school contained seventeen boys, mostly of pagan parents, and two girls. The girls were taught by daylight, but the boys were instructed before the dawn and late in the evening; by being considered, while pupils, as the domestic slaves of the master, they were employed by him during the day in various avocations. Emulation is encouraged by their tutor to stimulate his scholars. When the pupil has read through the Koran, and learned a certain number of public prayers, he undergoes an examination by the bushreens, who, when satisfied with his learning and abilities, desire him to read the last page of the Koran. This being done, the boy presses the paper to his forehead, and pronounces the word Amen; upon which the bushreens rise, shake him by the hand, and bestow upon him the title of bushreen. The parents then redeem their son, by giving his master the value of a slave; but if they cannot afford it, the boy continues the slave of the schoolmaster, until he ransoms himself by his own industry.

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On the 24th January, Karfa returned to Kamalia, with thirteen prime slaves, whom he had purchased. He also brought a young girl for his fourth wife, whom he had married at Kaneaba. She was kindly received by her colleagues, who had swept and white-washed one of the best huts for her accommodation.

On the day after his arrival, Karfa having observed that Mr. Park's clothes were become very ragged, presented him with a garment and trousers, the usual dress of the country.

Karfa's slaves were all prisoners of war, who had been taken by the Bambarran army. Some of them had been kept three years at Sego in irons, whence they were sent with other captives up the Niger to Yamina, Benaraakoo and Kaneaba, where they were sold for gold dust. Eleven of them confessed that they had been slaves from their birth, but the other two refused to give any account of themselves to Mr. Park, whom they at first regarded with looks of horror, and repeatedly asked *if his countrymen were cannibals*. They were very desirous to know what became of the slaves after they had crossed the salt water. Mr. Park told them that they were employed in cultivating the land, but they would not believe him; and one of them putting his hand upon the ground, said with great simplicity, "Have you really got such ground as this to set your feet upon?"

The slaves were constantly kept in irons, and strictly watched. To secure them, the right leg of one and the left of another were fastened by the same pair of fetters, by supporting which with a string, they could walk very slowly. Every four slaves were also fastened together by a rope of twisted thongs; and during the night their hands were fettered, and sometimes a light iron chain was put round their necks. Those who betrayed any symptoms of discontent, were secured by a thick billet of wood about three feet long, which was fastened to the ancle by a strong iron staple. All these fetters were put on as soon as the slaves arrived at Kamalia, and were not taken off until the morning they set out for the Gambia. In other respects, the slaves were not harshly treated. In the morning they were led to the shade of a tamarind tree, where they were encouraged to keep up their spirits by playing different games of chance, or singing. Some bore their situation with great forti-

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tude, but the majority would sit the whole of the day in sullen melancholy, with their eyes fixed on the ground. In the evening, their irons being examined, and their hand-fetters put on, they were conducted into two large huts, and guarded during the night. Notwithstanding this strictness, however, one of Karfa's slaves, about a week after his arrival, having procured a small knife, opened the rings of his fetters, cut the rope, and made his escape, and more might have got off, had not the slave, when he found himself at liberty, refused to stop to assist his companions in breaking the chain, which was round their necks.

All the merchants and slaves who composed the coffle, were now assembled at Kamalia and its vicinity; the day of departure for the Gambia was frequently fixed, and afterwards postponed. Some of the people had not prepared their provisions, others were visiting their friends, or collecting their debts; thus the departure was delayed until February was far advanced, when it was determnied to wait *until the fast moon was over*. "Loss of time," observes Mr. Park, "is of no great importance in the eyes of a negro. If he has any thing of consequence to perform, it is a matter of indifference to him whether he does it to-day or to-morrow, or a month or two hence; so long as he can spend the present moment with any degree of comfort, he gives himself very little concern for the future."

The Rhamadam was strictly observed by the bushreens, and at the close of it, they assembled at the Misura to watch for the new moon, but as the evening was cloudy, they were for some time disappointed, and several had returned home resolving to fast another day, when suddenly the object of their wishes appeared from behind a cloud, and was welcomed by clapping of hands, beating of drums, firing muskets, and other demonstrations of joy. This moon being accounted extremely lucky, Karfa gave orders that the people of the coffle should immediately prepare for their journey, and the slatees having held a consultation on the 16th of April, fixed on the 19th as the day of departure.

This resolution freed Mr. Park from much uneasiness, as he was apprehensive, from the departure having been so long deferred, that the rainy season would again commence before it took place, and

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although his landlord behaved with great kindness, his situation was very disagreeable. The slatees were unfriendly to him, and three trading Moors, who had arrived at Kamalia during the absence of Karfa, to dispose of salt procured on credit, had plotted mischief against him from the day of their arrival; his welfare thus depended merely upon the good opinion of an individual, who was daily hearing tales to his prejudice. He was somewhat reconciled by time to their manner of living, but longed for the blessings of civilized society.

On the morning of April 19th, the coffle assembled and commenced its journey. When joined by several persons at Maraboo and Bola, it consisted of seventy-three persons, thirty-five of whom were slaves for sale. The free men were fourteen in number, but several had wives and domestic slaves, and the schoolmaster, who was going to his native country Woradoo, had eight of his scholars. Several of the inhabitants of Kamalia accompanied the coffle a short way on its progress, taking leave of their relations and friends. On reaching a rising ground, from which they had a prospect of the town, the people of the coffle were desired to sit down facing the west, and the town's people facing Kamalia. The schoolmaster and two principal slatees, then placed themselves between the two parties, and repeated a long and solemn prayer, after this they walked round the coffle three times, pressing the ground with the end of their spears, and muttering a charm. All the people of the coffle then sprang up and set forwards, without formally bidding their friends farewell. The slaves had all heavy loads upon their heads, and many of them having been long in irons, the sudden exertion of walking quick, caused spasmodic contractions of their legs, and they had scarcely proceeded a mile, when two of them were obliged to be taken from the rope, and suffered to walk more slowly. The coffle after halting two hours at Maraboo, proceeded to Bola, thence to Worumbang, the frontier village of Manding, towards Jallonkadoo.

Here they procured plenty of provisions, as they intended shortly to enter the Jallonka wilderness, but having on the 21st travelled a little way through the woods, they determined to take the road to Kinytakooro, a town in Jallonkadoo, and this being a long day's

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journey distant, they halted to take some refreshment. Every person, says Mr. Park, opened his provision bag, and brought a handful or two of meal to the place where Karfa and the slatees were sitting. When every one had brought his quo a, and the whole was properly arranged in small gourd shells, the schoolmaster offered up a short prayer, the substance of which was, that God and the holy prophets might preserve them from robberies and all bad people, that their provisions might never fail them, nor their limbs become fatigued. This ceremony being ended, every one partook of the meal, and drank a little water, after which they set forward, rather running than walking, until they came to the river Kokoro.

This river is a branch of the Senegal, its banks are very high, and from various appearances it was evident, that the water had risen above twenty feet perpendicular during the rainy season, but it was then only a small stream sufficient to turn a mill, and abounding in fish. The coffle proceeded with great expedition until evening, when they arrived at Kinytakooro, a considerable town, nearly square, situated in the midst of an extensive and fertile plain.

In this day's journey, a woman and a girl, two slaves belonging to a slatee of Bola, could not keep up with the coffle from fatigue. They were dragged along until about four in the afternoon, when being both affected with vomiting, it was discovered that *they had eaten clay*. Whether this practice, which is frequent amongst the slaves, proceeds from a vitiated appetite, or an intention to destroy themselves, is uncertain. Three people remaining to take care of them, the slaves were suffered to lie down in the woods until they were somewhat recovered, but they did not reach the town until past midnight, and were then so exhausted that their master determined to return with them to Bola.

Kinytakooro being the first town beyond the limits of Manding, great ceremony was observed in entering it. The coffle approached it in the following procession: first went the singing men, followed by the other free men, then the slaves, fastened as usual by a rope round their necks, four to a rope, and a man with a spear between each party, after them the domestic slaves, and in the rear the free women. When they came within a hundred yards of the gate, the singing men began a loud song, extolling the hospitality of the in-

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habitants towards strangers, and their friendship in particular to the Mandingos. Arriving at the Bentang, the people assembled to hear their *dentegi* (history,) which was publicly recited by two of the singing men. They began with the events of that day, and enumerated every circumstance which had befallen the coffle in a backward series, to their departure from Kamalia. When they had ended, the chief men of the town gave them a small present, and every person of the coffle, both free and enslaved, was entertained and lodged by the inhabitants.

On the 22nd of April, the coffle proceeded to a village seven miles westward. The inhabitants of this village, expecting an attack from the Foulahs of Fooladoo, were constructing small huts among the rocks, on the side of a high hill.

The situation was nearly impregnable, high precipices surrounded it on every side but the eastern, where was left a path broad enough for one person to ascend. On the brow of the hill were collected heaps of large stones, to be thrown down upon the enemy, if an attack on the post was attempted.

The coffle entered the Jallonka wilderness on the 23rd. They passed the ruins of two small towns, burnt by the Foulahs, and the fire had been so intense as to vitrify the walls of several huts, which at a distance appeared as if coloured with red varnish. The coffle crossed the river Wonda, where fish were seen in great abundance. Karfa now placed the guides and young men in the front, the women and slaves in the centre, and the free men in the rear, and in this order they proceeded through a woody beautiful country, abounding with partridges, guinea fowls, and deer. At sunset they arrived at a stream called Comeissang. To diminish the inflammation of his skin, produced by the friction of his dress from walking, and long exposure to the heat of the sun, Mr. Park took the benefit of bathing in the river. They had now travelled about thirty miles, and were greatly fatigued, but no person complained. Karfa ordered one of his slaves to prepare for Mr. Park a bed made of branches of trees, and when they had supped upon kouskous moistened with boiling water, they all laid down, but were frequently disturbed by the howling of the wild beasts, and the biting of small brown ants.

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The next morning, most of the free people drank some *noening*, a sort of gruel, which was also given to the slaves that appeared least able to travel, but a female slave of Karfa's who was called Nealee, refused to partake of this refreshment, and was very sullen. The coffle proceeded over a wild and rocky country, and Nealee, soon overcome by fatigue, lagged behind, complaining dreadfully of pains in her legs, on which her load was given to another slave, and she was directed to keep in front. The coffle rested near a small rivulet, and a hive of bees being discovered in a hollow tree, some negroes went in quest of the honey, when an enormous swarm flew out, and attacked the people of the coffle. Mr. Park, who first took the alarm, alone escaped with impunity. The negroes at length again collected together at some distance from the place where they were dispersed, but Nealee was missing, and many of the bundles were left behind. To recover these, they set fire to the grass eastward of the hive, and as the wind drove the fire furiously along, they pushed through the smoke, until they came to the bundles. They also found poor Nealee lying by the rivulet, she had crept to the stream, hoping to defend herself from the bees by throwing water over her body, but she was stung dreadfully. The stings were picked out, and her wounds washed and anointed, but she refused to proceed further. The slatees by the whip forced her to proceed about four or five hours longer, when, attempting to run away, she fell down with extreme weakness. Again was the whip applied, but ineffectually; the unfortunate slave was unable to rise. After attempting to place her upon an ass, on which she could not sit erect, a litter of bamboo canes was made, upon which she was tied with slips of bark, and carried on the heads of two slaves for the remainder of the day. The coffle halted at the foot of a high hill, called Gankaran-kooro. The travellers had only eaten one handful of meal each during the day's journey, exposed to the ardour of a tropical sun. The slaves were much fatigued, and showed great discontent; several *snapt their fingers*, a certain mark of desperation. They were all immediately put in irons, and those who had shown signs of despondency were kept apart.

In the morning, however, they were greatly recovered, except poor Nealee, who could neither walk nor stand she was accord-

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ingly placed upon an ass, her hands being fastened together under the neck, and her feet under the belly, to secure her situation. The beast, however, was unruly, and Nealee was soon thrown off, and one of her legs was much bruised. As it was found impossible to carry her forward, the general cry of the coffle was, "*Kang tegi! kang tegi!*" (Cut her throat! cut her throat!) Mr. Park proceeded forwards with the foremost of the coffle, to avoid seeing this operation performed, but soon after he learned that Karfa and the schoolmaster would not agree to have her killed, but had left her on the road. Her fate diffused melancholy throughout the whole coffle, notwithstanding the outcry before mentioned, and the schoolmaster fasted the whole day in consequence of it. The coffle soon after crossed the Furkoomah, a river the same size as the Wonda, and travelled so expeditiously, that Mr. Park with difficulty kept up with it.

On the 26th April, the coffle ascended a rocky hill, called Bokikooro, and in the afternoon, entering a valley, forded the Boki, a smooth and clear river. About a mile westward of this river, discovering the marks of horses' feet, they were afraid that a party of plunderers were in the neighbourhood; and to avoid discovery and pursuit, the coffle travelled in a dispersed manner through the high grass and bushes.

The following day, hoping to reach a town before night, they passed expeditiously through extensive thickets of bamboos. At a stream called Nuncolo, each person ate a handful of meal, moistened with water, in compliance with some superstitious custom. In the afternoon, they arrived at Sobseta, a Jallonka village, in the district of Kullo, a tract of country lying along the banks of the Black River; and the first human habitation they had met with in a journey of five days, over more than a hundred miles. With much difficu'ty they procured huts to sleep in, but could not obtain any provisions, as there had been a scarcity before the crops were gathered in, during which all the inhabitants of Kullo had subsisted upon the yellow powder of the *nitta*, a species of the mimosa, and the seeds of the bamboo, which, when properly prepared, tastes nearly similar to rice. As the provisions of the coffle were not exhausted, kouskous was dressed for supper, and several villagers

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were invited to partake; meanwhile one of the schoolmaster's boys, who had fallen asleep under the bentang, was carried off during the night; but the thief, finding that his master's residence was only three days' journey distant, thinking he could not be retained with security, after stripping him, suffered him to return.

They now crossed the Black River by a bridge of a curious construction. Several tall trees are fastened together by the tops, which float on the water, while the roots rest on the rocks on each side of the river; these are covered with dry bamboos, and the whole forms a passage, sloping from each end towards the middle, so as to resemble an inverted arch. In the rainy season the bridge is carried away, but the natives constantly rebuilt it, and on that account exact a small tribute from every passenger.

Being informed that two hundred Jalonkas had assembled to intercept and plunder the coffle, they altered their course, and about midnight arrived at a town called Koba. They now discovered that a free man and three slaves were missing; upon which it was concluded that the slaves had murdered the free man, and made their escape, and six people were sent back to the last village to endeavour to procure information. Meanwhile the people of the coffle were ordered to conceal themselves in a cotton field, and no person to speak but in a whisper. Towards morning, the men returned, but without the object of their pursuit. The coffle then entered the town, and purchased a quantity of ground nuts, which were roasted for breakfast; and, being provided with huts, determined to rest there for the day. They were agreeably surprised by the arrival of their companions. One of the slaves had hurt his foot, and as the night was dark, they had lost sight of the coffle, when the free man, who was aware of his danger, insisted on putting the slaves in irons, and as they were refractory, threatened to stab them one by one with his spear; they at last submitted, and in the morning followed the coffle to Koba. In the course of the day, the intelligence concerning the Jalonka plunderers was confirmed, on which Karfa, continuing at Koba until the 30th, hired some persons for protectors, and they proceeded to a village called Tinkingtang

On the following day, the slaves being greatly fatigued, the coffle

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only proceeded nine miles, where provisions were procured by the interest of the schoolmaster, who sent a messenger forward to Malacotta, his native town, to acquaint his friends with his arrival, and desire them to provide provisions for the entertainment of the coffle for two or three days.

They halted at another village further on until the return of the messenger from Malacotta. About two the messenger returned, accompanied by the schoolmaster's elder brother. "The interview," says Mr. Park, "between the two brothers, who had not seen each other for nine years, was very natural and affecting. They fell upon each other's neck, and it was some time before either of them could speak. At length, when the schoolmaster had a little recovered himself, he took his brother by the hand, and turning round, 'This is the man,' said he, pointing to Karfa, 'who has been my father in Manding. I would have pointed him out sooner to you, but my heart was too full.'" The coffle then proceeded to Malacotta, where they were well entertained for three days, being each day presented with a bullock from the schoolmaster.

Malacotta is an unwalled town; the huts are made of unsplit canes twisted into wicker work, and plastered over with mud. The inhabitants are active and industrious; they make good soap by boiling ground nuts in water, and adding a lye of wood ashes. They also manufacture excellent iron, which they exchange in Bondou for salt.

A party of traders brought intelligence to this town of a war between the king of Foota Torra and the king of the Jaloffs, which soon became a favourite subject of conversation in this part of Africa. Its circumstances were as follow:—Almami Abdulkader, king of Foota Torra, inflamed with a zeal for propagating the religion of the prophet, sent an ambassador to Damel, king of the Jaloffs, accompanied by two principal bushreens, each bearing a long pole, to the end of which was fixed a large knife. When admitted into the presence of Damel, the ambassador ordered the bushreens to present the emblems of his mission, which he thus explained:—"With this knife," said he, "Abdulkader will condescend to shave the head of Damel, if Damel will embrace the Mahometan faith;

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and with the other knife, Abdulkader will cut the throat of Damel, if Damel refuses to embrace it. Take your choice."

The king of the Jaloffs having told the ambassador he chose neither of his propositions, civilly dismissed him. Abdulkader soon after invaded Damel's dominions with a powerful army. As he approached, the towns and villages were abandoned, the wells filled up, and their effects carried off by the inhabitants. He advanced three days into the country of the Jaloffs, without opposition; but his army had suffered so greatly for want of water, that many of his men had died by the way. This compelled him to march to a watering-place in the woods, where his men, having quenched their thirst, and being overcome with fatigue, lay down among the bushes to sleep. Thus situated, they were attacked by the forces of Damel in the night, and completely routed. King Abdulkader himself, with a great number of his followers, being taken prisoners. The behaviour of the king of the Jaloffs on this occasion we shall relate in Mr. Park's own words. "When his royal prisoner was brought before him in irons, and thrown upon the ground, the magnanimous Damel, instead of setting his foot upon his neck, and stabbing him with his spear, according to custom in such cases, addressed him as follows:—'Abdulkader, answer me this question. If the chance of war had placed me in your situation, and you in mine, how would you have treated me?'—'I would have thrust my spear into your heart,' returned Abdulkader, with great firmness, 'and I know that a similar fate awaits me.'—'Not so,' said Damel; 'my spear is indeed red with the blood of your subjects killed in battle, and I could now give it a deeper stain, by dipping it in your own; but this would not build up my towns, nor bring to life the thousands, who fell in the woods; I will not, therefore, kill you in cold blood, but I will retain you as my slave, until I perceive that your presence in your own kingdom will be no longer dangerous to your neighbours, and then I will consider of the proper way of disposing of you.' Abdulkader was accordingly retained, and worked as a slave for three months, at the end of which period, Damel listened to the solicitations of the inhabitants of Foota Torra, and restored to them their king."

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The coffle resumed their journey on the 7th May, and having crossed a branch of the Senegal, proceeded to a walled town, called Bentingala, where they rested two days. In one day more, they reached Dindikoo, a town at the bottom of a high ridge of hills, which gives the name of Konkodoo to this part of the country; at Dindikoo was a negro of the sort called in the Spanish West Indies, Albinos, or white negroes. His hair and skin were of a dull white colour, cadaverous and unsightly, and considered as the effect of disease.

After a tedious day's journey, the coffle arrived at Satadoo, on the evening of the 11th. Many inhabitants had quitted this town, on account of the plundering incursions of the Foulahs of Foota Jalla, who frequently carried off people from the corn fields and wells near the town.

The coffle crossed the Faleme river on the 12th, and at night halted at a village called Medina, the sole property of a Mandingo merchant, who had adopted many European customs. His victuals were served up in pewter dishes, and his houses were formed in the mode of the English houses on the Gambia.

The next morning they departed, in company with another coffle of slaves, belonging to some Serawoolli traders, and in the evening arrived at Baniserile, after a very hard day's journey.

Mr. Park was invited by one of the slatees, a native of this place, to go home to his house. He had been absent three years, and was met by his friends with many expressions of joy. When he had seated himself upon a mat near the threshold of his door, a young woman, his intended bride, brought some water in a calabash, and, kneeling before him, requested him to wash his hands. This being done, the young woman drank the water; an action here esteemed as the greatest proof that can be given of fidelity and affection.

Mr. Park now arrived on the shores of the Gambia, and on the 10th June 1797 reached Pisania, where he was received as one risen from the dead; for all the traders from the interior had believed and reported, that, like Major Houghton, he was murdered by the Moors of Ludamar. Karfa, his benefactor, received double the stipulated price, and was overpowered with gratitude; but when

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he saw the commodious furniture, the skilful manufactures, the superiority in all the arts of life, displayed by the Europeans, compared with the attainments of his countrymen, he was deeply mortified, and exclaimed "Black men are nothing," expressing, at the same time his surprise, that Park could find any motive for coming to so miserable a land as Africa.

Mr. Park had some difficulty in reaching home. He was obliged to embark on the 15th June, in a vessel bound to America, and was afterwards driven by stress of weather, into the island of Antigua, whence he sailed on the 24th November, and on the 22d December landed at Falmouth. He arrived in London before dawn on the morning of Christmas day, and in the garden of the British Museum accidentally met his brother-in-law, Mr. Dickson. Two years having elapsed since any tidings had reached England, he had been given up for lost, so that his friends and the public were equally astonished and delighted by his appearance. The report of his unexpected return, after making such splendid discoveries, kindled throughout the nation a higher enthusiasm than had perhaps been excited by the result of any former mission of the same nature. The Niger had been seen flowing *eastward*, into the interior of Africa, and hence a still deeper interest and mystery were suspended over the future course and termination of this great central stream. Kingdoms had been discovered, more flourishing and more populous than any formerly known on that continent; but other kingdoms, still greater and wealthier, were reported to exist in regions, which Mr. Park had vainly attempted to reach. The lustre of his achievements had diffused among the public in general an ardour for discovery, which was formerly confined to a few enlightened individuals; it was, however, evident that the efforts of no private association could penetrate the depths of this vast continent, and overcome the obstacles presented by its distance, its deserts, and its barbarism.

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CHAPTER IX.

It was now thought advisable to trace, without interruption the interesting career of Mr. Park, from its commencement to its close. The enthusiasm for discovery was, however, not confined solely to England; for the return of Park had no sooner reached Germany, than Frederick Horneman, a student of the university of Gottingen, communicated to Blumenbach, the celebrated professor of natural history, his ardent desire to explore the interior of Africa under the auspices of the British African Association. The professor transmitted to the association a strong recommendation of Horneman, as a young man, active, athletic, temperate, knowing sickness only by name, and of respectable literary and scientific attainments. Sir Joseph Banks immediately wrote, "If Mr. Horneman be really the character you describe, he is the very person whom we are in search of."

On receiving this encouragement, Horneman immediately applied his mind to the study of natural history and the Arabic language, and in other respects sought to capacitate himself for supporting the character of an Arab or a Mahometan, under which he flattered himself that he should escape the effects of that ferocious bigotry, which had opposed so fatal a bar to the progress of his predecessors.

In May 1797, Horneman repaired to London, where his appointment was sanctioned by the association, and having obtained

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a passport from the Directory, who then governed France, he visited Paris, and was introduced to some influential members of the National Institute. He reached Egypt in September, spent ten days at Alexandria, and set out for Cairo, to wait the departure of the Kashna caravan. The interval was employed in acquiring the language of the Mograben Arabs, a tribe bordering on Egypt. While he was at Cairo, intelligence was received of the landing of Buonaparte in that country, when the just indignation of the natives vented itself upon all Europeans, and, amongst others, on Horneman, who was arrested and confined in the castle. He was relieved upon the victorious entry of the French commander, who immediately set him at liberty, and very liberally offered him money, and every other supply which might contribute to the success of his mission.

It was not before the 5th September 1798, that Horneman could meet with a caravan proceeding to the westward, when he joined the one destined for Fezzan. The travellers soon passed the cultivated lands of Egypt, and entered on an expanse of sandy waste, such as the bottom of the ocean might exhibit, if the waters were to retire. This desert was covered with the fragments, as it were, of a petrified forest; large trunks, branches, twigs, and even pieces of bark, being scattered over it. Sometimes these stony remains were brought in as mistake for fuel. When the caravan halted for the night, each individual dug a hole in the sand, gathered a few sticks, and prepared his victuals after the African fashion of kous-kous, soups, or puddings. Horneman, according to his European habits, at first employed the services of another, but finding himself thus exposed to contempt or suspicion, he soon followed the example of the rest, and became his own cook.

There are, as usual, oases in this immense waste. Ten days brought the caravan to Ummesogeir, a village situated upon a rock, with 120 inhabitants, who, separated by deserts, from the rest of the world, passed a peaceful and hospitable life, subsisting on dates, the chief produce of their arid and sterile soil.

Another day's journey brought them to Siwah, a much more extensive oasis, the rocky border of which is estimated by Horneman to be fifty miles in circumference. It yields, with little culture,

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various descriptions of grain and vegetables; but its wealth consists chiefly in large gardens of dates, baskets of which fruit form here the standard of value. The government is vested in a very turbulent aristocracy, of about thirty chiefs, who meet in council in the vicinity of the town wall, and in the contests which frequently arise, make violent and sudden appeals to arms. The chief question in respect to Siwah is, whether it does or does not comprise the site of the celebrated shrine of Jupiter Ammon, that object of awful veneration to the nations of antiquity, and which Alexander himself, the greatest of its heroes, underwent excessive toil and peril to visit and to associate with his name. This territory does in fact contain springs, and a small edifice, with walls six feet thick, partly painted and adorned with hieroglyphics. There are also antique tombs in the neighbouring mountains, but as the subsequent discoveries of Belzoni and Edmonstone have proved that all these features exist in other oases, scattered in different directions along the desert borders of Egypt, some uncertainty must perhaps for ever rest on this curious question.

The route now passed through a region still indeed barren, yet not presenting such a monotonous plain of sand as intervenes between Egypt and Siwah. It was bordered by precipitous limestone rocks, often completely filled with shells and marine remains. The caravan, while proceeding along these wild tracts, were alarmed by a tremendous braying of asses, and, on looking back, saw several hundred of the people of Siwah, armed and in full pursuit, mounted on these useful animals. The scouts, however, soon brought an assurance that they came with intentions perfectly peaceable, having merely understood that in the caravan there were two christians from Cairo, and on their being allowed to kill them, the others would be permitted to proceed without molestation. All Horneman's address and firmness were required in this fearful crisis. He opposed the most resolute denial to the assertions of the Siwahans, he opened the Koran, and displayed the facility with which he could read its pages. He even challenged his adversaries to answer him on points of mahommedan faith. His companions in the caravan, who took a pride in defending one of their members, insisted that he had cleared himself thoroughly from the imputation of being an infidel,

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and as they were joined by several of the Siwahans, the whole body finally renounced their bloody purpose, and returned home.

The travellers next passed through Angila, a town so ancient as to be mentioned by Herodotus, but now small, dirty, and supported solely by the passage of the inland trade. They then entered the Black Harutsch, a long range of dreary mountains, the *mons ater* of the ancients, through the successive defiles of which they found only a narrow track enclosed by rugged steeps, and obstructed by loose stones. Every valley too and ravine into which they looked, appeared still more wild and desolate than the road itself. A scene of a more gay and animated description succeeded, when they entered the district of Limestone Mountains, called the White Harutsch. The rocks and stones here appeared as if glazed, and abounded in shells and other marine petrifactions, which on being broken had a vitrified appearance.

After a painful route of sixteen days through this solitary region, the travellers were cheered by seeing before them the great oasis, or small kingdom of Fezzan. Both at Temissa, the first frontier town, and at Zuila, the ancient capital, which is still inhabited by many rich merchants, they were received with rapturous demonstrations of joy. The arrival of a caravan is the chief event which diversifies the existence of the Fezzaners, and diffuses through the country animation and wealth. At Mourzouk, the modern capital, the reception was more solemn and pompous. The sultan himself awaited their arrival on a small eminence, seated in an arm chair, ornamented with cloth of various colours, and forming a species of throne. Each pilgrim, on approaching the royal seat, put off his sandals, kissed the sovereign's hand, and took his station behind, where the whole assembly joined in a chant of pious gratitude.

Fezzan, according to Horneman, has a length of 300, and a breadth of 200 miles, and is much the largest of all the oases, which enliven the immense desert of Northern Africa. It relieves, however, in only an imperfect degree, the parched appearance of the surrounding region. It is not irrigated by a river, nor even a streamlet of any dimensions; the grain produced is insufficient for its small population, supposed to amount to 70,000 or 75,000 inhabitants, and few animals are reared except the ass, the goat, and the

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camel. Dates, as in all this species of territory, form the chief article of land produce, but Fezzan derives its chief importance from being the centre of that immense traffic, which gives activity and wealth to interior Africa. Mourzouk, in the dry season, forms a rendezvous for the caravans proceeding from Egypt, Morocco and Tripoli, to the great countries watered by the western rivers. Yet the trade is carried on less by the inhabitants themselves, than by the Tibboos, Tuaricks, and other wandering tribes of the desert, concerning whom Horneman collected some information, but less ample than Lyon and Denham afterwards obtained from personal observation. Of Timbuctoo, he did not obtain much information, Morocco being the chief quarter whence caravans proceed to that celebrated seat of African commerce. In regard, however, to the eastern part of Soudan, he received intelligence more accurate than had hitherto reached Europe. Houssa was for the first time understood to be, not a single country or city, but a region comprehending many kingdoms, the people of which are said to be the handsomest, most industrious, and most intelligent in that part of Africa, being particularly distinguished for their manufacture of fine cloths. Amongst the states mentioned, were Kashna, Kano, Daura, Solan, Noro, Nyffe, Cabi, Zanfara and Guber. Most or all of these were tributary to Bornou, described as decidedly the most powerful kingdom in central Africa, and which really was so regarded before the rise of the Fellatah empire caused in this respect, a remarkable change. The Niger, according to the unanimous belief in the northern provinces, was said to flow from Timbuctoo eastward through Houssa, and holding the same direction till it joined or rather became the Bahr-elabiad, the main stream of the Egyptian Nile. Prevalent as this opinion is amongst the Arabs, late discoveries have proved it to be decidedly erroneous; the river or rivers which water Houssa, being wholly distinct from that great stream which flows through Bambarra and Timbuctoo.

Horneman, after remaining some time at Mourzouk, had resolved to join a caravan about to proceed southwards into the interior, when observing that the cavalcade consisted almost wholly of black traders, any connexion or intercourse with whom was likely to afford him little favour in the eyes of the Moors, he was induced

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to forego this purpose; more especially as there was the greatest reason to apprehend obstruction in passing through the country of the Turiacks, then at war with Fezzan. He was informed besides, that caravans from Bornou occasionally terminated their journey at Mourzouk, again returning south; by which under more propitious circumstances he hoped to accomplish his object. These considerations determined him to postpone his departure, resolving in the mean while, with the view of forwarding his despatches to the association, to visit Tripoli, where, however, he did not arrive till the 19th August, 1799, having been detained a considerable time by sickness. After remaining in this city about three months he returned to Mourzouk, nor was it till the 8th April, 1800, that he departed thence for the southward, in company with two sheereefs, who had given him assurances of friendship and protection. His letters were filled with the most sanguine hopes of success. But the lapse of two years without any tidings, threw a damp on the cheering expectations then raised in the association and the public. In September 1803, a Fezzan merchant informed Mr. Nissen, the Danish consul of Tripoli, that Yussuph, as Horneman had chosen to designate himself, was seen alive and well on his way to Goudauch, with the intention of proceeding to the coast, and of returning to Europe. Another moorish merchant afterwards informed Mr. M'Donogh, British consul at Tripoli, that Yussuph was in safety at Kashna, in June 1803, and was there highly respected as a mussulman, marabout or saint. Major Denham afterwards learned that he had penetrated across Africa as far as Nyffe, on the Niger, where he fell a victim, not to any hostility on the part of the natives, but to disease and the climate. A young man was even met with, who professed to be his son, though there were some doubt as to the grounds of his claim to that character.

The association, when their expectations from Horneman had failed, began to look round for other adventurers, and there were still a number of active and daring spirits ready to brave the dangers of this undertaking. Mr. Nicholls, in 1804, repaired to Calabar, in the Gulf of Benin, with the view of penetrating into the interior by this route, which appeared shorter than any other, but without any presentiment that the termination of the Niger was to be found

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in that quarter. He was well received by the chiefs on that coast, but could not gain much information respecting that river, being informed that most of the slaves came from the west, and that the navigation of the Calabar stream, at no great distance was interrupted by an immense waterfall, beyond which the surface of the country became very elevated. Unfortunately, of all the sickly climates of Africa, this is perhaps the most pestilential, and Mr. Nicholls, before commencing his journey, fell a victim to the epidemic fever.

Another German named Roentgen, recommended also by Blumenbach, undertook to penetrate into the interior of Africa by way of Morocco. He was described as possessing an unblemished character, ardent zeal in the cause, with great strength both of mind and body. Like Horneman, he made himself master of Arabic, and proposed to pass for a Mahommedan. Having in 1809 arrived at Mogadore, he hired two guides, and set out to join the Soudan caravan. His career, however, was short indeed, for soon after his body was found at a little distance from the place whence he started. No information could ever be obtained as to the particulars of his death, but it was too probably conjectured that his guides murdered him for the sake of his property.

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CHAPTER X.

We are now entering upon the narrative of a series of the most extraordinary adventures which ever befel the African travellers, in the person of an illiterate and obscure seaman, of the name of Robert Adams, who was wrecked on the western coast of Africa, in the American ship Charles, bound to the isle of Mayo, and who may be said to have been the first traveller who ever reached the far-famed city of Timbuctoo.

The place where the Charles was wrecked was called Eigazie, and the captain and the whole of the crew were immediately taken prisoners by the Moors. On their landing, the Moors stripped the whole of them naked, and concealed their clothes under ground; being thus exposed to a scorching sun, their skins became dreadfully blistered, and at night they were obliged to dig holes in the sand to sleep in, for the sake of coolness.

About a week after landing, the captain of the ship was put to death by the Moors, for which the extraordinary reason was given, that he was extremely dirty, and would not go down to the sea to wash himself, when the Moors made signs for him to do so.

After they had remained about ten or twelve days, until the ship and its materials had quite disappeared, the Moors made preparations to depart, and divided the prisoners amongst them. Robert Adams and two others of the crew were left in the possession of about twenty Moors, who quitted the sea coast, having four camels, three of which they loaded with water, and the other with fish and

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baggage. At the end of about thirty days, during which they did not see a human being, they arrived at a place, the name of which Adams did not hear, where they found about thirty or forty tents, and a pool of water surrounded by a few shrubs, which was the only water they had met with since quitting the coast.

In the first week of their arrival, Adams and his companions being greatly fatigued, were not required to do any work, but at the end of that time, they were put to tend some goats and sheep, which were the first they had seen. About this time, John Stevens arrived, under charge of a Moor, and was sent to work in company with Adams. Stevens was a Portuguese, about eighteen years of age. At this place they remained about a month.

It was now proposed by the Moors to Adams and Stevens, to accompany them on an expedition to Soudenny to procure slaves. It was with great difficulty they could be made to understand this proposal, but the Moors made themselves intelligible by pointing to some negro boys, who were employed in taking care of sheep and goats. Being in the power of the Moors, they had no option, and having therefore signified their consent, the party consisting of about eighteen Moors, and the two whites, set out for Soudenny.

Soudenny is a small negro village, having grass and shrubs growing about it, and a small brook of water. For a week or thereabouts, after arriving in the neighbourhood of this place, the party concealed themselves amongst the hills and bushes, lying in wait for the inhabitants, when they seized upon a woman with a child in her arms, and two children (boys), whom they found walking in the evening near the town.

During the next four or five days, the party remained concealed, when one evening, as they were all lying on the ground, a large party of negroes, consisting of forty or fifty made their appearance, armed with daggers, and bows and arrows, who surrounded and took them all prisoners, without the least resistance being attempted, and carried them into the town; tying the hands of some, and driving the whole party before them. During the night above one hundred negroes kept watch over them. The next day they were taken before the governor or chief person, named Muhamoud, a remarkably ugly negro, who ordered that they should all be im-

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prisoned. The place of confinement was a mere mud wall, about six feet high, from whence they might readily have escaped, though strongly guarded, if the Moors had been enterprising, but they were a cowardly set. Here they were kept three or four days, for the purpose, as it afterwards appeared, of being sent forward to Timbuctoo, which Adams concluded to be the residence of the king of the country. At Soudenny, the houses have only a ground floor, and are without furniture or utensils, except wooden bowls, and mats made of grass. They never make fires in their houses. After remaining about four days at Soudenny, the prisoners were sent to Timbuctoo, under an escort of about sixty armed men, having about eighteen camels and dromedaries.

During the first ten days they proceeded eastward, at the rate of about fifteen to twenty miles a day, the prisoners and most of the negroes walking, the officers riding, two upon each camel or dromedary. As the prisoners were all impressed with the belief that they were going to execution, several of the Moors attempted to escape, and in consequence, after a short consultation, fourteen were put to death by being beheaded, at a small village at which they then arrived, and as a terror to the rest, the head of one of them was hung round the neck of a camel for three days, until it became so putrid, that they were obliged to remove it. At this village, the natives wore gold rings in their ears, sometimes two rings in each ear. They had a hole through the cartilage of the nose, wide enough to admit a thick quill, in which Adams saw some of the natives wear a large ring of an oval shape, that hung down to the mouth.

They waited only one day at this place, and then proceeded towards Timbuctoo. Shaping their course to the northward of east, and quickening their pace to the rate of twenty miles a day, they completed their journey in fifteen days.

Upon their arrival at Timbuctoo, the whole party were immediately taken before the king, who ordered the Moors into prison, but treated Adams and the Portuguese boy as curiosities; taking them to his house, they remained there during their residence at Timbuctoo.

For some time after their arrival, the queen and her female

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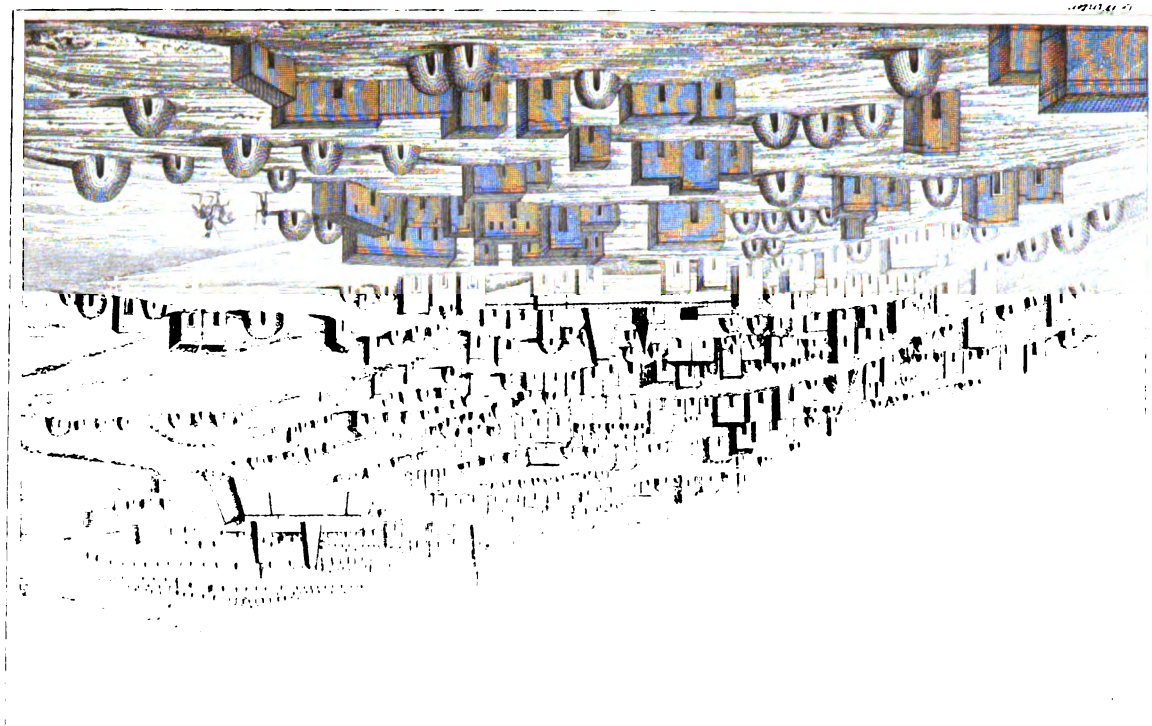

VIEW OF TIMBUCTOO

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attendants used to sit and look at Adams and his companions for hours together. She treated them with great kindness, and at the first interview offered them some bread baked under ashes.

The king and queen, the former of whom was named Woollo, the latter Fatima, were very old grey-headed people. Fatima was like the majority of African beauties, extremely fat. Her dress was of blue nankeen, edged with gold lace round the bosom and on the shoulder, and having a belt or stripe of the same material, half-way down the dress, which came only a few inches down the knees. The dress of the other females of Timbuctoo, though less ornamented than that of the queen, was in the same sort of fashion, so that as they wore no close under garments, they might, when sitting on the ground, as far as decency was concerned, as well have had no covering at all. The queen's head dress consisted of a blue nankeen turban, but this was worn only upon occasions of ceremony, or when she walked out. Besides the turban, she had her hair stuck full of bone ornaments of a square shape, about the size of dice, extremely white; she had large gold hoop ear-rings, and many necklaces, some of them of gold, the others made of beads of various colours. She wore no shoes, and in consequence, her feet appeared to be as hard and dry "as the hoofs of an ass."

The king's house or palace, which is built of clay and grass, not whitewashed, consists of eight or ten small rooms on the ground floor, and is surrounded by a wall of the same materials, against part of which the house is built. The space within the wall is about half an acre. Whenever a trader arrives, he is required to bring his merchandise into this space, for the inspection of the king, for the purpose of duties being charged upon it. The king's attendants, who are with him during the whole of the day, generally consist of about thirty persons, several of whom are armed with daggers, and bows and arrows. Adams did not know if the king had any family.

For a considerable time after the arrival of Adams and his companion, the people used to come in crowds to stare at them, and he afterwards understood that many persons came several days journey on purpose. The Moors remained closely confined in prison, but Adams and the Portuguese boy had permission to visit them. At

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the end of about six months, a company of trading Moors arrived with tobacco, who after some weeks ransomed the whole party.

Timbuctoo is situated on a level plain *, having a river about two hundred yards from the town, on the south-east side, named La Mar Zarah. The town appeared to Adams to cover as much ground as Lisbon. He was unable to give any account of the number of its inhabitants, estimated by Caillié to amount to 10,000 or 12,000. The houses are not built in streets, nor with any regularity, its population therefore, compared with that of European towns, is by no means in proportion to its size. It has no walls, nor any thing resembling fortification. The houses are square, built of sticks, clay, and grass, with flat roofs of the same materials. The rooms are all on the ground-floor, and are without any article of furniture, except earthen jars, wooden bowls, and mats made of grass, upon which the people sleep. He did not observe any houses, or any other buildings, constructed of stone. The palace of the king he described as having walls of clay, or clay and sand, rammed into a wooden case or frame, and placed in layers, one above another, until they attained the height required, the roof being composed of poles or rafters laid horizontally, and covered with a cement or plaster, made of clay or sand.

The river La Mar Zarah is about three quarters of a mile wide at Timbuctoo, and appeared in this place to have but little current, flowing to the south-west. About two miles from the town to the southward, it runs between two high mountains, apparently as high as the mountains which Adams saw in Barbary; here the river is about half a mile wide. The water of La Mar Zarah is rather brackish, but is commonly drunk by the natives, there not being, according to the report of Adams, any wells at Timbuctoo.

It must be remarked in this place, that at the time when Adams related the narrative of his residence in Africa, and particularly in the city of Timbuctoo, a very considerable degree of distrust was attached to it; and in order to put the veracity of Adams to a de-

* This account of Timbuctoo, as given by Adams, by no means corresponds with that which was subsequently given by Caillié. The latter makes it situated on a very elevated site, in the vicinity of mountains; in fact the whole account of that celebrated city, as given by Caillié, is very defective.

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cisive test, the publication of his adventures was delayed until the arrival of Mr. Dupuis, then the British vice-consul at Mogadore, to whose interference Adams acknowledged himself indebted for his ransom, and who, on account of his long residence in Africa, and his intimate acquaintance with the manners and customs of the natives, was fully competent to the detection of any imposition which it might be the intention of Adams to practise upon those, who undertook the publication of his adventures. From this severe ordeal Adams came out fully clear of any intention to impose, and the principal points of his narrative were corroborated by the knowledge and experience of Mr. Dupuis. Thus that gentleman, in allusion to the description which Adams gave of La Mar Zarah, mentions that the Spanish geographer Marmol, who describes himself to have spent twenty years of warfare and slavery in Africa, about the middle of the sixteenth century, mentions the river La-ha-*mar* as a branch of the Niger, having muddy and unpalatable waters. By the same authority, the Niger itself is called Yga, or Issa, at Timbuctoo, a name which D'Anville has adopted in his map of Africa.

The vessels used by the natives are small canoes for fishing, the largest of which are about ten feet long, capable of carrying three men; they are built of fig-trees hollowed out, and caulked with grass, and are worked with paddles about six feet long.

The natives of Timbuctoo are a stout healthy race, and are seldom sick, although they expose themselves by lying out in the sun at mid-day, when the heat is almost insupportable to a white man. It is the universal practice of both sexes to grease themselves all over with butter produced from goat's milk, which makes the skin smooth, and gives it a shining appearance. This is usually renewed every day: when neglected, the skin becomes rough, greyish, and extremely ugly. They usually sleep under cover at night, but sometimes, in the hottest weather, they will lie exposed to the night air, with little or no covering, notwithstanding that the fog, which rises from the river, descends like dew, and, in fact, at that season supplies the want of rain.

All the males of Timbuctoo have an incision on their faces from

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the top of the forehead down to the nose, from which proceed other lateral incisions over the eyebrows, into all of which is inserted a blue dye, produced from a kind of ore, which is found in the neighbouring mountains. The women have also incisions on their faces, but in a different fashion; the lines being from two to five in number, cut on each cheek bone, from the temple straight down; they are also stained with blue. These incisions being made on the faces of both sexes when they are about twelve months old, the dyeing material, which is inserted in them, becomes scarcely visible as they grow up.

With the exception of the king and queen, and their immediate companions, who had a change of dress about once a week, the people are in general very dirty, sometimes not washing themselves for twelve or fourteen days together. Besides the queen, who, as has been already stated, wore a profusion of ivory and bone ornaments in her hair, some of a square shape, and others about as thick as a shilling, but rather smaller, strings of which she also wore about her wrists and ancles; many of the women were decorated in a similar manner, and they seemed to consider hardly any favour too great to be conferred on the person who would make them a present of these precious ornaments. Gold ear-rings were much worn. Some of the women had also rings on their fingers, but these appeared to Adams to be of brass; and as many of the latter had letters upon them, he concluded, both from this circumstance and from their workmanship, that they were not made by the negroes, but obtained from the moorish traders.

The ceremony of marriage amongst the upper ranks at Timbuctoo is, for the bride to go in the day-time to the king's house, and to remain there until after sunset, when the man who is to be her husband goes to fetch her away. This is usually followed by a feast the same night, and a dance. Adams did not observe what ceremonies were used in the marriages of the lower classes.

As it is common to have several concubines besides a wife, the women are continually quarrelling and fighting; there is, however, a marked difference in the degree of respect with which they are treated by the husband, the wife always having a decided pre-emi-

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nence. The negroes, however, appeared to Adams to be jealous and severe with all their women, frequently beating them apparently for very little cause.

The women appear to suffer very little from child-birth, and they will be seen walking about as usual the day after such an event. It is their practice to grease a child all over soon after its birth, and to expose it for about an hour to the sun. The infants at first are of a reddish colour, but become black in three or four days.

Illicit intercourse appeared to be but little regarded amongst the lower orders, and chastity among the women in general seemed to be preserved only so far as their situations or circumstances rendered it necessary for their personal safety or convenience. In the higher ranks, if a woman prove with child, the man is punished with slavery, unless he will take the woman for his wife, and maintain her. Adams knew an instance of a young man, who, having refused to marry a woman by whom he had a child, was on that account condemned to slavery. He afterwards repented, but was not then permitted to retract his refusal, and was sent away to be sold.

It does not appear that they have any public religion, as they have not any house of worship; no priest, and, as far as Adams could discover, never meet together to pray. He had seen some of the negroes, who were circumcised; but he concluded that they had been in possession of the Moors, or had been resident at Sudenny.

On this subject Mr. Dupuis says, "I cannot speak with any confidence of the religion of the negroes of Timbuctoo; I have, however, certainly heard, and entertain little doubt, that many of the inhabitants are Mahommedans; it is also generally believed in Barbary, that there are mosques at Timbuctoo; but, on the other hand, I am confident that the king is neither an Arab nor a Moor, especially as the traders, from whom I have collected these accounts, have been either the one or the other; and I might consequently presume, that, if they did give me erroneous information on any points, it would at least not be to the prejudice, both of their national self-conceit, and of the credit and honour of their religion."

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The only ceremony which Adams saw, that appeared like the act of prayer, was on the occasion of the death of any of the inhabitants, when the relatives assembled and sat round the corpse. The burial is not attended with any ceremony whatever; the deceased are buried in the clothes in which they die, at a small distance to the south-west of the town.

Their only physicians are old women, who cure diseases and wounds by the application of simples. Adams had a wen on the back of his right hand, the size of a large [illegible] which one of the women cured in about a month, by [illegible]ing it and applying a plaster of herbs. They cure the tooth-ache by the application of a liquid prepared from roots, which frequently causes not only the defective tooth to fall out, but one or two of the others.

On referring to the notes of Mr. Dupuis on the subject of the cures performed by the negro women, we read, "I may take this opportunity of observing that he (Adams) recounted, at Mogadore, several stories of the supernatural powers or charms possessed by some of the negroes, and which practised both, defensively to protect their own persons from harm, and offensively against their enemies. Of these details I do not remember more than the following circumstance, which, I think, he told me happened in his presence:—

"A negro slave, the property of a desert Arab, having been threatened by his master with severe punishment, for some offence, defied his power to hurt him, in consequence of a charm by which he was protected. Upon this the Arab seized a gun, which he loaded with a ball, and fir at only a few paces distant from the negro's breast; but the negro, instead of being injured by the shot, stooped to the ground and picked up the ball, which had fallen inoffensive at his feet."

It seems strange that Adams should have omitted their extraordinary stories in his narrative; for he frequently expressed to Mr. Dupuis a firm belief, that the negroes were capable of injuring their enemies by witchcraft; and he once pointed out to him a slave at Mogadore, of whom on that account he stood particularly in awe. He doubtless imbibed this belief, and learned the other absurd stories, which he related, from the Arabs, some of whom profess to be ac-

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quainted with the art themselves, and all of whom are, it is believed, firmly persuaded of its existence, and of the peculiar proficiency of the negroes in it.

It is perhaps not unreasonable to suppose, that having found his miraculous stories, and his belief in witchcraft discredited and laughed at, both at Mogadore and Cadiz, Adams should have at length grown ashamed of repeating them, and even outlived his superstitious credulity. This solitary instance of suppression may rather be considered as a proof of his good sense, and as the exercise of a very allowable discretion, than as evidence of an artfulness, of which not a trace had been detected in any other part of his conduct.

Dancing is the principal and favourite amusement of the natives of Timbuctoo; it takes place about once a week in the town, when a hundred dancers or more assemble, men, women, and children, but the greater number are men. Whilst they are engaged in the dance, they sing extremely loud to the music of the tambourine, fife, and bandera *, so that the noise they make, may be heard all over the town; they dance in a circle, and when this amusement continues till the night, generally round a fire. Their usual time of beginning is about two hours before sunset, and the dance not unfrequently lasts all night. The men have the most of the exercise in these sports while daylight lasts, the women continuing nearly in one spot, and the men dancing to and from them. During this time, the dance is conducted with some decency, but when night approaches, and the women take a more active part in the amusement, their thin and short dresses, and the agility of their actions are little calculated to admit of the preservation of any decorum. The following was the nature of the dance; six or seven men joining hands, surrounded one in the centre of the ring, who was dressed in a ludicrous manner, wearing a large black wig stuck full of kowries. This man at intervals repeated verses, which, from the astonishment and admiration expressed at them by those in the

* The bandera is made of several cocoa-nut shells, tied together with thongs of goat-skin, and covered with the same material; a hole at the top of the instrument is covered with strings of leather, or tendons, drawn tightly across it, on which the performer plays with the fingers, in the manner of a guitar

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ring, appeared to be extempore. Two performers played on the outside of the ring, one on a large drum, the other on the bandera. The singer in the ring was not interrupted during his recitations, but at the end of every verse, the instruments struck up, and the whole party joined in loud chorus, dancing round the man in the circle, stooping to the ground, and throwing up their legs alternately. Towards the end of the dance, the man in the middle of the ring was released from his enclosure, and danced alone, occasionally reciting verses, whilst the other dancers begged money from the by-standers.

It has been already stated, that Adams could not form any idea of the population of Timbuctoo, but on one occasion he saw as many as two thousand assembled at one place. This happened when a party of five hundred men were going out to make war on Bambarra*. The day after their departure, they were followed by a great number of slaves, dromedaries, and heiries laden with provisions. Such of these people as afterwards returned, came back in parties of forty or fifty; many of them did not return at all whilst Adams remained at Timbuctoo; but he never heard that any of them had been killed.

About once a month, a party of a hundred or more armed men marched out in a similar manner, to procure slaves. These armed parties were all on foot, except the officers; they were usually absent from one week to a month, and at times brought in considerable numbers. The slaves were generally a different race of people from those of Timbuctoo, and differently clothed, their dress being for the most part of coarse white linen or cotton. He once saw amongst them a woman, who had her teeth filed round, it was supposed, by way of ornament, and as they were very long, they resembled crow quills. The greatest number of slaves that Adams recollects to have seen brought in at one time, were about twenty, and these, he was informed, were from a place called Bambarra,

* This statement, which is in opposition to the usual opinion, that Timbuctoo is a dependency of Bambarra, receives some corroboration from a passage in Isaaco's journal (p. 205.), where a prince of Timbuctoo is accused by the king of Sego, of having, either personally, or by his people, plundered two Bambarra caravans, and taken both merchandise and slaves.

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lying to the southward and westward of Timbuctoo, which he understood to be the country, whither the aforesaid parties generally went out in quest of them.

The negro slaves brought to Barbary from Timbuctoo appear to be of various nations, many of them distinguished by the make of their persons and features, as well as by their language. Mr. Dupuis recollects an unusually tall stout negress at Mogadore, whose master assured him that she belonged to a populous nation of cannibals. He does not know whether the fact was sufficiently authenticated, but it is certain that the woman herself declared it, adding some revolting accounts of her own feats on human flesh.

Adams never saw any individual put to death at Timbuctoo, the punishment for heavy offences being generally slavery; for slighter misdemeanours, the offenders are punished with beating with a stick; but in no case is this punishment very severe, seldom exceeding two dozen blows, with a stick of the thickness of a small walking-cane.

The infrequency of the punishment of death in a community, which counts human life amongst its most valuable objects of trade, is not, however, very surprising; and considerable influence must be conceded to the operation of self-interest, as well as to the feelings of humanity, in accounting for this merciful feature, if it be indeed merciful, in the criminal code of the negroes of Soudan.

During the whole of the residence of Adams at Timbuctoo, he never saw any other Moors than those whom he accompanied thither, and the ten by whom they were ransomed; and he understood from the Moors themselves, that they were not allowed to go in large bodies to Timbuctoo. This statement bears on the face of if a certain degree of improbability; but it loses that character when it is considered that Timbuctoo, although it is become, in consequence of its frontier situation, the port, as it were, of the caravans from the north, which could not return across the desert the same season, if they were to penetrate deeper into Soudan, is yet, with respect to the trade itself, probably only the point whence it diverges to Houssa, Tuarick, &c. on the east, and to Walet, Jinnie, and Sego, on the west and south, and not the mart where the merchandise of the caravans is sold in detail. Such

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Moors, therefore, as did not return to Barbary with the returning caravan, but remained in Soudan until the following season, might be expected to follow their trade to the larger marts of the interior, and to return to Timbuctoo only to meet the next winter's caravans. Adams arriving at Timbuctoo in February, and departing in June, might therefore miss both the caravans themselves and the traders, who remained behind in Soudan; and, on the same principle, Park might find Moors carrying on an active trade in the summer at Sansanding, and yet there might not be one at Timbuctoo.

Adams never proceeded to the southward of Timbuctoo, further than about two miles from the town, to the mountains before spoken of; he never saw the river Joliba or Niger, though he had heard mention made of it. He was told at Tudenny, that the river lay between that place and Bambarra.

This apparently unimportant passage, affords on examination a strong presumption in favour of the truth and simplicity of this part of Adams' narrative.

In the course of his examinations, almost every new inquirer questioned him respecting the Joliba or Niger, and he could not fail to observe, that because he had been at Timbuctoo, he was expected, as a matter of course, either to have seen, or at least frequently to have heard of that celebrated river. Adams, however, fairly admitted that he knew nothing about it, and notwithstanding the surprise of many of his examiners, he could not be brought to acknowledge that he had heard the name even once mentioned at Timbuctoo. All that he recollected was, that a river Joliba had been spoken of at Tudenny, where it was described as lying in the direction of Bambarra.

They who recollect Major Rennell's remarks respecting the Niger, in his Geographical Illustrations, will not be much surprised that Adams should not hear of the Joliba, from the natives of Timbuctoo. At that point of its course, the river is doubtless known by another name, and if the Joliba were spoken of at all, it would probably be accompanied, as Adams states, with some mention of Bambarra, which may be presumed to be the last country eastward, in which the Niger retains its Mandingo name.

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CHAPTER XI.

The ten Moors who had arrived with the five camels laden with tobacco, had been three weeks at Timbuctoo, before Adams learnt that the ransom of himself, the boy, and the Moors, his former companions, had been agreed upon. At the end of the first week, he was given to understand, that himself and the boy would be released, but that the Moors would be condemned to die; it appeared however afterwards, that in consideration of all the tobacco being given for the Moors, except about fifty pounds weight, which was expended for a man slave, the king had agreed to release all the prisoners.

Two days after their release, the whole party consisting of the ten moorish traders, fourteen moorish prisoners, two white men and one slave quitted Timbuctoo, having only the five camels, which belonged to the traders; those which were seized when Adams and his party were made prisoners, not having been restored. As they had no means left of purchasing any other article, the only food they took with them was a little Guinea corn flour.

On quitting the town they proceeded in an easterly course, inclining to the north, going along the border of the river, of which they sometimes lost sight for two days together. Except the two mountains before spoken of to the southward, between which the river runs, there are none in the immediate neighbourhood of Timbuctoo, but at a little distance there are some small ones.

They had travelled eastward about ten days, at the rate of about

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fifteen or eighteen miles a day, when they saw the river for the last time; it then appeared rather narrower than at Timbuctoo. They then loaded the camels with water, and striking off in a northerly direction, travelled twelve or thirteen days at about the same pace.

At the end of this time they arrived at a place called Tudenny, or Taudenny, a large village inhabited by Moors and negroes, in which there are four wells of very excellent water. In this place there are large ponds or beds of salt, which both the Moors and negroes come in great numbers to purchase; in the neighbourhood the ground is cultivated in the same manner as at Timbuctoo. From the number of Moors, many, if not all of whom, were residents, it appeared that the restriction respecting them, which was in force at Timbuctoo, did not extend to Tudenny.

The Moors here are perfectly black, the only personal distinction between them and the negroes being, that the Moors had long black hair, and had no scars on their faces. The negroes are in general marked in the same manner as those of Timbuctoo. Here the party staid fourteen days to give the ransomed Moors, whose long confinement had made them weak, time to recruit their strength; and having sold one of the camels for two sacks of dates and a small ass, and loaded the four remaining camels with water, the dates and the flour, they set out to cross the desert, taking a north-west direction.

They commenced their journey from Tudenny about four o'clock in the morning, and having travelled the first day about twenty miles, they unloaded the camels, and laid down by the side of them to sleep.

The next day they entered the desert, over which they continued to travel in the same direction nine and twenty days, without meeting a single human being. The whole way was a sandy plain like the sea, without either tree, shrub or grass. After travelling in this manner about fourteen days, at the rate of sixteen or eighteen miles a day, the people began to grow very weak; their stock of water began to run short, and their provisions were nearly exhausted. The ass died of fatigue, and its carcass was immediately cut up and laden on the camel, where it dried in the sun, and served for food, and had it not been for this supply, some of the party must

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have died of hunger. Being asked if ass's flesh was good eating, Adams replied, "It was as good to my taste then, as a goose would be now."

In six days afterwards, during which their pace was slackened to not more than twelve miles a day, they arrived at a place, where it was expected water would be found; but to their great disappointment, owing to the dryness of the season, the hollow place, of about thirty yards in circumference, was found quite dry.

All their stock of water at this time consisted of four goat-skins, and those not full, holding from one to two gallons each; and it was known to the Moors, that they had then ten days further to travel before they could obtain a supply.

In this distressing dilemma it was resolved to mix the remaining water with camels' urine. The allowance of this mixture to each camel was only about a quart for the whole ten days; each man was allowed not more than about half a pint a day.

The Moors, who had been in confinement at Timbuctoo, becoming every day weaker, three of them in the four following days lay down, unable to proceed. They were then placed upon the camels, but continual exposure to the excessive heat of the sun, and the uneasy motion of the animals, soon rendered them unable to support themselves; and towards the end of the second day, they made another attempt to pursue their journey on foot, but could not. The following morning at day-break, they were found dead on the sand, in the place where they had lain down at night, and were left behind, without being buried. The next day, another of them lay down, and, like his late unfortunate companions, was left to perish; but on the following day, one of the Moors determined to remain behind, in the hope that he, who had dropped the day before, might still come up, and be able to follow the party; some provisions were left with him. At this time it was expected, what proved to be the fact, that they were within a day's march of their town, but neither of the men ever after made his appearance, and Adams has no doubt that they perished.

Vled Duleim, the name of the place at which they now arrived, was a village of tents, inhabited entirely by Moors, who, from their dress, manners, and general appearance, seemed to be of the same

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tribe as those of the encampment to which Adams was conveyed from El Gazie. They had numerous flocks of sheep and goats, and two watering places, near one of which their tents were pitched, but the other lay nearly five miles off.

Vled, or Woled D'leim, is the douar of a tribe of Arabs inhabiting the eastern parts of the desert, from the latitude of about twenty degrees north to the tropic. They are a tribe of great extent and power, inhabiting detached fertile spots of land, where they find water and pasturage for their flocks, but are very ignorant of the commonest principles of agriculture. They are an extremely fine race of men, their complexion very dark, almost as black as that of the negroes. They have straight hair, which they wear in large quantities, aqueline noses, and large eyes. Their behaviour is haughty and insolent, speaking with fluency and energy, and appearing to have great powers of rhetoric. Their arms are javelins and swords.

The first fortnight after the arrival of the party was devoted to their recovery from the fatigues of the journey; but as soon as their strength was re-established, Adams and his companion were employed in taking care of goats and sheep. Having now begun to acquire a knowledge of the moorish tongue, they frequently urged their masters to take them to Suerra, which the latter promised they would do, provided they continued attentive to their duty.

Things, however, remained in this state for ten or eleven days, during which time they were continually occupied in tending the flocks of the Moors. They suffered severely from exposure to the scorching sun, in a state almost of utter nakedness, and the miseries of their situation were aggravated by despair of ever being released from slavery.

The only food allowed to them was barley-flour and camels' and goats' milk; of the latter, however, they had abundance. Sometimes they were treated with a few dates, which were a great rarity, there being neither date-trees, nor trees of any other kind, in the whole of the country round. But as the flocks of goats and sheep consisted of a great number, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, and as they were at a distance from the town, Adams and his companion sometimes ventured to kill a kid for their own eat-

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ing, and to prevent discovery of the fire used in cooking it, they dug a cave, in which a fire was made, covering the ashes with grass and sand.

At length, Adams, after much reflection on the miserable state in which he had been so long kept, and was likely to pass the remainder of his life, determined to remonstrate upon the subject. His master, whose name was Hamet Laubed, frankly replied to him, that as he had not been successful in procuring slaves, it was now his intention to keep him, and not, as he had before led him to expect, to take him to Suerra or Mogadore. Upon hearing this, Adams resolved not to attend any longer to the duty of watching the goats and sheep; and in consequence, the following day, several of the young goats were found to have been killed by the foxes.

This led to an inquiry, whether Adams or the boy was in fault, when it appearing that the missing goats were a part of Adams' flock, his master proceeded to beat him with a thick stick; he, however, resisted, and took away the stick, upon which a dozen Moors, principally women, attacked him, and gave him a severe beating.

As, notwithstanding what had occurred, Adams persisted in his determination not to resume his task of tending the goats and sheep, his master was advised to put him to death, but this he was not inclined to do, observing to his advisers, that he should thereby sustain a loss, and that if Adams would not work, it would be better to sell him. In the mean time, he remained idle in the tent for three days, when he was asked by his master's wife if he would go to the distant well, to fetch a couple of skins of water, it being of a better quality; to which he signified his consent, and went off the next morning on a camel, with two skins to fetch the water.

On his arrival at the other well, instead of procuring water, he determined to make his escape; and understanding that the course to a place called Wadinoon lay in a direction to the northward of west, he passed the well, and pushing on in a northerly course, travelled the whole of that day, when the camel, which had been used to rest at night, and had not been well broken in, would not proceed any further, and in spite of all the efforts Adams could make, it lay down with fatigue, having gone upwards of twenty miles without stopping. Finding there was not any remedy, Adams

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took off the rope, with which his clothes were fastened round his body, and as the camel lay with his fore knee bent, he tied the rope round it in a way to prevent its rising, and then laid down by the side of it. This rope, which Adams had brought from Timbuctoo, was made of grass, collected on the banks of the river.

The next morning, at daylight, he mounted again, and pushed on till about nine o'clock, when he perceived some smoke in advance of him, which he approached. There was a small hillock between him and this place, ascending which, he discovered about forty or fifty tents pitched, and on looking back, he saw two camels coming towards him, with a rider on each. Not knowing whether these were in pursuit of him, or strangers going to the place in view, but being greatly alarmed, he made the best of his way forward. On drawing near to the town, a number of women came out, and he observed about a hundred Moors standing in a row, in the act of prayer, having their faces towards the east, and at times kneeling down, and leaning their heads to the ground. On the women discovering Adams, they expressed great surprise at seeing a white man. He inquired of them the name of the place, and they told him it was Hilla Gibla. Soon afterwards the two camels, before spoken of, arriving, the rider of one of them proved to be the owner of the camel on which Adams had escaped, and the other his master. At this time Adams was sitting under a tent, speaking to the governor, whose name was Mahomet, telling him his story; they were soon joined by his two pursuers, accompanied by a crowd of people.

Upon his master claiming him, Adams protested that he would not go back; that his master had frequently promised to take him to Suerra, but had broken his promises, and that he had made up his mind either to obtain his liberty or die. Upon hearing both sides, the governor determined in favour of Adams, and gave his master to understand, that if he was willing to exchange him for a bushel of dates and a camel, he should have them; but if not, he should have nothing. As Adams' master did not approve of these conditions, a violent altercation arose, but at length, finding the governor determined, and that better terms were not to be had, he accepted the first offer, and Adams became the slave of Mahomet

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The natives of Hilla Gibla or El Kabla, appeared to be better clothed, and a less savage race than those of Woled D'leim, between whom there appeared to be great enmity. The governor, therefore, readily interfered in favour of Adams, and at one time threatened to take away the camel, and to put Mahomet Laubed to death. Another consideration by which the governor was probably influenced, was a knowledge of the value of a christian slave, as an object of ransom, of which Mahomet Laubed seemed to be wholly ignorant.

On entering the service of his new master, Adams was sent to tend camels, and had been so employed about a fortnight, when this duty was exchanged for that of taking care of goats. Mahomet had two wives, who dwelt in separate tents, one of them an old woman, the other a young one; the goats which Adams was appointed to take care of, were the property of the elder one.

Some days after he had been so employed, the younger wife, whose name was Isha, or Aisha, proposed to him that he should also take charge of her goats, for which she would remunerate him, and as there was no more trouble in tending two flocks than one, he readily consented. Having had charge of the two flocks for several days, without receiving the promised additional reward, he at length remonstrated, and after some negociation on the subject of his claim, the matter was compromised by the young woman's desiring him, when he returned from tending the goats at night, to go to rest in her tent. It was the custom of Mahomet, to sleep two nights with the elder woman, and one with the other, and this was one of the nights devoted to the former. Adams accordingly kept the appointment, and about nine o'clock Aisha came and gave him supper, and he remained in her tent all night. This was an arrangement which was afterwards continued on those nights, which she did not pass with her husband.

Things continued in this state for about six months, and as his work was light, and he experienced nothing but kind treatment, his time passed pleasantly enough. One night his master's son coming into the tent, discovered Adams with his mother-in-law, and informed his father, when a great disturbance took place; but upon the husband charging his wife with her misconduct, she pro-

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tested that Adams had laid down in her tent without her knowledge or consent, and as she cried bitterly, the old man appeared to be convinced that she was not to blame. The old lady, however, declared her belief that the young one was guilty, and expressed her conviction that she should be able to detect her at some future time.

For some days after, Adams kept away from the lady, but at the end of that time, the former affair appearing to be forgotten, he resumed his visits. One night, the old woman lifted up the corner of the tent, and discovered Adams with Aisha, and having reported it to her husband, he came with a thick stick, threatening to put him to death. Adams being alarmed, made his escape, and the affair having made a great deal of noise, an acquaintance proposed to Adams to conceal him in his tent, and to endeavour to buy him of the governor. Some laughed at the adventure; others, and they by far the greater part, treated the matter as an offence of the most atrocious nature, Adams being "a Christian, who never prayed."

As his acquaintance promised, in the event of becoming a purchaser, to take him to Wadinoon, Adams adopted his advice, and concealed himself in his tent. For several days, the old governor rejected every overture, but at last he agreed to part with Adams for fifty dollars worth of goods, consisting of blankets and dates, and thus he became the property of Boerick, a trader, whose usual residence was at El Kabla.

The frail one ran away to her mother.

The next day Boerick set out with a party of six men and four camels, for a place called, according to the phraseology of Adams, Villa de Bousbach, but the real name of which was Woled Abousse-bah, which they reached after travelling nine days at the rate of about eighteen miles a day, directing their course to the north-east. On their route they saw neither houses nor trees, but the ground was covered with grass and shrubs. At this place they found about forty or fifty tents, inhabited by the Moors, and remained five or six days; when there, a Moor, named Abdallah Houssa, a friend of Boerick, arrived from a place called Hieta Mouessa, Ali, who informed him that it was usual for the British consul at Mogadore,

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to send to Wadinoon, where this man resided, to purchase the Christians who were prisoners in that country, and that as he was about to proceed thither, he was willing to take charge of Adams, to sell him for account of Boerick; at the same time, he informed Adams that there were other Christians at Wadinoon. This being agreed to by Boerick, his friend set out in a few days after for Hieta Mouessa Ali, taking Adams with him. Instead, however, of going to that place, which lay due north, they proceeded north-north-west, and as they had a camel each, and travelled very fast, the path being good, they went at the rate of twenty-five miles a day, and in six days reached a place called Villa Adrialla,* where there were about twenty tents. This place appeared to be inhabited entirely by traders, who had at least five hundred camels, a great number of goats and sheep, and a few horses. The cattle were tended by negro slaves. Here they remained about three weeks, until Abdallah had finished his business, and then set out for Hieta Mouessa Ali, where they arrived in three days. Adams believed that the reason of their travelling so fast during the last stage was, that Abdallah was afraid of being robbed, of which he seemed to have no apprehension after he had arrived at Villa Adrialla, and therefore they travelled from that place to Hieta Mouessa Ali, at the rate of only about sixteen or eighteen miles a day; their course being due north-west.

Hieta Mouessa Ali was the largest place which Adams saw, in which there were no houses, there being not less than a hundred tents. There was here a small brook issuing from a mountain, being the only one he had seen except that at Soudenny; but the vegetation was not more abundant than at other places. They remained here about a month, during which Adams was as usual employed in tending camels. As the time hung very heavy on his hands, and he saw no preparation for their departure for Wadinoon, and his anxiety to reach that place had been very much excited, by the intelligence that there were other Christians there, he took every opportunity of making inquiry respecting the course and distance; and being at length of opinion that he might find his way thither,

* It is the opinion of Mr. Dupuis, that this place should be written *Woled Adrialla*, but he has no knowledge of it.

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he one evening determined to desert, and accordingly he set out on foot alone, with a small supply of dried goats' flesh, relying upon getting a further supply at the villages, which he understood were on the road. He had travelled the whole of that night, and until about noon the next day, without stopping, when he was overtaken by a party of three or four men on camels, who had been sent in pursuit of him. It seems they expected that Adams had been persuaded to leave Hieta Mouessa Ali, by some persons who wished to take him to Wadinoon for sale, and they were therefore greatly pleased to find him on foot and alone. Instead of ill treating him as he apprehended they would do, they merely conducted him back to Hieta Mouessa Ali, from whence in three or four days afterwards, Abdallah and a small party departed, taking him with them. They travelled five days in a north-west direction at about sixteen miles a day, and at the end of the fifth day, reached Wadinoon. Having seen no habitations on their route, except a few scattered tents within a day's journey of that town.

The inhabitants of Wadinoon are descended from the tribe Woled Aboussebah, and owe their independence to its support, for the Arabs of Aboussebah being most numerous on the northern confines of the desert, present a barrier to the extension of the emperor of Morocco's dominion in that direction.

They have frequent wars with their southern and eastern neighbours, though without any important results; the sterility of the soil throughout the whole of the region of sand, affording little temptation to its inhabitants to dispossess each other of their territorial possessions.

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CHAPTER XII

WADINOON, or Wednoon, was the first place at which Adams had seen houses after he quitted Tudenny. It is a small town, consisting of about forty houses and some tents. The former are built chiefly of clay, intermixed with stone in some parts, and several of them have a story above the ground-floor. The soil in the neighbourhood of the town was better cultivated than any he had yet seen in Africa, and appeared to produce plenty of corn and tobacco. There were also date and fig trees in the vicinity, as well as a few grapes, apples, pears, and pomegranates. Prickly pears flourished in great abundance.

The Christians whom Adams had heard of, whilst residing at Hieta Mouessa Ali, and whom he found at Wadinoon, proved to be, to his great satisfaction, his old companions, Stephen Dolbie the mate, and James Davison and Thomas Williams, two of the seamen of the Charles. They informed him, that they had been in that town upwards of twelve months, and that they were the property of the sons of the governor.

Soon after the arrival of Adams at Wadinoon, Abdallah offered him for sale to the governor or sheik, called Amedallah Salem, who consented to take him upon trial; but after remaining a week at the governor's house, Adams was returned to his old master, as the parties could not agree upon the price. He was at length, however, sold to Belcassam Abdallah for seventy dollars in trade, payable in blankets, gunpowder, and dates.

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The only other white resident at Wadinoon was a Frenchman, who informed Adams that he had been wrecked about twelve years before on the neighbouring coast, and that the whole of the crew, except himself, had been redeemed. This man had turned Mahommedan, and was named Absalom; he had a wife and child and three slaves, and gained a good living by the manufacture of gunpowder. He lived in the same house as the person who had been his master, and who, upon his renouncing his religion, gave him his liberty.

Among the negro slaves at Wadinoon was a woman, who said she came from a place called Kanno, (Cano?) a long way across the desert, and that she had seen in her own country white men, as white as "bather," meaning the wall, and in a large boat, with two high sticks in it, with cloth upon them, and that they rowed this boat in a manner different from the custom of the negroes, who use paddles; in stating this, she made the motion of rowing with oars, so as to leave no doubt that she had seen a vessel in the European fashion, manned by white people.

The work in which Adams was employed at Wadinoon, was building walls, cutting down shrubs to make fences, or working on the corn lands, or on the plantations of tobacco, of which a great quantity is grown in the neighbourhood. It was in the month of August that he arrived there, as he was told by the Frenchman before spoken of; the grain had been gathered, but the tobacco was then getting in, at which he was required to assist. H la ɔu r at this place was extremely severe. On the moorish sabbath, which was also their market-day, the christian slaves were not required to labour, unless on extraordinary occasions, when there was any particular work to do, which could not be delayed. In these intervals of repose, they had opportunity of meeting and conversing together, and Adams had the melancholy consolation of finding that the lot of his companions had been even more severe than his own. It appeared that, on their arrival, the Frenchman before mentioned, from some unexplained motive, had advised them to refuse to work, and the consequence was, that they had been cruelly beaten and punished, and had been made to work and live hard, their only scanty food being barley flour and indian corn flour. However, on

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extraordinary occasions, and as a great indulgence, they sometimes obtained a few dates.

In this wretched manner Adams and his fellow-captives lived until the June following, when a circumstance occurred, which had nearly cost the former his life. His master's son, Hameda Bel Cossim, having one sabbath-day ordered Adams to take the horse and go to plough, the latter refused to obey him, urging that it was not the custom of any slaves to work on the sabbath-day, and that he was entitled to the same indulgence as the rest. Upon which Hameda went into the house and fetched a cutlass, and then demanded of Adams, whether he would go to plough or not. Upon his replying that he would not, Hameda struck him on the forehead with the cutlass, and gave him a severe wound over the right eye, and immediately knocked him down with his fist. This was no sooner done, than Adams was set upon by a number of Moors, who beat him with sticks in so violent a manner, that the blood came out of his mouth, two of his double teeth were knocked out, and he was almost killed; it was his opinion that they would have entirely killed him, had it not been for the interference of Boadick, the sheik's son, who reproached them for their cruelty, declaring that they had no right to compel Adams to work on a market-day. The next day Hameda's mother, named Moghtari, came to him, and asked him how he dared to lift his hand against a Moor? to which Adams, driven to desperation by the ill treatment he had received, replied, that he would even take his life, if it were in his power. Moghtari then said, that unless he would kiss Hameda's hands and feet, he should be put in irons, which he peremptorily refused to do. Soon after, Hameda's father came to Adams, and told him, that unless he did kiss his son's feet and hands, he must be put in irons. Adams then stated to him, that he could not submit to do so; that it was contrary to his religion to kiss the hands and feet of any person; that in his own country he had never been required to do it; and that, whatever might be the consequence, he would not do it. Finding he would not submit, the old man ordered that he should be put in irons, and accordingly they fastened his feet together with iron chains, and did the same by his hands. After he had remained in this state about ten days, Moghtari came

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to him again, urging him to do as required, and declaring that, if he did not, he should never see the christian country again. Adams, however, persevered in turning a deaf ear to her entreaties and threats. Some time afterwards, finding that confinement was destructive of his health, Hameda came to him, and took the irons from his hands. The following three weeks, he remained with the irons on his legs, during which time, repeated and pressing entreaties, and the most dreadful threats were used to induce him to submit; but all to no purpose. He was also frequently advised by the mate and the other Christians, who used to be sent to him, for the purpose of persuading him to submit, as he must otherwise inevitably lose his life. At length, finding that neither threats nor entreaties would avail, and Adams having remained in irons from June to the beginning of August, and his sufferings having reduced him almost to a skeleton, his master was advised to sell him; for, if longer confined, he would certainly die, and thereby prove a total loss. Influenced by this consideration, his master at last determined to release him from his confinement; but, although very weak, the moment he was liberated, he was set to gathering in the corn.

About a week afterwards, Dolbie, the mate, fell sick. Adams had called to see him, when Dolbie's master, named Brahim, a son of the sheik, ordered him to get up and go to work, and upon Dolbie declaring that he was unable, Brahim beat him with a stick, to compel him to go; but as he still did not obey, Brahim threatened that he would kill him; and upon Dolbie's replying, that he had better do so at once than kill him by inches, Brahim stabbed him in the side with his dagger, and he died in a few minutes. As soon as he was dead, he was taken by some slaves a short distance from the town, where a hole was dug, into which he was thrown without ceremony. As the grave was not deep, and as it frequently happ ned that corpses after burial were dug out of the ground by the foxes, Adams and his two surviving companions went the next day and covered the grave with stones.

As the Moors were constantly urging them to become Mahommedans, and they were unceasingly treated with the greatest brutality, the fortitude of Williams and Davison being exhausted, they

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at last unhappily consented to renounce their religion, and were circumcised; by this means they obtained their liberty, after which they were presented with a horse, a musket, and a blanket each, and permitted to marry; no Christian being allowed, at any place inhabited by Moors, to take a wife, or to cohabit with a moorish woman.

As Adams was now the only remaining Christian at Wadinoon, he became in a more especial manner an object of the derision and persecution of the Moors, who were constantly upbraiding and reviling him, and telling him that his soul would be lost, unless he became a Mahommedan, insomuch that his life was becoming intolerable.

Mr. Dupuis, speaking of the conduct which Adams received from the Moors, says, "I can easily believe Adams' statement of the brutal treatment he experienced at Wadinoon. It is consistent with the accounts I have always heard of the people of that country, who I believe to be more bigoted and cruel than even the remoter inhabitants of the desert. In the freqnent instances which have come under my observation, the general effect of the treatment of the Arabs on the minds of the christian captives, has been most deplorable. On the first arrival of these unfortunate men at Mogadore, if they have been any considerable time in slavery, they appear lost to reason and feeling, their spirits broken, and their whole faculties sunk in a species of stupor, which I am unable adequately to describe. Habited like the meanest Arabs of the desert, they appear degraded even below the negro slave. The succession of hardships, which they endure, from the caprice and tyranny of their purchasers, without any protecting law to which they can appeal for alleviation or redress, seems to destroy every spring of exertion or hope in their minds; they appear indifferent to every thing around them; abject, servile, and brutified."

"Adams alone was, in some respects, an exception from this description. I do not recollect any ransomed christian slave, who discovered a greater elasticity of spirit, or who sooner recovered from the indifference and stupor here described."

It is to be remarked, that the christian captives are invariably worse treated than the idolatrous or pagan slaves, whom the Arabs, either by theft or purchase, bring from the interior of Africa, and

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that religious bigotry is the chief cause of this distinction. The zealous disciples of Mahomet consider the negroes merely as ignorant, unconverted beings, upon whom, by the act of enslaving them, they are conferring a benefit, by placing them within reach of instruction in "the true belief;" and the negroes, having no hopes of ransom, and being often enslaved when children, are in general, soon converted to the Mahommedan faith. The Christians, on the contrary, are looked upon as hardened infidels, and as deliberate despisers of the prophet's call; and as they in general steadfastly reject the Mahommedan creed, and at least never embrace it, whilst they have hopes of ransom; the Moslim, consistently with the spirit of many passages in the Koran, views them with the bitterest hatred, and treats them with every insult and cruelty which a merciless bigotry can suggest.

It is not to be understood that the christian slaves, though generally ill treated and inhumanly worked by their Arab owners, are persecuted by them ostensibly on account of their religion. They, on the contrary, often encourage the Christians to resist the importunities of those who wish to convert them; for, by embracing Islamism, the christian slave obtains his freedom, and however ardent may be the zeal of the Arab to make proselytes, it seldom blinds him to the calculations of self-interest.

Three days after Williams and Davison had renounced their religion, a letter was received from Mr. Dupuis, addressed to the christian prisoners at Wadinoon, under cover to the governor, in which the consul, after exhorting them most earnestly not to give up their religion, whatever might befal them, assured them that within a month, he should be able to procure their liberty. Davison heard the letter read, apparently without emotion, but Williams became so agitated that he let it drop out of his hands, and burst into a flood of tears.

From this time, Adams experienced no particular ill treatment, but he was required to work as usual. About a month more elapsed, when the man who brought the letter, and who was a servant of the British consul, disguised as a trader, made known to Adams that he had succeeded in procuring his release, and the next day they set out together for Mogadore.

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On quitting Wadinoon, they proceeded in a northerly direction, travelling on mules at the rate of thirty miles a day, and in fifteen days arrived at Mogadore. Here Adams remained eight months with Mr. Dupuis. America and England being then at war, it was found difficult to procure for Adams a conveyance to his native country; he therefore obtained a passage on board a vessel bound to Cadiz, where he remained about fourteen months as servant or groom, in the service of Mr. Hall, an English merchant there. Peace having been in the mean time restored, Adams was informed by the American consul, that he had now an opportunity of returning to his native country with a cartel, or transport of American seamen, which was on the point of sailing from Gibraltar. He accordingly proceeded thither, but arrived two days after the vessel had sailed. Soon afterwards he engaged himself on board a Welsh brig, lying at Gibraltar, in which he sailed to Bilboa, whence the brig took a cargo of wool to Bristol, and after discharging it there, was proceeding in ballast to Liverpool; but having been driven into Holyhead by contrary winds, Adams there fell sick, and was put on shore. From this place he begged his way up to London, where he arrived completely destitute. He had slept two or three nights in the open streets, when he was accidentally met by a gentleman, who had seen him in Mr. Hall's service at Cadiz, and was acquainted with his history, by whom he was directed to the office of the African Association, through whose means his adventures were made known to the public.

Adams may be said to have been the first Christian, who ever reached the far-famed city of Timbuctoo, and it must be admitted that many attempts were made to throw a positive degree of discredit upon his narrative, and to consider it more the work of deep contrivance than of actual experience. It is certain that many difficulties present themselves in the narrative of Adams, which cannot be reconciled with the discoveries subsequently made, but that cannot be argued as a reason for invalidating the whole of his narrative; especially when it is so amply and circumstantially confirmed by the inquiries which were set on foot by Mr. Dupuis, at the instigation of the African Association, and the result of which was, a complete confirmation of all the circumstances, which Adams

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related to the committee of the African Association, and which left not a doubt on their minds, of the genuineness and authenticity of his narrative.

In Adams we find an individual relating travels and adventures, which are indeed singular and extraordinary, but are told with the utmost simplicity, and bear strong internal marks of truth. Placed in a wide untravelled region, where a mere narrator of fables might easily persuade himself that no one would trace or detect him, we find Adams resisting the temptation, no slight one for an ignorant sailor, of exciting the wonder of the credulous, or the sympathy of the compassionate, by filling his story with miraculous adventures, or overcharged pictures of suffering. In speaking of himself, he assumes no undue degree of importance. He is rather subordinate to the circumstances of the story, than making himself the prominent feature of it, and almost every part of his narrative is strictly in nature, and destitute of any outward show of pretension.

On the whole, since the circumstances stated by Mr. Dupuis, entirely preclude all suspicion of contrivance in Adams' account of his route in Africa, a contrivance which he was too ignorant to invent himself, and in which, when he arrived from the desert, he had had no opportunity of being instructed by others, we do not conceive how it is possible to resist the circumstantial corroboration of his story, which the application of his route to the map affords, unless indeed, by resorting to the preposterous supposition, that so uniform an approach to the truth, throughout a journey of nearly three thousand miles, could be purely accidental.

By a comparison of the statements of Adams with those of Park in his second journey, it is impossible to question the veracity of the narrative of Adams, and that being admitted, places him in the rank of one of the most extraordinary travellers of modern times.

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CHAPTER XIII.

It is perhaps not the least of the many extraordinary circumstances attending the city of Timbuctoo, that no two travellers agree in their account of it; and for this reason it is most difficult to decide, to whom the greatest credibility should be awarded, or, on the other hand, whether some of them, who pretend to have resided within its walls, ever visited it at all. The contradictions of the respective travellers are in many instances so gross, that it is scarcely possible to believe that the description, which they are then giving can apply to one and the same place, and therefore we are entitled to draw the inference, that some of them are practising on our credulity, and are making us the dupes of their imagination, rather than the subjects of their experience. The expectations of moorish magnificence were raised to a very high pitch, by some of the inflated accounts of the wealth and splendour of the great city of central Africa; but these expectations were considerably abated by the description given of Timbuctoo by Adams and Sidi Hamet, a moorish merchant, who describes that city in the following terms:—

"Timbuctoo is a very large city, five times as great as Swearah (Suera or Mogadore). It is built in a level plain surrounded on all sides with hills, except on the south, where the plain continues to the bank of the same river, which is wide and deep, and runs to the

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east. We were obliged to go to it to water our camels, and there we saw many boats, made of great trees, some with negroes paddling in them across the river. The city is strongly walled in with stone laid in clay, like the towns and houses in Suse, only a great deal thicker."

The latter account is at total variance with both Adams and Caillie, who describe Timbuctoo as a city having no walls, nor any thing resembling fortifications. "The house of the king is very large and high, like the largest house in Mogadore, but built of the same materials as the walls. There are a great many more houses in the city, built of stone, *with shops on one side*, where they sell salt, the staple article, knives, blue cloth, haicks, and an abundance of other things, with many gold ornaments. The inhabitants are blacks, and the chief is a very large, grey-headed, old black man, who is called shegar, which means sultan or king. The principal part of the houses are made with large reeds, as thick as a man's arm, which stand upon their ends, and are covered with small reeds first, and then with the leaves of the date tree; they are round, and the tops come to a point, like a heap of stones. Neither the shegar nor his people are Moslem; but there is a town divided off from the principal one, in one corner by a strong partition wall, with one gate to it, which leads from the main town, like the Jews' town or *millah* in Mogadore. All the Moors or Arabs, who have liberty to come into Timbuctoo, are obliged to sleep in that part of it every night, or to go out of the city entirely. No stranger is allowed to enter that millah, without leaving his knife with the gate-keeper; but when he comes out in the morning, it is restored to him. The people who live in that part are all Moslem. The negroes, bad Arabs, and Moors are all mixed together, and intermarry, as if they were all of one colour; they have no property of consequence, except a few asses; their gate is shut and fastened every night at dark, and very strongly guarded both by night and by day. The shegar or king is always guarded by one hundred men on mules, armed with good guns, and one hundred men on foot, with guns and long knives. He would not go into the millah, and we saw him only four or five times in the two moons we staid at Timbuctoo,

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waiting for the caravan; but it had perished in the desert, neither did the yearly caravan arrive from Tunis and Tripoli, for it also had been destroyed."

"The city of Timbuctoo is very rich, as well as very large; it has four gates to it; all of them are opened in the day time, but very strongly guarded and shut at night. The negro women are very fat and handsome, and wear large round gold rings in their noses, and flat ones in their ears, and gold chains and amber beads about their necks, with images and white fish bones, bent round, and the ends fastened together, hanging down between their breasts; they have bracelets on their wrists and on their ankles, and go barefooted. I had bought a small snuff-box, filled with snuff, at Morocco, and showed it to the women in the principal street of Timbuctoo, which is very wide. There were a great number about me in a few minutes, and they insisted on buying my snuff and box; one made me an offer, and another made me another, until one, who wore richer ornaments than the rest, told me, in broken Arabic, that she would take off all she had about her, and give them to me for the box and its contents. I agreed to accept them, and she pulled off her nose-rings and ear-rings, all her neck-chains, with their ornaments, and the bracelets from her wrists and ankles, and gave them to me in exchange for it. These ornaments would weigh more than a pound, and were made of solid gold at Timbuctoo. I kept them through the whole of the journey afterwards, and carried them to my wife, who now wears a part of them."

"Timbuctoo carries on a great trade with all the caravans that come from Morocco, and the shores of the Mediterranean sea. From Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, &c. are brought all kinds of cloth, iron, salt, muskets, powder and lead swords or scimitars, tobacco, opium, spices and perfumes, amber beads, and other trinkets, with a few more articles. They carry back, in return, elephants' teeth, gold dust and wrought gold, gum-senegal, ostrich feathers, very curiously worked turbans, and slaves; a great many of the latter, and many other articles of less importance. The slaves are brought in from the south-west, all strongly ironed, and are sold very cheap, so that a good stout man may be bought for a haick, which costs in the empire of Morocco about two dollars."

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"The caravans stop and encamp about two miles from the city, in a deep valley, and the negroes do not molest them. They bring their merchandize near the walls of the city, where the inhabitants purchase all their goods on exchange for the before-mentioned articles; not more than fifty men from any one caravan being allowed to enter the city at a time, and they must go out before others are permitted to enter. This city carries on a great trade with Wassanah, a city far to the south-east, in all the articles that are brought to it by caravans, and gets returns in slaves, elephants' teeth, gold, &c. The principal male inhabitants are clothed with blue cloth shirts, that reach from their shoulders down to their knees, and are very wide, and girt about their loins with a red and brown cotton sash or girdle. They also hang about their bodies, pieces of different coloured cloth and silk handkerchiefs. The king is dressed in a white robe of a similar fashion, but covered with white and yellow gold and silver plates, that glitter in the sun. He has also many other shining ornaments of shells and stones hanging about him, he wears a pair of breeches like the Moors and Barbary Jews, and has a kind of white turban on his head, pointing up, and strung with different kinds of ornaments. His feet are covered with red morocco shoes. He has no other weapon about him than a large white staff or sceptre, with a golden lion on the head of it, which he carries in his hand. His countenance is mild, and he seems to govern his subjects more like a father than a king. All but the king go bareheaded. The poor have only a single piece of blue or other cloth about them. The inhabitants are very numerous; I think six times as many as in Swearah, besides Arabs and other Mahommedans in their millah or separate town, which must contain nearly as many people as there are altogether in Swearah.* The women are clothed in a light shirt, or under-dress, and over it a green, red or blue covering, from the bosom to below the knees, the whole of them girt about their waists with a red girdle. They stain their cheeks and foreheads red or yellow on some occasions; and the married women wear a kind of hood on their heads, made

* Swearah or Mogadore is stated to contain above 36,000 souls, that is 30,000 Moors and 6,000 Jews. This calculation would make Timbuctoo to contain 216,000 inhabitants. A statement which deserves little credit.

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of blue cloth or silk, and cotton handkerchiefs of different kinds and colours, and go barefooted."

"The king and people of Timbuctoo do not fear and worship God like the Moslem, but like the people of Soudan, they only pray once in twenty-four hours, when they see the moon, and when she is not seen, they do not pray at all. They cannot read nor write, but are honest. They circumcise their children, like the Arabs. They have not any mosques, but dance every night, as the Moors and Arabs pray."

"If however European expectation had been raised to an extraordinary height respecting the size, riches, and importance of Timbuctoo, it was likely to be still more luxuriantly feasted with the description of another town of central Africa, in comparison of which Timbuctoo must appear as a city of a second rate, and which Sidi Hamet describes as being of the magnitude, that it took him a day to walk round it."

"According to the statement of Sidi Hamet, he travelled with about two hundred Moslem, to a large city called Wassanah, a place he had never before heard of, nor which is to be found in any of the modern maps of Africa. For the first six days, they travelled over a plain within sight of the Joliba, in a direction a little to the south of east, till they came to a small town called Bimbinah, where the river turned more to the south-east, by a high mountain to the east. They now left the river, and pursued a direction more to the southward, through a hilly and woody country for fifteen days, and then came to the river again. The route wound with the river for three days in a south-easterly direction, and then they had to climb over a very high ridge of mountains, thickly covered with very lofty trees, which took up six days; from the summit, a large chain of high mountains was seen to the westward. On descending from this ridge, they came immediately to the river's bank, where it was very narrow and full of rocks. For the next twelve days, they kept on in a direction generally south-east, but winding, with the river almost every day in sight, and crossed many small streams flowing into it. High mountains were plainly seen on the western side. They then came to a ferry, and beyond that travelled for fifteen days more, mostly in sight of the river, till at length after

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fifty-seven days travelling, not reckoning the halts, they reached Wassanah."

"This city stands near the bank of the Joliba, which runs past it nearly south, between high mountains on both sides, *and is so wide that they could hardly distinguish a man on the other side.* The walls are very large, built of great stones much thicker and stronger than those of Timbuctoo, with four gates. It took a day to walk round them. *The city has twice as many inhabitants as Timbuctoo*;* the principal people are well dressed, but all are negroes and kafirs. They have boats made of great trees hollowed out, which will hold from fifteen to twenty negroes, and in these they descend the river for three moons to the great water, and traffic with pale people who live in great boats, and have guns as big as their bodies." This great water is supposed to be the Atlantic, and as the distance of three moons must not be less than two thousand five hundred miles, it has been supposed that the Niger must communicate with the Congo. If so it must be, doubtless, by intermediate rivers; the whole account, however, is pregnant with suspicion, nor has any part of it been verified by any subsequent traveller.

It is singular, that a great variety of opinion has existed, respecting the exact state of government to which the city of Timbuctoo was subject. It is well known, that the vernacular histories, both traditionary and written, of the wars of the Moorish empire, agree in stating, that from the middle of the seventeenth century, Timbuctoo was occupied by the troops of the emperors of Morocco, in whose name a considerable annual tribute was levied upon the inhabitants; but that the negroes, in the early part of the last century, taking advantage of one of those periods of civil dissension and bloodshed, which generally follow the demise of any of the rulers of Barbary, did at length shake off the yoke of their northern masters, to which the latter were never afterwards able again to reduce them. Nevertheless, although the emperors of Morocco

* According to Sidi Hamet, Wassanah must contain nearly half a million of inhabitants. The circumstance also of the Joliba or Niger being there so broad that a man could scarcely be seen on the other side, throws great discredit over the whole statement of the moorish merchant.

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might be unable at the immense distance, which separates them from Soudan, to resume an authority, which had once escaped from their hands, it is reasonable to suppose that the nearer tribes of Arabs would not neglect the opportunity thus afforded them, of returning to their old habits of spoliation, and of exercising their arrogant superiority over their negro neighbours; and that this frontier state would thus become the theatre of continual contests, terminating alternately in the temporary occupation of Timbuctoo by the Arabs, and in their re-expulsion by negroes. In order to elucidate the state of things, which we have here supposed, we need not go further than to the history of Europe in our own days. How often during the successful ravages of Buonaparte, that great Arab chieftain of christendom, might we not have drawn from the experience of Madrid, or Berlin, or Vienna, or Moscow, the aptest illustration of these conjectures respecting Timbuctoo? And an African traveller, if so improbable a personage may be imagined, who should have visited Europe in these conjunctures, might very naturally have reported to his countrymen at home, that Russia, Germany and Spain were but provinces of France, and that the common sovereign of all these countries resided sometimes in the Escurial, and sometimes in the Kremlin.

We have seen this state of things existing in Ludamar, to the west of Timbuctoo, where a negro population is subjected to the tyranny of the Arab chieftain Ali, between whom and his southern neighbours of Bambarra and Kaarta we find a continual struggle of aggression and self-defence; and the well-known character of the Arabs would lead us to expect a similar state of things along the whole frontier of the negro pop lation. In the pauses of such a warfare, we should expect to find no intermission of the animosity or precautions of the antagonist parties. The Arab victorious would be ferocious and intolerant, even beyond his usual violence, and the Koran or the halter would probably be the alternatives, which he would offer to his negro guest; whilst the milder nature of the negro would be content with such measures of precaution and self-defence, as might appear sufficient to secure him from the return of the enemy, whom he had expelled, without excluding the peaceful trader; and, under the re-established power of the latter,

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we might expect to find at Timbuctoo precisely the same state of things as Adams describes to have existed in 1811.

The reserve, with which we have seen grounds for receiving the testimony of the natives of Africa, may reasonably accompany us in our further comparative examination of their accounts and those of Adams, respecting the population and external appearance of the city of Timbuctoo. We cannot give such latitude to our credulity as to confide in the statements of Sidi Hamet; nor do we place much reliance on the account of Caillie, who was the last European who may be said to have entered its walls. Notwithstanding, therefore, the alleged splendour of its court, the polish of its inhabitants, its civilized institutions, and other symptoms of refinement, which some modern accounts or speculations, founded on native reports, have taught us to look for, we are disposed to receive the humbler descriptions of Adams, as approaching with much greater probability to the truth. Let us, however, not be understood as rating too highly the value of a sailor's reports. They must of necessity be defective in a variety of ways. Many of the subjects upon which Adams was questioned, were evidently beyond the competency of such an individual fully to comprehend or satisfactorily to describe; and we must be content to reserve our final estimates of the morals, religion, civil polity, and learning, if the term may be allowed us, of the negroes of Timbuctoo, until we obtain more conclusive information than could possibly have been derived from so illiterate a man as Adams. A sufficiency, however, may be gathered from his story, to prepare us for a disappointment of the extravagant expectations, which have been indulged respecting this boasted city.

And here we may remark, that the relative rank of Timbuctoo amongst the cities of central Africa, and its present importance with reference to European objects, appear to us to be considerably overrated. The description of Leo, in the sixteenth century, may indeed lend a colour to the brilliant anticipations in which some sanguine minds have indulged on the same subjects in the nineteenth; but with reference to the commercial pursuits of Europeans, it seems to have been forgotten, that the very circumstance which has been the foundation of the importance of Timbuctoo to the

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traders of Barbary, and consequently of a great portion of its fame amongst us, its frontier situation on the verge of the desert, at the extreme northern limits of the negro population, will of necessity have a contrary operation now, since a shorter and securer channel for European enterprise into the central regions of Africa has been opened by the intrepidity and perseverance of Park, from the south-western shores of the Atlantic.

Independently of this consideration, there is great reason to believe that Timbuctoo has in reality declined of late from the wealth and consequence which it appears formerly to have enjoyed. The existence of such a state of things, as we have described, in the preceding pages, the oppositions of the Moors, the resistance of the negroes, the frequent change of masters, and the insecurity of property consequent upon these intestine struggles, would all lead directly and inevitably to this result. That they have led to it, may be collected from other sources than Adams. Even Park, to whom so brilliant a description of the city was given by some of his informants, was told by others that it was surpassed in opulence and size by Houssa, Walet, and probably by Jinnie. Several instances also occur in both his missions, which prove that a considerable trade from Barbary is carried on direct from the desert to Sego and the neighbouring countries, without ever touching at Timbuctoo; and this most powerful of the states of Africa, in the sixteenth century, according to Leo, is now, in the nineteenth, to all appearance, a mere tributary dependency of a kingdom, which does not appear to have been known to Leo even by name.

Such a decline of the power and commercial importance of Timbuctoo would naturally be accompanied by a corresponding decay of the city itself; and we cannot suppose that Adams' description of its external appearance will be rejected, on account of its improbability, by those, who recollect that Leo describes the habitations of the natives, *in his time*, almost in the very words of the narrative *now* *, and that the flourishing cities of Sego and Sansanding

* One of the numerous discordances between the different translations of Leo, occurs in the passage here alluded to. The meaning of the Italian version is simply this, that "the dwellings of the people of Timbuctoo are cabins or huts, constructed with stakes, covered with chalk or clay, and thatched with straw, '*is*

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appear, from Park's account, to be built of mud, precisely in the same manner as Adams describes the houses of Timbuctoo.

But whatever may be the degree of Adams' coincidence with other authorities, in his descriptions of the population and local circumstances of Timbuctoo, there is at least one asserted fact in this part of his narrative, which appears to be exclusively his own; the existence, we mean, of a considerable navigable river close to the city. To the truth of which, the credit of Adams is completely pledged. On many other subjects it is *possible* that his narrative might be considerably at variance with the truth, by a mere defect of memory or observation, and without justifying any imputation on his veracity, but it is evident that no such latitude can be allowed him in respect to the La Mar Zarah, which, if not in substance true, must be knowingly and wilfully false.

We shall conclude our remarks on Adams' narrative, by noticing only two important circumstances, respectively propitious and adverse to the progress of discovery and civilization, which is decidedly confirmed by the account of Adams, viz. the mild and tractable natures of the pagan negroes of Soudan, and their friendly deportment towards strangers, on the one hand; and, on the other, the extended and baneful range of that original feature of African society—slavery.

cui case sono capanne fatte di pali coperte di creta co i cortivi di paglia.' But the expression in the Latin translation, which is closely followed by the old English translator, Pery, implies a state of previous splendour and decay, '*cujus domus omnes in tuguriola, stramineis tectis, sunt mutatæ.*'"

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CHAPTER XIV.

PREVIOUSLY to entering into any further detail of the different expeditions for exploring the interior of Africa, it may be greatly conducive to the better understanding of the subsequent narratives, when treating of the distinct races of people by which the countries are inhabite[1], to give a concise statement of the population of that part of Africa, which is known by the appellation of West Barbary, and which may be said to be divided into three great classes, exclusive of the Jews; viz. Berrebbers, Arabs, and Moors. The two former of these are, in every respect, distinct races of people, and are each again subdivided into various tribes or communities; the third are chiefly composed of the other two classes, or of their descendants, occasionally mixed with the European or negro races. The indiscriminate use of the names Arab and Moor, in speaking apparently of the same people, frequently leads the reader into an error as to the real class to which the individual belongs, and thus the national character of the two classes becomes unjustly confounded, whilst at the same time an erroneous opinion is formed of the relative virtues and vices of the different people, with whom the traveller is brought into collision.

In the class of the Berrebbers, we include all those, who appear to be descendants of the original inhabitants of the country before the Arabian conquest, and who speak several languages, or dialects of the same language, totally different from the Arabic. The sub-

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divisions of this class are:—1st, the *Errifi*, who inhabit the extensive mountainous province of that name on the shores of the Mediterranean; 2d, *the Berrebbers of the interior*, who commence on the southern confines of the Errifi, and extend to the vicinity of Fez and Mequinez, occupying all the mountains and high lands in the neighbourhood of those cities; 3d, *the Berrebbers of middle Atlas*; and, 4th, *the Shilluh of Suse and Haha*, who extend from Mogadore southward to the extreme boundaries of the dominions of the Cid Heshem, and from the sea coast to the eastern limits of the mountains of Asia.

The Errifi are a strong and athletic race of people, hardy and enterprising, their features are generally good, and might in many cases be considered handsome, were it not for the malignant and ferocious expression, which marks them, in common with the Berreber tribes in general, but which is particularly striking in the eye of an Errifi. They also possess that marked feature of he Berrebber tribes, a scantiness of beard; many of the race, particularly in the south, having only a few straggling l airs on the upper lip, and a small tuft on the chin. They are incessantly bent on robbery and plundering, in which they employ either open violence or cunning and treachery, as the occasion requires, and they are restrained by no checks either of r ligion, morals, or humanity. However, to impute to them in particular, as distinct from other inhabitants of Barbary, the crimes of theft, treachery, and murder, would certainly be doing them great injustice, but we believe we may truly describe them as more ferocious and faithless than any other tribe of Berrebers.

The Berrebbers of the districts of Fez, Mequinez, and the mountains of middle Atlas, strongly resemble the Errifi in person, but are said to be not quite so savage in disposition. They are a warlike people, extremely tenacious of the independence, which their mountainous country gives them opportunities of asserting, omit no occasion of shaking off the controul of government, and are frequently engaged in open hostilities with their neighbours the Arabs, or the emperor's black troops. They are, as we are informed, the only tribes in Barbary, who use the bayonet. The districts which they inhabit are peculiarly interesting and romantic, being a succes-

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sion of hills and valleys, well watered and wooded, and producing abundance of grain and pasturage.

The Shilluh or Berrebbers of the south of Barbary, differ in several respects from their brethren in the north. They are rather diminutive in person, and besides the want of beard already noticed, have in general an effeminate tone of voice. They are, however, active and enterprising. They possess rather more of the social qualities than the other tribes; appear to be susceptible of strong attachments and friendships, and are given to hospitality. They are remarkable for their attachment to their petty chieftains; and the engagements and friendships of the latter are held so sacred, that no instance is on record of any depredation being committed on travellers furnished with their protection, which it is usual to purchase with a present, or on any of the valuable caravans, which are continually passing to and fro through their territory, between Barbary and Soudan: the predominant feature of their character is, however, self interest, and although in their dealings amongst strangers, or in the towns, they assume a great appearance of fairness or sincerity, yet they are not scrupulous when they have the power in their own hands, and like the other Berrebbers, they are occasionally guilty of the most atrocious acts of treachery and murder, not merely against Christians, for that is almost a matter of course with all the people of their nation, but even against Mahommedan travellers, who have the imprudence to pass through their country, without having previously secured the protection of one of their chiefs.

As the Shilluh have been said to be sincere and faithful in their friendships, so they are on the other hand, perfectly implacable in their enmities, and insatiable in their revenge. The following anecdote will exemplify in some degree these traits of their character. A Shilluh having murdered one of his countrymen in a quarrel, fled to the Arabs from the vengeance of the relations of his antagonist, but not thinking himself secure even there, he joined a party of pilgrims and went to Mecca. From this expiatory journey he returned at the end of eight or nine years to Barbary, and proceeded to his native district, he there sought, under the sanctified name of El Haje, the pilgrim, a title of reverence amongst the Mahomme-

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dans, to effect a reconciliation with the friends of the deceased. They, however, upon hearing of his return, attempted to seize him, but owing to the fleetness of his horse, he escaped and fled to Mogadore, having been severely wounded by a musket ball in his flight. His pursuers followed him thither, but the governor of Mogadore hearing the circumstances of the case, strongly interested himself in behalf of the fugitive, and endeavoured, but in vain, to effect a reconciliation. The man was imprisoned, and his persecutors then hastened to Morocco to seek justice of the emperor. That prince, it is said, endeavoured to save the prisoner; and to add weight to his recommendation, offered a pecuniary compensation in lieu of the offender's life, which the parties, although persons of mean condition, rejected. They returned triumphant to Mogadore, with the emperor's order for the delivery of the prisoner into their hands; and having taken him out of prison, they immediately conveyed him before the walls of the town, where one of the party, loading his musket before the face of their victim, placed the muzzle to his breast, and shot him through the body; but as the man did not immediately fall, he drew his dagger, and, by repeated stabbing, put an end to his existence. The calm intrepidity with which this unfortunate Shilluh stood to meet his fate, could not be witnessed without the highest admiration; and however much we must detest the blood-thirstiness of his executioners, we must still acknowledge, that there is something closely allied to nobleness of sentiment in the inflexible perseverance, with which they pursued the murderer of their friend to punishment.

Like the Arabs, the Berrebbers are divided into numerous petty tribes or clans, each tribe or family distinguishing itself by the name of its patriarch or founder. The authority of the chiefs is usually founded upon their descent from some sanctified ancestor, or upon the peculiar eminence of the individual himself in Mahommedan zeal, or some other religious qualification.

With the exception already noticed, that the Berrebbers of the north are of a more robust and stouter make than the Shilluh, a strong family-likeness runs through all their tribes. Their customs, dispositions, and national character, are nearly the same; they are all equally tenacious of their independence, which their local posi-

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tions enable them to assume, and are all animated with the same inveterate and hereditary hatred against their common enemy, the Arab. They invariably reside in houses or hovels built of stone and timber, which are generally situated on some commanding eminence, and are fortified and loop-holed for self-defence. Their usual mode of warfare is, to surprise their enemy, rather than overcome him by an open attack; they are reckoned the best marksmen, and possess the best fire-arms in Barbary, which render them a very destructive enemy wherever the country affords shelter and concealment; but although they are always an over-match for the Arabs, when attacked on their own rugged territory, they are obliged on the other hand, to relinquish the plains to the Arab cavalry, against which the Berrebbers are unable to stand on open ground.

The Arabs, who now form so considerable a portion of the population of Barbary, and whose race in the sheriffe line has given emperors to Morocco ever since the conquest, occupy all the level country of the empire, and many of the tribes penetrating into the desert, have extended themselves even to the confines of Soudan. In person, they are generally tall and robust, with fine features, and intelligent countenances. Their hair is black and straight, their eyes large, black and piercing, their noses gently arched; their beards full and bushy, and they have invariably good teeth. The colour of those who reside in Barbary, is a deep, but bright brunette, essentially unlike the sallow tinge of the mulatto. The Arabs of the desert are more or less swarthy, according to their proximity to the negro states, until, in some tribes they are found entirely black, but without the woolly hair, wide nostril, and thick lip, which peculiarly belong to the African negro.

The Arabs are universally cultivators of the earth, or breeders of cattle, depending on agricultural pursuits alone for subsistence. To use a common proverb of their own, "the earth is the Arab's portion." They are divided into small tribes or families, each separate tribe having a particular patriarch or head, by whose name they distinguish themselves, and each occupying its own separate portion of territory. They are scarcely ever engaged in external commerce; they dislike the restraints and despise the security of

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residence in towns, and dwell invariably in tents made of a stuff woven from goats' hair and the fibrous root of the palmeta. In some of the provinces, their residences form large circular encampments, consisting of from twenty to a hundred tents, where they are governed by a sheik or magistrate of their own body. This officer is again subordinate to a bashaw or governor, appointed by the emperor, who resides in some neighbouring town. In these encampments there is always a tent set apart for religious worship, and appropriated to the use of the weary or benighted traveller, who is supplied with food and refreshment at the expence of the community.

The character of the Arab, in a general view, is decidedly more noble and magnanimous than that of the Berrebber. His vices are of a more daring, and if the expression may be used, of a more generous cast. He accomplishes his designs rather by open violence than by treachery; he has less duplicity and concealment than the Berrebber, and to the people of his own nation or religion, he is much more hospitable and benevolent. Beyond this, it is impossible to say any thing in his favour. But it is in those periods of civil discord, which have been so frequent in Barbary, that the Arab character completely developes itself. On these occasions, they will be seen linked together in small tribes, the firm friends of each other, but the sworn enemies of all the world besides. While these dreadful tempests last, the Arabs carry devastation and destruction wherever they go, sparing neither age nor sex, and even ripping open the dead bodies of their victims, to discover whether they have not swallowed their riches for the purpose of concealment.

Their barbarity towards Christians ought not to be tried by the same rules as the rest of their conduct, for although it has no bounds but those which self-interest may prescribe, it must almost be considered as a part of their religion; so deep is the detestation which they are taught to feel for "the unclean and idolatrous infidel." A Christian, therefore, who falls into the hands of the Arabs, has no reason to expect any mercy. If it be his lot to be possessed by the Arabs of the desert, his value as a slave will probably save his life, but if he happens to be wrecked on the coasts of the emperor's dominions, where Europeans are not allowed to be re-

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tained in slavery, his fate would in most cases be immediate death, before the government could have time to interfere for his protection.

The next great division of the people of western Barbary, are the inhabitants of the cities and towns, who may be collectively classed under the general denomination of MOORS, although this name is only known to them through the language of Europeans. They depend chiefly on trade and manufactures for subsistence, and confine their pursuits in general to occupations in the towns. Occasionally, however, but very rarely, they may be found to join agricultural operations with the Arabs.

The Moors may be divided into the four following classes:—1st. The tribes descended from *Arab* families. 2nd. Those of *Berrebber* descent. 3rd. The *Bukharie*. 4th. The *Andalusie*.

The *Arab* families are the brethren of the conquerors of the country, and they form the largest portion of the population of the southern towns, especially of those, which border on Arab districts.

The *Berrebber* families are in like manner more or less numerous in the towns, according to the proximity of the latter to the Berrebber districts.

The *Bukharie*, or black tribe, are the descendants of the negroes, brought by the emperor Mulai Ismael, from Soudan. They have been endowed with gifts of land, and otherwise encouraged by the subsequent emperors, and the tribe, although inconsiderable in point of numbers, has been raised to importance in the state, by the circumstance of its forming the standing army of the emperor, and of its being employed invariably as the instruments of government. Their chief residence is in the city of Mequinez, about the emperor's person. They are also found, but in smaller numbers, in the different towns of the empire.

The *Andalusie*, who form the fourth class of Moors, are the reputed descendants of the Arab conquerors of Spain, the remnant of whom, on being expelled from that kingdom, appear to have retained the name of its nearest province. The e people form a large class of the population of the towns in the north of Barbary, particularly of Tetuan, Mequinez, Fez, and Rhabatt or Sallee. They are scarcely, if at all found residing to the south of the river

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Azamoor, being confined chiefly to that province of Barbary known by the name of El Gharb.

These may be considered the component parts of that mixed population, which now inhabit the towns of Barbary, and which are known to Europeans by the name of Moors. In feature and appearance the greater part of them may be traced to the Arab, or Berrebber tribes, from which they are respectively derived, for marriages between individuals of different tribes are generally considered discreditable. Such marriages, however, do occasionally take place, either in consequence of domestic troubles, or irregularity of conduct in the parties, and they are of course attended with a corresponding mixture of feature. Intermarriages of the other tribes with the Bukharie are almost universally reprobated, and are attributed, when they occur, to interested motives on the part of the tribe which sanctions them, or to the overbearing influence and power possessed by the Bukharie. These matches entail on their offspring the negro feature, and a mulatto-like complexion, but darker. In all cases of intermarriage between different tribes or classes, the woman is considered to pass over to the tribe of her husband.

Besides the Moors, the population of the towns is considerably increased by the negro slaves, who are in general prolific, and whose numbers are continually increasing by fresh arrivals from the countries of Soudan.

There are but few of the African travellers, who, in their descriptions of the different characters, which may be said to constitute the various branches of African society, do not frequently make mention of a class of men known by the name of Marabouts, who may be regarded as the diviners or astrologers of the ancients, and of whose manners and imposition a slight sketch may not be thought in this place inexpedient nor useless.

In order to belong to the privileged class of the marabouts, it is requisite to have only one wife, to drink no wine nor spirits, and to know how to read the Koran, no matter however ill the task may be performed. In a country where incontinence and intemperance are so prevalent, and literature is so entirely unknown, it is not

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surprising that these men should easily gain credit with the public, but this credit is much augmented if the marabout be skilled in such tricks as are calculated to impose upon the vulgar. The least crafty amongst them will continue shaking their heads and arms so violently during several hours, that they frequently fall down in a swoon; others remain perfectly motionless, in attitudes the most whimsical and painful, and many of these impostors have the talent of captivating the confidence and good opinion of the multitude, by pretending to perform miracles in the public streets. This trade descends from father to son, and is so lucrative, that the most fertile parts of the country swarm with these knavish hypocrites. When they die, the neighbouring tribes erect a sort of mausoleum to their memory, consisting of a square tower, surmounted by a cupola of the most fantastical architecture. To these tombs, called likewise marabouts, the devout repair in crowds, and are accosted by the deceased through the organs of his surviving representatives, who dwell within the walls of the tower, and artfully contrive to increase the holy reputation of their predecessor, as well as their own profits. The walls of their tombs are covered with votive tablets and offerings to the deceased, consisting of fire-arms, saddles, bridles, stirrups and baskets of fruit, which no profane hand is allowed to touch, because the departed saint may choose to appropriate the contents to his own use, and by emptying the basket, acquire fresh claims to the veneration of the credulous. Some of these jugglers generally accompany the armies, when they take the field, feeding the commanders with promises of victory, making the camp the scene of their mummeries and impostures, and dealing in amulets, containing mystic words, written in characters, which none but the marabout who disposes of them can decypher. According to the price of these amulets, they have respectively the power of shielding the wearer from a poniard, a musket shot and cannon ball, and there is scarcely a man in the army, who does not wear one or more of them round his neck, as well as hang them round that of his horse or camel. Miraculous indeed is said to be the efficacy of their written characters in cases of sickness, but the presence of the marabout himself is necessary, in order that the writing may suit the nature of the disorder. When the disease is dangerous, the

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writing is administered internally, for which purpose they scrawl some words in large characters, with thick streaks of ink round the inside of a cup, dissolve the ink with broth, and with many devout ceremonies pour the liquor down the sick man's throat. These impostors have always free access to the beys and other high dignitaries of the state; and with regard to the former, in public audiences they never kiss his hand, but his shoulder, a token of distinction and confidence granted only to relations and persons of importance.

In their religion, the Africans labour under the disadvantage of being left to unassisted reason, and that too very little enlightened. Man has, perhaps, an instinctive sentiment, that his own fate and that of the universe are ruled by some supreme and invisible power, yet he sees this only through the medium of his wishes and imagination. He seeks for some object of veneration and means of protection, which may assume an outward and tangible shape. Thus the African reposes his faith in the doctrine of charms, which presents a substance stamped with a supernatural character, capable of being attached to himself individually, and of affording a feeling of security amid the many evils that environ him. In all the moorish borders where writing is known, it forms the basis of *Fetisherie*, and its productions enclosed in golden or ornamented cases, are hung round the person as guardian influences. Absurd, however, as are the observances of the negro, he is a stranger to the bigotry of his moslem neighbours. He neither persecutes nor brands as impious those whose religious views differ from his own. There is only one point, on which his faith assumes a savage character, and displays darker than inquisitorial horrors. The despot, the object of boundless homage on earth, seeks to transport all his pomp and the crowd of his attendants to his place in the future world. His death must be celebrated by the corresponding sacrifice of a numerous band of slaves, of wives and of courtiers; their blood must moisten his grave, and the sword of the rude warrior once drawn, does not readily stop; a general massacre often takes place, and the capitals of these barbarian chiefs are seen to stream with blood.

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CHAPTER XV.

It is impossible not to view the unquenchable zeal and intrepidity, which Park evinced on his first journey, without feeling for the individual the highest sentiments of admiration and respect. In addition to those high qualifications, we witnessed an admirable prudence in his intercourse with the natives, and a temper not to be ruffled by the most trying provocations; a union of qualities often thought incompatible, and which in our days we fear we cannot expect to see again directed to the same pursuits. It may be further stated, that to our own feelings, scarcely an individual of the age can be named, who has sunk under circumstances of deeper interest than this lamented traveller; whether we consider the loss, which geographical science has suffered in his death, or whether we confine our views to the blasted hopes of the individual, snatched away from his hard-earned, but unfinished triumph, and leaving to others that splendid consummation, which he so ardently sought to achieve. True it is, that the future discoverer of the termination of the Niger, must erect the structure of his fame on the wide foundation, with which his great predecessor had already occupied the ground; but although the edifice will owe its very existence to the labours of Park, yet another name than his is now recorded on the finished pile;

Hos ego—feci, tulit alter honores.

The African Association, although enthusiastically attached to

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every subject connected with the interior of Africa, soon found that, unless the government would take up the subject as a national affair, no great hope existed of arriving at the great objects of their research; it was therefore proposed by Sir Joseph Banks, that a memorial should be presented to his majesty George III., praying him to institute those measures, by which the discoveries that Park had made in the interior of Africa could be prosecuted, and which might ultimately lead to the solution of those geographical problems, to which the attention of the scientific men of the country were then directed.

In the mean time Mr. Park had married the daughter of a Mr. Anderson, with whom he had served his apprenticeship as a surgeon, and having entered with some success in the practice of his profession, in the town of Peebles, it was supposed, that content with the laurels so dearly earned, he had renounced a life of peril and adventure. But none of these ties could detain him, when the invitation was given to renew and complete his splendid career. The invitation was formally sent to him by government, in October 1801, to undertake an expedition on a larger scale, into the interior of Africa. His mind had been brooding on the subject with enthusiastic ardour. He had held much intercourse with Mr. Maxwell, a gentleman who had long commanded a vessel in the African trade, by whom he was persuaded that the Congo, which since its discovery by the Portuguese, had been almost lost sight of by the Europeans, would prove to be the channel by which the Niger, after watering all the regions of interior Africa, enters the Atlantic. The scientific world were very much disposed to adopt Park's views on this subject, and accordingly the whole plan of the expedition was adjusted with an avowed reference to them. The agitation of the public mind, by the change of ministry, and the war with France, delayed further proceedings till 1804, when Mr. Park was desired by Lord Camden, the colonial secretary, to form his arrangements, with an assurance of being supplied with every means necessary for their accomplishment. The course which he now suggested, was, that he should no longer travel as a single and unprotected wanderer; his experience decided him against such a mode of proceeding. He proposed to take with him a small party, who being

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well armed and disciplined, might face almost any force which the natives could oppose to them. He determined with this force to proceed direct to Sego, to build there two boats forty feet long, and thence to sail downwards to the estuary of the Congo. Instructions were accordingly sent out to Goree, that he should be furnished liberally with men, and every thing else of which he might stand in need.

Mr. Park sailed from Portsmouth, in the Crescent transport, on the 30th January 1805. About the 9th of March, he arrived at the Cape Verd Islands, and on the 28th reached Goree. There he provided himself with an officer and thirty-five soldiers, and with a large stock of asses from the islands, where the breed of these animals is excellent, and which appeared well fitted for traversing the rugged hills of the high country, whence issue the sources of the Senegal and Niger. He took with him also two sailors and four artificers, who had been sent from England. A month however elapsed, before all these measures could be completed, and it was then evident that the rainy season could not be far distant, a period, in which travelling is very difficult and trying to European constitutions. It is clear, therefore, that it would have been prudent to remain at Goree or Pisania, till that season had passed; but in Mr. Park's enthusiastic state of mind, it would have been extremely painful to linger so long on the eve of his grand and favorite undertaking. He hoped, and it seemed possible, that before the middle of June, when the rains usually began, he might reach the Niger, which could then be navigated without any serious toil or exposure. He departed, therefore, with his little band from Pisania, on the 4th May, and proceeded through Medina, along the banks of the Gambia. With so strong a party, he was no longer dependent on the protection of the petty kings and mansas, but the Africans seeing him so well provided, thought he had now no claim on their hospitality; on the contrary, they seized every opportunity to obtain some of the valuable articles which they saw in his possession. Thefts were practised in the most audacious manner; the kings drove a hard bargain for presents; at one place, the women, with immense labour had emptied all the wells, that they might derive an advantage from selling the water. Submitting quietly to

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these little annoyances, Mr. Park proceeded along the Gambia till he saw it flowing from the south, between the hills of Foota Jalla and a high mountain called Mueianta. Turning his face almost due west, he passed the streams of the Ba Lee, the Ba Ting, and the Ba Woollima, the three principal tributaries of the Senegal. His change of direction led him through a tract much more pleasing, than that passed in his dreary return through the Jallonka wilderness. The villages, built in delightful mountain glens, and looking from their elevated precipices over a great extent of wooded plain, appeared romantic beyond any thing he had ever seen. The rocks near Sullo, assumed every possible diversity of form, towering like ruined castles, spires and pyramids. One mass of granite so strongly resembled the remains of a gothic abbey, with its niches and ruined staircase, that it required some time to satisfy him of its being composed wholly of natural stone. The crossing of the river, now considerably swelled, was attended with many difficulties, and in one of them Isaaco, the guide, was nearly devoured by a crocodile.

It was near Satadoo, soon after passing the Faleme, that the party experienced the first tornado, which marking the commencement of the rainy season, proved for them the "beginning of sorrows." In these tornadoes, violent storms of thunder and lightning are followed by deluges of rain, which cover the ground three feet deep, and have a peculiarly malignant influence on European constitutions. In three days twelve men were on the sick-list; the natives, as they saw the strength of the expedition decline, became more bold and frequent in their predatory attacks. At Gambia attempts were made to overpower by main force the whole party, and seize all they possessed; but, by merely presenting their muskets, the assault was repelled without bloodshed. At Mania Korro the whole population hung on their rear for a considerable time, headed by thirty of the king's sons; and some degree of delicacy was felt as to the mode of dealing with these august thieves, so long as their proceedings were not quite intolerable. One of them came up and engaged Mr. Park in conversation, while another ran off with his fowling-piece, and on his attempting to pursue him, the first took the opportunity of seizing his great coat. Orders were now given

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to fire on all depredators, royal or plebeian; and after a few shots had been discharged without producing any fatal effects, the thieves hid themselves amongst the rocks, and were merely seen peeping through the crevices.

The expedition continued to melt away beneath the deadly influence of an African climate. Every day added to the list of the sick or dead, or of those who declared themselves unable to proceed. Near Bangassi, four men lay down at once. It was even with difficulty that Mr. Park dragged forward his brother-in-law, Mr. Anderson, while he himself felt very sick and faint. His spirits were about to sink entirely, when, coming to an eminence, he obtained a distant view of the mountains, the southern base of which he knew to be watered by the Niger. Then indeed he forgot his fever, and thought only of climbing the blue hills, which delighted his eyes.

Before he could arrive at that desired point, three weeks elapsed, during which he experienced the greatest difficulty and suffering. At length, he reached the summit of the ridge, which divides the Senegal from the Niger, and coming to the brow of the hill, saw again this majestic river rolling its immense stream along the plain. His situation and prospects were, however, gloomy indeed, when compared with those, with which he had left the banks of the Gambia. Of thirty-eight men, whom he then had with him, there survived only seven, all suffering from severe sickness, and some nearly at the last extremity. Still his mind was full of the most sanguine hopes, especially when, on the 22d August, he found himself floating on the waters of the Niger, and advancing towards the ultimate object of his ambition. He hired canoes to convey his party to Maraboo, and the river here, a mile in breadth, was so full and so deep, that its current carried him easily over the rapids, but with a velocity, which was even in a certain degree painful.

At Maraboo, he sent forward Isaaco, the interpreter, to Mansong, with part of the presents, and to treat with that monarch for protection, as well as for permission to build a boat. This envoy was absent several days, during which great anxiety was felt, heightened by several unfavourable rumours, amongst which was, that the king had killed the envoy with his own hand, and an-

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nounced his purpose to do the same to every white man, who should come within his reach. These fears were, however, dispelled by the appearance of the royal singing-man, who brought a message of welcome, with an invitation to repair to Sego, and deliver in person the remaining presents intended for the monarch. At Samee, the party met Isaaco, who reported that there was something very odd in his reception by Mansong. That prince assured him, in general, that the expedition would be allowed to pass down the Niger; but whenever the latter came to particulars, and proposed an interview with Mr. Park, the king began to draw squares and triangles with his finger on the sand, and in this geometrical operation his mind seemed wholly absorbed. Isaaco suspected that he laboured under some superstitious dread of white men, and sought by these figures to defend himself against their magic influence. It was finally arranged, that the presents should be delivered, not to Mansong in person, but to Modibinne, his prime minister, who was to come to Samee for that purpose. He accordingly appeared, and began by inquiring, in the king's name, an explanation why Park had come to Bambarra, with so great a train, from so distant a country, allowing him a day to prepare his reply. Next morning, the traveller gave an answer in form, representing his mission as chiefly commercial, and holding forth the advantages, which Bambarra might reap by receiving European goods directly from the coast, instead of circuitously, as now, through Morocco, the desert, Timbuctoo, and Jenne, having a profit levied on them at every transfer. Modibinne expressed satisfaction both with the reasons and the presents, and on his return next day, offered, on the part of Mansong, the option of building a boat either at Samee, Sego, Sansanding, or Jenne. Park chose Sansanding, thus enabling the king to avoid an interview with the Europeans, of which he seemed to entertain so mysterious a dread.

The voyage down the river was distressing; for although the fatigue of travelling was avoided, the heat was so intense, that it was thought sufficient to have roasted a sirloin, and the sick had thus no chance of recovery. Sansanding was found a prosperous and flourishing town, with a crowded market well arranged. The principal articles, which were cloth of Houssa or Jenne, antimony,

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beads, and indigo, were each arranged in stalls, shaded by mats from the heat of the sun. There was a separate market for salt, the main staple of their trade. The whole presented a scene of commercial order and activity totally unlooked for in the interior of Africa.

Mansong had promised to furnish two boats, but they were late in arriving, and proved very defective. In order to raise money, it was necessary to sell a considerable quantity of goods; nor was it without much trouble, that the two skiffs were finally converted into the schooner Joliba, forty feet long, six broad, and drawing only one foot of water, being the fittest form for navigating the Niger downward to the ocean.

During Mr. Park's stay at Sansanding, he had the misfortune to lose his brother-in-law, Mr. Anderson, to whom his attachment was so strong as to make him say, "No event which took place during the journey ever threw the smallest gloom over my mind, till I laid Mr. Anderson in the grave. I then felt myself as if left a second time, lonely and friendless amidst the wilds of Africa." Although the party were now reduced to five Europeans, one of whom was deranged, and although the most gloomy anticipations could not fail to arise in the mind of Mr. Park, his firmness was in no degree shaken. He announced to Lord Camden his fixed purpose to discover the termination of the Niger, or to perish in the attempt, adding, "Though all the Europeans, who are with me should die, and though I were myself half dead, I would still persevere." To Mrs. Park he announced the same determination, combined with an undoubting confidence of success, and the commencement of his voyage down the Niger, through the vast unknown regions of interior Africa, he called, "turning his face towards England."

It was on the 7th November 1805, that Park set sail on his last and fatal voyage. A long interval elapsed without any tidings, which, considering the great distance, and the many causes of delay, did not at first excite alarm amongst his friends. As the following year, however, passed on, rumours of an unpleasant nature began to prevail. Alarmed by these, and feeling a deep interest in his fate, Governor Maxwell, of Sierra Leone, engaged Isaacc, the

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guide, who had been sent to the Gambia with despatches from the Niger, to undertake a fresh journey to inquire after him. At Sansanding he was so far fortunate as to meet Amadi Fatouma, who had been engaged to succeed himself as interpreter. From him he received a journal, purporting to contain the narrative of the voyage down the river, and of its final issue. The party, it would appear, had purchased three slaves, who, with the five Europeans and Fatouma, increased their number to nine. They passed Silla and Jenne in a friendly manner; but at Rakbara (Kabra) and Timbuctoo, they were attacked by several armed parties, who were repelled only by a smart and destructive fire. No particulars are given of any of these important places; nor of Kaffo Gotoijege and others, which the discoverers are represented as having afterwards passed. At length they came to the village, more properly the city of Yaour, where Amadi Fatouma left the party, his services having been engaged only to that point. He had, however, scarcely taken his leave, when he was summoned before the king, who bitterly complained that the white men, though they brought many valuable commodities with them, had passed without giving him any presents. He therefore ordered that Fatouma should be thrown into irons, and a body of troops sent in pursuit of the English. These men reached Boussa, and took possession of a pass, where rocks, hemming in the river, allowed only a narrow channel for vessels to descend. When Park arrived, he found the passage thus obstructed, but attempted nevertheless to push his way through. The people began to attack him, throwing lances, pikes, arrows, and stones. He defended himself for a long time, when two of his slaves at the stern of the canoe were killed. The crew threw every thing they had into the river, and kept firing; but being overpowered by numbers and fatigue, unable to keep up the canoe against the current, and seeing no probability of escaping, Mr. Park took hold of one of the white men, and jumped into the water. Martyn did the same, and they were all drowned in the stream in attempting to escape. The only slave that remained in the boat, seeing the natives persist in throwing weapons into it without ceasing, stood up and said to them, "Stop throwing now; you see nothing in the

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canoe, and nobody but myself; therefore cease. Take me and the canoe; but don't kill me." They took possession of both, and carried them to the king.

These sad tidings, conveyed in course to England, were not for a long time received with general belief. The statement, being sifted with care, was thought to contain inconsistencies, as well as such a degree of improbability as left some room for hope; but year after year elapsed, and this hope died away. Denham and Clapperton received accounts from various quarters, which very nearly coincided with those of Amadi Fatouma. Clapperton, in his last journey, even saw the spot where he perished, which, allowing for some exaggeration, did not ill correspond with the description just given; and further, he received notice that Park's manuscripts were in the possession of the king of Yaour, or Youri, who offered to deliver them up, on condition that the captain would pay him a visit, which he, unfortunately, was never able to perform.

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CHAPTER XVI.

The fate of Park, notwithstanding the deep regret which it excited in England and in Europe, presented nothing which could destroy the hope of future success. The chief cause of failure could be easily traced to the precipitation into which he had been betrayed by a too ardent enthusiasm. Nothing had ever been discovered adverse to the hypothesis that identified the Niger with the Congo, which still retained a strong hold on the public mind. The views of government and of the nation on this subject were entirely in unison. It was therefore determined, that an expedition on a grand scale should be fitted out, divided into two portions; one to descend the Niger, and the other to ascend the Congo; which two parties, it was fondly hoped, would effect a triumphant meeting in the middle of the great stream that they were sent to explore. The public loudly applauded this resolution; and never perhaps did an armament, expected to achieve the most splendid victories, excite deeper interest than this, which seemed destined to triumph over the darkness that had so long enveloped the vast interior of Africa.

The expedition to the Congo was entrusted to Captain Tuckey, an officer of merit and varied services, who had published several works connected with geography and navigation. Besides a crew of about fifty, including marines and mechanics; he was accompanied by Mr. Smith, an eminent botanist, who likewise possessed some knowledge of geology; Mr. Cranck, a self-taught, but able

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zoologist; Mr. Tudor, a good comparative-anatomist; Mr. Lockhart, a gardener from Kew; and Mr. Galwey, an intelligent person, who volunteered to join the party.

They sailed from Deptford on the 16th February 1816, and reached Malemba on the 30th June, where they met with a cordial reception from the mafook, or king's merchant, in the belief that they were come to make up a cargo of slaves. The chiefs, on being reluctantly convinced of the contrary, burst into the most furious invectives against the crowned heads of Europe, particularly the king of England, whom they denominated the "devil," imputing chiefly to him the stop put to this odious, but lucrative traffic. A few days brought the English into the channel of the Congo, which, to their great surprise, instead of exhibiting the immense size they had been taught to expect, scarcely appeared a river of the second class. The stream it is true, was then at the lowest, but the depth being still more than 150 fathoms, made it impossible to estimate the mass of water which its channel might convey to the ocean. The banks were swampy, overgrown with mangrove trees, and the deep silence and repose of these extensive forests made a solemn impression upon the mind.

At Embomma, the emporium of the Congo, much interest was excited by the discovery, that a negro officiating as cook's mate, was a prince of the blood.* He was welcomed with rapture by his father, and with a general rejoicing by the whole village. The young savage was soon arrayed in full African pomp, having on an embroidered coat, very much tarnished, a silk sash, and a black glazed hat, surmounted by an enormous feather. Captain Tuckey

* This is by no means an uncommon case in the ships trading to Africa, for we were once honoured by an introduction to one of these princes, who came to England in Capt. Fullerton's ship, in the humble capacity of a cabin boy. We could not exactly ascertain whether he considered any part of England, as belonging to the territory of his father, but he seemed very much disposed to consider our house as his home, for having once gained a footing in it, it was a very difficult matter to make him comprehend, when it was high time for him to take his departure. He once honoured us with a visit at nine o'clock in the morning, and at eleven at night, he was seated upon the same chair that he had taken possession of in the morning, during which time he had consumed ten basins of pea-soup, with a proportionate quantity of other substantials.

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was introduced to the *cheeno*, or hereditary chief, who, with his huge gilt buttons, stockings of pink sarcenet, red half-boots, and high-crowned embroidered hat, reminded him of punch in a puppet show. It was vain attempting to convey to this sage prince, any idea of the objects of the expedition. The terms which express science, and an enlightened curiosity, did not excite in his mind a single idea, and he rang continual changes on the questions:—Are you come to trade? and are you come to make war? being unable to conjecture any other motive. At length having received a solemn declaration, that there was no intention to make war, he sealed peace by the acceptance of a large present of brandy.

After sailing between ridges of high rocky hills, the expedition came to the Yellala, or great cataract, and here they met with a second disappointment. Instead of another Niagara, which general report had led them to expect, they saw only a comparative brook bubbling over its stony bed. The fall appears to be occasioned merely by masses of granite, fragments of which have fallen down and blocked up the stream. Yet this obstruction rendered it quite impossible for the boats to pass, nor could they be carried across the precipices and deep ravines, by which the country was intersected. The discoverers were, therefore, obliged to proceed by land through this difficult region, which, without a guide on whom they could rely, was attended with overwhelming toil. Cooloo Inga, and Mavoonda, the principal villages, were separated by wide intervals, which placed the travellers under the necessity of often sleeping in the open air. At length the country improved and became more level; the river widened, and the obstacles to its navigation gradually disappeared. But just as the voyage began to assume a prosperous aspect, indications of its fatal termination began to show themselves. The health of the party was rapidly giving way under the effects of fatigue, as well as the malignant influence of a damp and burning atmosphere. Tudor, Crouch and Galwey, were successively obliged to return to the ship. Captain Tuckey, after struggling for some time against the increasing pressure of disease and exhaustion, as well as the accumulating difficulties of the expedition, saw the necessity of putting a stop to its further progress. Mr. Smith at first expressed deep dis-

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appointment at this resolution, but soon became so ill that he could scarcely be conveyed to the vessel. On reaching it, a sad scene awaited the survivors; Crouch, Tudor and Galwey, were no more; they had successively sunk under the weight of disease. Mr. Smith soon shared their fate, and Captain Tuckey himself, on the 4th October, added one more to the number of deaths, without having suffered the usual attack of fever. He had been exhausted by constant depression and mental anxiety.

From this unfortunate expedition, however, some information was obtained respecting a part of Africa, not visited for several centuries. No trace indeed was seen of the great kingdoms, or of the cities and armies described by the Portuguese missionaries, so that though the interior may very probably be more populous than the banks of the river, there must in these pious narratives be much exaggeration; indeed it is not unworthy of remark, that all the accounts of the early missionaries, into whatever part of the world they undertook to intrude themselves, can only be looked upon as a tissue of falsehood, and hyperbolical misrepresentation.

The largest towns, or rather villages, did not contain above one hundred houses, with five hundred or six hundred inhabitants. They were governed by chenoos, with a power nearly absolute, and having mafooks under them, who were chiefly employed in the collection of revenue. The people were merry, idle, good-humoured, hospitable, and liberal, with rather an innocent and agreeable expression of countenance. The greatest blemish in their character appeared in the treatment of the female sex, on whom they devolved all the laborious duties of life, even more exclusively than is usual among negro tribes, holding their virtues also in such slender esteem, that the greatest chiefs unblushingly made it an object of traffic. Upon this head, however, they have evidently learned much evil from their intercourse with Europeans. The character of the vegetation, and the general aspect of nature, are pretty nearly the same on the Congo, as on the other African rivers.

Meantime the other part of the expedition, under Major Peddie, whose destination it was to descend the Niger, arrived at the mouth of the Senegal. Instead of the beaten track along the banks of that river or of the Gambia, he preferred the route through the country of

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the Foulahs, which, though nearer, was more difficult and less explored. On the 17th November 1816, he sailed from the Senegal, and on the 14th December, the party, consisting of one hundred men, and two hundred animals, landed at Kakundy, on the Rio Nunez; but before they could begin their march, Major Peddie was attacked with fever, and died. Captain Campbell, on whom the command devolved, proceeded on the line proposed till he arrived at a small river, called the Ponietta, on the frontier of the Foulah territory. By this time many of the beasts of burden had sunk, and great difficulty was found in obtaining a sufficient supply of provisions. The king of the Foulahs, on being asked permission to pass through his territory, seemed alarmed at hearing of so large a body of foreigners about to enter his country. He contrived, under various pretexts, to detain them on the frontier four months, during which their stock of food and clothing gradually diminished, while they were suffering all the evils that arise from a sickly climate and a scanty supply of necessaries. At length, their situation became such as to place them under the absolute necessity of returning. All their animals being dead, it was necessary to hire the natives to carry their baggage, an expedient which gave occasion to frequent pillage. They reached Kakundy with the loss only of Mr. Kummer, the naturalist; but Captain Campbell, overcome by sickness and exertion, died two days after, on the 13th of June 1817. The command was then transferred to Lieutenant Stokoe, a spirited young naval officer, who had joined the expedition as a volunteer. He had formed a new scheme for proceeding into the interior: but unhappily he also sunk under the climate and the fatigues of the journey.

A sentence of death seemed pronounced against all, who should attempt to penetrate the African continent, and yet were still some daring spirits, who did not shrink from the undertaking. Captain Gray, of the Royal African corps, who had accompanied the last-mentioned expedition, under Major Peddie and Captain Campbell, undertook, in 1818, to perform a journey by Park's old route along the Gambia. He reached, without any obstacle, Boolibani, the capital of Bondou, where he remained from the 20th June 1818 to the 22d May 1819; but, owing to the jealousy of the monarch, he

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was not permitted to proceed any further. With some difficulty he reached Gallam, where he met Staff-surgeon Dockard, who had gone forward to Sego, to ask permission to proceed through Bambarra, a request which had also been evaded. The whole party then returned to Senegal.

In 1821, Major Laing was sent on a mission from Sierra Leone, through the Timannee, Kooranko, and Soolima countries, with the view of forming some commercial arrangements. On this journey he found reason to believe, that the source of the Niger lay much further to the south than was supposed by Park. At Falabo he was assured that it might have been reached in three days, had not the Kissi nation, in whose territory it was situated, been at war with the Soolimanas, with whom Major Laing then resided. He was inclined to fix the source of this great river a very little above the ninth degree of latitude.

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CHAPTER XVII.

The British government was in the mean time indefatigable in their endeavours to find out the channels for exploring the interior of Africa. The pashaw of Tripoli, although he had usurped the throne by violent means, showed a disposition to improve his country, by admitting the arts and learning of Europe, while the judicious conduct of Consul Warrington inclined him to cultivate the friendship of Britain. Through his tributary kingdom of Fezzan, he held close and constant communication with Bornou, and the other leading states of central Africa, and he readily undertook to promote the views of any English expedition in that direction. The usual means were supplied by the government, and the ordinary inducements held forth by the association.

In consequence of these amicable dispositions evinced by the bashaw of Tripoli towards the British government, it was resolved to appoint a vice-consul to reside at Mourzouk, the capital of Fezzan; and the late Mr. Ritchie, then private secretary to Sir Charles Stuart, the British ambassador at Paris, was selected for the undertaking. He was joined at Tripoli by Captain G. F. Lyon, who had volunteered his services as his companion; and to this enterprising and more fortunate traveller, who has braved alike the rigours of an Arctic winter, and the scorching heats of central Africa, we are indebted for the narrative of the expedition.

On the 25th March 1819, the coffle, (*kafl'a*, *kafla*,) consisting of about two hundred men, and the same number of camels, com-

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menced its march from Tripoli for the interior. They were accompanied by Mohammed el Mukni, the sultan of Fezzan, from whose protection and friendship the greatest advantages were anticipated. By the express advice of the bashaw, the English travellers assumed the moorish costume, with the character of Moslem. Mr. Ritchie's name was converted into Yusuf al Ritchie; Captain Lyon called himself Said Ben Abdallah; and Belford, a ship-wright, who had entered into their service, took the name of Ali. In the coffle were several parties of liberated blacks, all joyful at the idea of once more returning to their native land, though the means of their support were very slender, and many of them, with their young children, had to walk a distance of two thousand miles before they could reach their own country.

The route lay for the first two days over a sandy irregular desert, and then entered the mountains of Terkoona, situated to the south-east of Tripoli, and which seems to be a continuation of the Gharian or Wahryan range. Several little streams flow from the sides of the hills, abounding with game, particularly snipes and partridges. On the sixth day, passing over a stony desert, they reached Benioleed, an Arab town, with about two thousand inhabitants. It consists of several straggling mud villages, on the sides of a fertile ravine, several miles in length, and bounded by rocks of difficult access. The centre is laid out in gardens, planted with date and olive trees, and producing also corn, vegetables, and pulse. The valley is subject to inundation during the winter rains, but in summer requires to be watered with great labour, by means of wells of extraordinary depth. It is inhabited by the Orfella tribe, subsisting chiefly by agriculture, and the rearing of cattle, aided only in a trifling degree by a manufacture of nitre; they are accounted hardy and industrious, but at the same time dishonest and cruel. Benioleed castle stands in latitude 31° 45′ 38 N., longitude 14° 12′ 10″ E.

The houses are built of rough stones, on each side of the Wady, none are above eight feet in height, receiving their light only through the doors, and their appearance is that of a heap of ruins. The wells are from 100 to 200 feet in depth, the water excellent. During the rains, the valley frequently became flooded by the torrents, and the

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water has been known to rise so nigh as to hide from view the tallest olive trees in the low grounds. Men and animals are often drowned in the night, before they hav time to escape. The torrents from the hill-sides rushing down with such impetuosity, that in an hour or two, the whole country is inundated.

On leaving Benioleed, it was necessary to take a supply of water for three days. The country presented an alternation of stony desert, and plains not incapable of cultivation, but having at this season no water. On the fifth day (6th April), they crossed Wady Zemzem, which runs into the Gulf of Syrtis, and passing over a plain strewed in some parts with cockle-shells, reached the well of Bonjem, which is the northern boundary of Fezzan.

On the 7th April, the camels being loaded with four days' water, the caravan left Bonjem, and proceeded over a barren desert called Klia. At the end of three hours and a half, they passed a remarkable mound of limestone and sand, resembling, until a very near approach, a white turret. It is called by the natives the Bowl of Bazeen, the latter word signifying an Arab dish, somewhat resembling a hasty pudding. The halt was made at the end of ten hours, in a sandy *wady*, called Boo-naja, twenty-two miles south-south-east of Bonjem.

The next day, the road led through a defile, called Hormut Emhalla (the pass of the army); then passing a range of table-mountains, running north-east and south-west, called Elood, it crossed a stony and very uneven plain, encircled with mountains, to the pass of Hormut Tazzet. Having cleared the pass, the road opened upon a plain called El Grazat Arab Hoon, where the caravan encamped, after a march of twelve hours and a half. Here one of the camels died; three others were unable to come up, and all of the camels in the coffle were much distressed, not having for several days tasted any kind of food. Two hours and a half further, they came to a solitary tree, which is reckoned a day's journey from water. Slaves, in coming from the water, are not allowed to drink until they reach the tree, which is one of the longest stages from Fezzan. At the end of nearly eleven hours, the route led through a pass called Hormut Taad Abar, and after wading through a *wady*, closely hemmed in by mountains, opened into a small cir-

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cular plain, in which was found a well of brackish, stinking water. In hot seasons, the well is dry, and even at this time it was very low; but the horses sucked up with avidity the mud that was thrown out of it. Still there was not any fodder for the camels, till, about the middle of the next day's march, they reached a small wady, in which there were some low bushes. A strong sand-wind from the southward now rendered the march extremely harassing. The sand flew about in such quantities, that the travellers were unable to prepare any food, and they could not even see thirty yards before them. In the evening they encamped amid a plantation of palms, near two wells of tolerably fresh water, at a short distance from Sockna. Of this town, which is about half-way between Tripoli and Mourzouk, Captain Lyon gives the following description :—

Sockna stands on an immense plain of gravel, bounded to the south by the Soudah mountains, at about fifteen miles; by the mountains of Wadam, about thirty miles to the eastward; a distant range to the west, and those already mentioned on the north. The town is walled, and may contain two thousand persons. There are small projections from the walls, having loop-holes for musketry. It has seven gates, only one of which will admit a loaded camel. The streets are very narrow, and the houses are built of mud and small stones mixed, many of them having a story above the ground-floor. A small court is open in the centre, and the doors, which open from this area, give the only light which the rooms receive. The water of Sockna is almost all brackish or bitter. There are 200,000 date trees in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, which pay duty; also an equal number, not yet come into bearing, which are exempt. These dates grow in a belt of sand, at about two or three miles distant from the town, and are of a quality far superior to any produced in the north of Africa. Owing to their excellence, they are sold at a very high price at Tripoli. The adjoining country is entirely destitute of shrubs, or any kind of food for camels, which are therefore sent to graze about five miles off; while in the town, all animals are fed on dates. Sheep are brought here from Benioleed, and are, in consequence of coming from such a distance, very dear. In the gardens about three miles from the

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town, barley, maize, and *gussob ohourra* are cultivated, as well as a few onions, turnips, and peppers. The number of flies here are immense, and all the people carry little flappers, made of bunches of wild bulls' hair tied to a short stick, in order to keep those pests at a distance. The dates all being deposited in store-houses in the town, may account in some degree for the multitude of these insects, which in a few minutes fill every dish or bowl containing any liquid.

The costume is here the same as that of the Bedouins, consisting generally of a shirt and barracan, a red cap, and sandals. A few, whose circumstances allow of it, dress in the costume of Tripoli. The neat appearance of the men in general is very striking, compared with that of the Arabs about the coast. The women are considered exceedingly handsome, indeed one or two were really so, and as fair as Europeans, but they are noted for their profligacy and love of intrigue.

The first day of spring is at Sockna a day of general rejoicing. It is then the custom, to dress out little tents or bowers on the tops of the houses, decorating them with carpets, *jereeds*, shawls, and sashes. A gaudy handkerchief on a pole, as a standard, completes the work, which is loudly cheered by the little children, who eat, drink, and play during the day in these covered places, welcoming the spring by songs, and crying continually, "O welcome spring, with pleasure bring us plenty." The women give entertainment in their houses, and the day is quite a holiday. From the top of the house in which Captain Lyon lodged, these little bowers had a very pretty effect, every roof in the town being ornamented with one. Four ears of corn were this day seen perfectly ripe, which was very early for the season. The gardens here are excellent, compared with the others in Fezzan.

Ten miles east by south from Sockna is the town of Hoon. It is smaller than Sockna, but is built and walled in the same manner. It has three gates, three mosques, and a large building, which is dignified with the name of a castle, but it does not appear to have even a loop-hole for musketry. The palm-groves and gardens come up close to the walls of the town, and completely conceal it. The

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soil is sand, but is fertilized by being constantly refreshed by little channels, from wells of brackish water. The inhabitants, who are of the tribe Fateima, bear a good character.

The town of Wadan is between twelve and thirteen miles east by north of Hoon. It appeared much inferior to either of the other two in point of neatness, comfort, and convenience; although its aspect is much more pleasing; it is built on a conical hill, on the top of which are some enclosed houses, called the castle. Here is a well of great depth, cut through the solid rock, evidently not the work of the Arabs. The tombs and mosques, both here and at Hoon, were ornamented with numbers of ostrich eggs. The inhabitants of Wadan are sheerefs, who are the pretended descendants of the prophet, and form the bulk of the resident population, and Arabs of the tribe *Moajer*, who spend the greater part of the year with their flocks in the Syrtis. A few miles eastward of the town, there is a chain of mountains, which, as well as the town itself, derives its name from a species of buffalo called *wadan*, immense herds of which are found there. The wadan is of the size of an ass, having a very large head and horns, a short reddish hide, and large bunches of hair hanging from each shoulder, to the length of eighteen inches or two feet; they are very fierce. There are two other specimens found here, the *bogra el weish*, evidently the *bekker el wash* of Shaw, a red buffalo, slow in its motions, having large horns, and of the size of a cow; and the white buffalo, of a lighter and more active make, very shy and swift, and not easily procured. The wadan seems best to answer to the *oryx*.

There are great numbers of ostriches in these mountains, by hunting of which, many of the natives subsist. At all the three towns, Sockna, Hoon, and Wadan, it is the practice to keep tame ostriches in a stable, and in two years to take three cullings of the feathers.

Captain Lyon supposes that all the fine *white* ostrich feathers sent to Europe are from tame birds, the wild ones being in general so ragged and torn, that not above half a dozen perfect ones can be found. The black, being shorter and more flexible, are generally good. All the Arabs agree in stating, that the ostrich does not leave its eggs to be hatched by the heat of the sun. The parent bird forms a rough nest, in which she covers from fourteen to eighteen

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eggs, and regularly sits on them, in the same manner as the common fowl does on her chickens, the male occasionally relieving the female.* It is during the breeding season that the greatest numbers are procured, the Arabs shooting the old ones on their nests.

On the 22d April, Captain Lyon and his companions left Sockna, in company with Sultan Mukni, for Mourzouk, which they entered upon the 4th May. The whole way is an almost uninterrupted succession of stony plains and gloomy wadys, with no water but that of wells, generally muddy, brackish, or bitter, and at fearful intervals. On the first evening, the place of encampment was a small plain, with no other vegetation than a few prickly *talh* bushes, encircled by high mountains of basalt, which gave it the appearance of a volcanic crater. Here, at a well of tolerably good water, called Gatfa, the camels were loaded with water for five days. The next day, the horse and foot men passed over a very steep mountain called Nufdai, by a most difficult path of large irregular masses of basalt; the camels were four hours in winding round the foot of this mountain, which was crossed in one hour. From the wady at its foot, called Zgar, the route ascended to a flat covered with broken basalt, called Dahr t'Moumen (the believer's back): it then led through several gloomy wadys, till, having cleared the mountainous part of the Soudah (Jebel Assoud), it issued in the plain called El Maitba Soudah, from its being covered in like manner with small pieces of basalt. Three quarters of an hour further, they reached El Maitba Barda, a plain covered with a very small white gravel, without the slightest trace of basalt.

"We did not see any where," says Captain Lyon, "the least appearance of vegetation, but we observed many skeletons of animals, which had died of fatigue in the desert, and occasionally the grave of some human being. All their bodies were so dried by the extreme heat of the sun, that putrifaction did not appear to have taken place after death. In recently dead animals, I could not perceive the slightest offensive smell; and in those long dead, the skin,

* There is one peculiarity attending the ostrich, which is, that although the female lays from about twenty-five to thirty eggs, yet she only sits upon about fifteen, throwing the remainder outside the nest, where they remain until the young ones are hatched, and these eggs form the first food of the young birds.—EDITOR.

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with the hair on it, remained unbroken and perfect, although so brittle as to break with a slight blow. The sand-winds never cause these carcases to change their places, as in a short time, a slight mound is formed round them, and they become stationary."

Afterwards, passing between low, table-topped hills, called El Gaaf, the coffle encamped on the third evening in a desert, called Sbir ben Afeen, where the plain presented on all sides so perfect a horizon, that an astronomical observation might have been taken as well as at sea. From the excessive dryness of the air, the blankets and barracans emitted electric sparks, and distinctly crackled on being rubbed. The horses' tails, also, in beating off the flies, had the same effect.

The fourth day, the route passed over sand hills to a sandy irregular plain, very difficult and dangerous. Here the wind, being southerly, brought with it such smothering showers of burning sand, that they frequently lost the track, being unable to distinguish objects at the distance of only a few yards.

The next day's march, the fifth from Sockna, over a rocky country, led to the walled village of Zeighan, or Zeghren, situated in the midst of a large forest of palms, in latitude 27° 26′ N. Eight miles further, on basaltic hillocks, is another village, somewhat larger, and more neatly walled, called Samnoo. The houses are very neatly built, and the rooms are washed with a yellow mud, which has a pretty effect. Three tolerably built white-washed minarets, the first that had been seen since leaving Tripoli, rose to some height above the houses, and have a pleasing appearance. Palm trees encircle the town, and the gardens are considered good. This town, as well as Zeighan, is famed for the number and sanctity of its marabouts. A stage of twenty miles, over a barren plain of gravel, leads to another, but inconsiderable town, called Timenhint. On the next day but one, they reached Sebha, a mud-walled town, picturesquely situated on rising ground, surrounded with its palm groves, in the midst of a dreary, desert plain; it has a high, square, white-washed minaret to its principal mosque. At this place, Captain Lyon remarked a change of colour in the population, the people being mulattoes. Two marches more led to Ghroodwa, a miserable collection of mud huts, containing about fifty people,

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who appeared a ragged drunken set, as the immense number of tapped palms testified. From the ruins of some large mud edifices, this place seems once to have been of more importance. The palms, which extend for ten or fifteen miles, east and west, are the property of the sultan, and appeared in worse condition than any they had seen. On leaving this place, the route again entered on a barren, stony plain, and in five hours and a half passed a small wady, called Wad el Nimmel (the valley of ants), from the number of ants, of a beautiful pink colour, that are found there. A few scattered palms, and some ill-built ruined huts occurring at intervals, and betokening the greatest wretchedness, alone relieved the dreariness of the remainder of the journey.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

The entry into Mourzouk, the capital of Sultan Mukni, was attended with the usual ceremonial. On drawing near to the palm groves and gardens, which encompass the city, a large body of horse and foot was seen approaching with silken flags. When the horsemen had advanced within five hundred yards of the party, they set off at full speed, and, on coming up, threw themselves from their horses, and ran to kiss the sultan's hand. On drawing nearer to the town, the cavalcade was met by the dancers, drummers, and pipers. Two men, bearing fans of ostrich feathers, stationed themselves on each side of the sultan, beating off the flies. Thus preceded by the led horses and silken flags, they made their entry, the horsemen continuing to skirmish till they reached the gate. The soldiers then raced up every broad street, shouting and firing, whilst the women uttered their shrill cry, and on passing a large open space, a salute was fired from two six-pounders. The scene was altogether highly interesting.

Mourzouk is a walled town, containing about 2,500 inhabitants, who are blacks, and who do not, like the Arabs, change their residence. The walls are of mud, having round buttresses, with loopholes for musketry, rudely built, but sufficiently strong to guard against attack; they are about fifteen feet in height, and at the bottom eight feet in thickness, tapering, as all the walls in this country do, towards the top. The town has seven gates, four of which are built

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up, in order to prevent the people escaping when they are required to pay their duties. A man is appointed by the sultan to attend each of these gates, day and night, lest any slaves or merchandise should be smuggled into the town. The people, in building the walls and houses, fabricate a good substitute for stones, which are not to be found in those parts, by forming clay into balls, which they dry in the sun, and use with mud as mortar; the walls are thus made very strong, and as rain is unknown, durable also. The houses, with very few exceptions, are of one story, and those of the poorer sort, receive all their light from the doors. They are so low as to require stooping nearly double to enter them; but the large houses have a capacious outer door, which is sufficiently well contrived, considering the bad quality of the wood, that composes them. Thick palm planks, of four or five inches in breadth, for the size and manner of cutting a tree will not afford more, have a square hole punched through them at the top and bottom, by which they are firmly wedged together with thick palm sticks; wet thongs of camels' hide are then tied tightly over them, which, on drying, draw the planks more strongly and securely together. There are not any hinges to the doors, but they turn on a pivot, formed on the last plank near the wall, which is always the largest on that account. The locks and keys are very large and heavy, and of curious construction. The houses are generally built in little narrow streets, but there are many open places, entirely void of buildings, and covered with sand, on which the camels of the traders rest. Many palms grow in the town, and some houses have small square enclosures, in which are cultivated a few red peppers and onions. The street of entrance is a broad space, of at least a hundred yards, leading to the wall that surrounds the castle, and is extremely pretty. Here the horsemen have full scope to display their abilities, when they skirmish before the sultan. The castle itself is an immense mud building, rising to the height of eighty or ninety feet, with little battlements on the walls, and at a distance really looks warlike. Like all the other buildings, it has no pretensions to regularity. The lower walls are fifty or sixty feet in thickness, the upper taper off to about four or five feet. In consequence of the immense mass of wall, the apartments are very small, and few in number. The

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ooms occupied by the sultan are of the best quality, that is to say, comparatively, for the walls are tolerably smooth and white-washed, and have ornamental daubs of red paint in blotches, by way of effect. His couch is spread on the ground, and his visitors squat down on the sandy floor, at a respectful distance. Captain Lyon and his party were always honoured by having a corner of the carpet offered to them. The best and most airy part of the castle is occupied by the women, who have small rooms round a large court, in which they take exercise, grind corn, cook, and perform other domestic offices. The number of great ladies, called *kibere*, seldom exceed six. This dignified title is generally given to the mothers of the sultan's children, or to those, who having been once great favorites, are appointed governesses to the rest; there are, altogether about fifty women, all black and very comely, and from what stolen glances we could obtain, they appeared extremely well dressed. They are guarded by five eunuchs, who keep up their authority by occasionally beating them.

The sultan has three sons and two daughters, who live with him in this cage, the doors of which are locked at night, and the keys brought to him, so that he remains free from any fear of attack. The castle is entered by a long winding passage in the wall, quite dark and very steep. At the door is a large shed, looking on a square place capable of containing three or four hundred men, closely huddled together. Under this shed is a great chair of state, once finely gilt and ornamented, with a patchwork quilt thrown over it, and behind it are the remains of two large looking-glasses. In this chair the sultan receives homage every Friday, before he ascends the castle, after returning from the mosque. This place is the Mejlees, and was the scene of all the cruelties practised by Mukni, when he first took possession of the country.

The habitation in which Captain Lyon and his party were lodged, was a very good one, and as all the houses are built upon nearly the same plan, the following description will give an idea of all the rest. A large door, sufficiently high to admit a camel, opened into a broad passage or *skeefa*, on one side of which was a tolerable stable for five horses, and close to it, a small room for the slaves, whose duty it might be to attend the house. A door opposite to

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hat of the stable opened into the *kouddé*, a large square room, the roof of which at the height of eighteen feet, was supported by four palm trees as pillars. In the centre of the roof was a large open space, about twelve feet by nine, from this, the house and rooms receive light, not to mention dust and excessive heat in the afternoon. At the end of the room facing the door, a large seat of mud was raised about eighteen inches high, and twelve feet in length. Heaps of this description, though higher, are found at the doors of most houses, and are covered with loungers in the cool of the morning and evening. The large room was fifty feet by thirty-nine. From the sides, doors opened into smaller ones, which might be used as sleeping or store rooms, but were generally preferred for their coolness. Their only light was received from the door. Ascending a few steps, there was a kind of gallery over the side rooms, and in it were two small apartments, but so vey hot as to be almost useless. From the large room was a passage leading to a yard, having also small houses attached to it in the same manner, and a well of comparatively good water. The floors were of sand, and the walls of mud roughly plastered, and showing every where the marks of the only trowel used in the country—the fingers of the right hand. There are no windows to any of the houses, but some rooms have a small hole in the ceiling, or high up the wall.

Near the house was the principal mosque, to which the sultan and the christian party went every Friday, as a matter of course, and every other day they found it necessary to appear there once or twice. It is a low building, having a shed projecting over the door, which, being raised on a platform, is entered by a few steps. A small turret, intended to be square and perpendicular, is erected for the Mouadden to call to prayers. One of the great lounges is on the seat in front of the mosque, and every morning and evening they are full of idle people, who converse on the state of the markets, and on their own private affairs, or in a fearful whisper canvass the sultan's conduct.

In Mourzouk there are sixteen mosques, which are covered in, but some of them are very small. Each has an imaum, but the kadi is their head, of which dignity he seems not a little proud. This man had never been beyond the boundaries of Fezzan, and

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could form no idea of any thing superior to mud houses and palms; he always fancied the Europeans to be great romancers, when they told him of their country, and described it as being in the midst of the sea.

They had many opportunities of observing the fighi and their scholars sitting on the sand. The children are taught their letters by having them written on a flat board, of a hard wood, brought from Bornou and Soudan, and repeating them after their master. When quite perfect in their alphabet, they are allowed to trace over the letters already made, they then learn to copy sentences, and to write small words dictated to them. The master often repeats verses from the Koran, in a loud voice, which the boys learn by saying them after him, and when they begin to read a little, he sings aloud, and all the scholars follow him from their books, as fast as they can. Practice at length renders them perfect, and in three or four years their education is considered complete. Thus it is, that many who can read the Koran with great rapidity, cannot peruse a line of any other book. Arithmetic is wholly out of the question. On breaking up for the day, the master and all the scholars recite a prayer. The school-hours are by no means regular, being only when the fighi has nothing else to do. Morning early, or late in the evening, are the general times for study. The punishments are beating with a stick on the hands or feet, and whipping, which is not unfrequently practised. Their pens are reeds—their rubber sand. While learning their tasks, and perhaps each boy has a different one, they all read aloud, so that the harmony of even a dozen boys may be easily imagined.

In the time of the native sultans, it was the custom, on a fixed day, annually, for the boys who had completed their education, to assemble on horseback, in as fine clothes as their friends could procure for them, on the sands to the westward of the town. On an eminence stood the fighi, bearing in his hand a little flag rolled on a staff; the boys were stationed at some distance, and on his unfurling the flag and planting it in the ground, all started at full speed. He who first arrived and seized it, was presented by the sultan with a fine suit of clothes, and some money, and rode through the town at the head of the others. These races ceased with the arrival of

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Mukni, and parents now complain that their sons have no inducement to study.

All the houses are infested with multitudes of small ants, which destroyed all the animals which the party had preserved, and even penetrated into their boxes. Their bite was very painful, and they were fond of coming into the blankets. One singularity is worthy of remark in Fezzan, which is, that fleas are unknown there, and those of the inhabitants, who have not been on the sea-coast, cannot imagine what they are like. Bugs are very numerous, and it is extraordinary that they are called by the same name as with us. There is a species of them which is found in the sands, where the coffles are in the habit of stopping; they bite very sharply, and fix in numbers round the coronet of a horse; the animals thus tormented, often become so outrageous as to break their tethers.

There are several pools of stagnant salt water in the town, which it is conceived in a great measure promote the advance of the summer fever and agues. The burying places are outside the walls, and are of considerable extent. In lieu of stones, small mud embankments are formed round the graves, which are ornamented with shreds of cloth tied to small sticks, with broken pots, and sometimes ostrich eggs. One of the burying places is for slaves, who are laid very little below the surface, and in some places the sand has been so carried away by the wind, as to expose their skeletons to view. Owing to the want of wood, no coffins are used. The bodies are merely wrapped in a mat, or linen cloth, and covered with palm branches, over which the earth is thrown. When the branches decay, the earth falls in, and the graves are easily known by being concave, instead of convex. The place where the former sultans were buried, is a plain near the town; their graves are only distinguished from those of other people, by having a larger proportion of broken pots scattered about them. It is a custom for the relations of the deceased to visit, and occasionally to recite a prayer over the grave, or to repeat a verse of the Koran. Children never pass within sight of the tombs of their parents, without stopping to pay this grateful tribute of respect to their memory. Animals are never buried, but thrown on mounds outside the walls, and there left. The excessive heat soon dries up all their moisture, and pre-

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vents their becoming offensive; the hair remains on them, so that they appear like preserved skins.

The men of Mourzouk of the better sort, dress nearly like the people of Tripoli. The lower orders wear a large shirt of white or blue cotton, with long loose sleeves, trowsers of the same, and sandals of camel's hide. The shirts being long, many wear no other covering. When leaving their houses, and walking to the market or gardens, a *jereed* or *aba* is thrown round them, and a red cap, or a neatly quilted cotton white one, completes the dress. On Fridays, they perhaps add a turban, and appear in yellow slippers. In the gardens, men and women wear large broad-brimmed straw hats, to defend their eyes from the sun, and sandals made from the leaves and fibres of the palm trees. Very young children go entirely naked, those who are older have a shirt, many are quite bare-headed, and in that state exposed all day to the sun and flies. The men have but little beard, which they keep closely clipped. The dress of the women here, differs materially from that of the moorish females, and their appearance and smell are far from agreeable. They plait their hair in thick bobbins, which hang over their foreheads, nearly as low down as the eye-brows, and are there joined at the bottom, as far round to each side as the temples. The hair is so profusely covered with oil, that it drops down over the face and clothes. This is dried up, by sprinkling it with plenty of a preparation made of a plant resembling wild lavender, cloves, and one or two more species pounded into powder, and called atria; it forms a brown dirty-looking paste, and combined with perspiration and the flying sand, becomes in a few days far from savoury. The back hair is less disgusting, as it is plaited into a long tress on each side, and is brought to hang over the shoulders; from these tresses, ornaments of silver or of coral are suspended. Black wool is frequently worked in with their black locks, to make them appear longer. In the centre of the forehead, an ornament of coral or beads is placed, hanging down to the depth of an inch or two. A woollen handkerchief is fastened on the back of the head; it falls over behind, and is tied by a leathern strap under the chin. Each ear is perforated for as many rings as the woman possesses, some wearing even six on one side. The largest, which is about five

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inches in diameter, hanging lowest, supported by a string from the head. Round the neck, a tight flat collar of beads, arranged in fancy patterns, is worn with coral necklaces, and sometimes a broad gold plate immediately in front. A large blue shirt is generally worn, the collar and breast ornamented with needle-work. The women also wear white shirts, and striped silk ones called shami, which are brought from Egypt; a jereed and red slippers complete their dress. They generally have their wrappers of a darker colour than those of the men. Some of the better class of women wear trowsers, not fuller in the leg than those worn in Europe; they are very prettily embroidered with silk at the bottom of the leg, and form a handsome contrast to the black skin of the wearer. Cornelians or agates, roughly shaped in the form of hearts, are much worn as necklaces, and they have a variety of rings for the thumbs and fingers. A band of silk cord hanging round the body from one shoulder, is generally filled with pendent leather or cloth bags, containing charms. Round the wrists and above the elbows, armlets of silver, gold, glass, horn or ivory are worn, according to the ability of the wearer to purchase them, and on the ankles they have silver, brass, copper or iron shackles. A pair of silver ones were seen, which weighed one hundred and twenty-eight ounces, but these ponderous ornaments produce a callous lump on the leg, and entirely deform the ankle. The poorest people have only the jereed and sandals. Both men and women have a singular custom of stuffing their nostrils with a twisted leaf of onions or clover, which has a very disgusting appearance. The men, not using oil, are much cleaner than the women, but the whole race of them, high and low, apparently clean, are otherwise stocked with vermin, and they make no secret of it. The sultan has been frequently observed, when detecting an interloper, to moisten his thumb to prevent its escape, and then demolish it with great composure and dignity. Some of the neighbours, whom Captain Lyon visited, while reposing on their carpets, would send for a slave to hunt for these tormentors on their shirts, and it is a great recommendation to a female slave on sale, to say that she is well skilled in this art, and in that of shampooing.

The natives have a variety of dances, of which two or three are peculiar to the country. The parties assemble on the sands in the

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dusk of the evening, when a number of young men and women range themselves side by side, and dance to the sound of drums, to which they keep good time. The men have a rude kind of iron cymbal in each hand, which opens and shuts; this they beat in the manner of castanets, both sexes singing at the same time in chorus. The movements consist in stepping forward, the whole line at once, at a particular turn of the tune, as if to catch something with their two hands, which they hold out; they balance themselves a short time on the advanced foot, and then step back, turning half round, first to one side and then to the other, the whole line then moves slowly in a circle round the musicians, who form the centre, and who all join in the dance. There is nothing improper nor immodest in this exhibition, but on the contrary, from its slowness and the regularity of its movements, it is extremely pleasing and elegant. Another dance is performed by women only, who form a circle round the drummers, and occasionally sing a lively chorus; one advances, and with her arms extended, foots it to and from the drummers, two or three times, until a change of tune, when she runs quickly backwards and falls flat down, the women behind are ready to receive her, and by a jerk of their arms throw her again upright, on which she once more turns round and resumes her place, leaving the one next in succession to her, to go through the same movements, all of which are performed in the most just time; the whole party occasionally enlivening the music, by their skill and extraordinary shout of joy. The dancing in the houses is not so pleasing as that in public, and as for decency, it is quite out of the question. The male slaves have many dances, in which great activity and exertion are requisite. One consists in dancing in a circle, each man armed with a stick, they all move, first half and then quite round, striking as they turn, the sticks of those on each side of them, and then jumping off the ground as high as they can. Another is performed by boys, and they have no drum, but keep chorus by singing in a particular manner, *la illa il alla*, (there is no God, but God.)

The sultan had frequently requested Mr. Ritchie to visit his children, and some of his negresses when they were indisposed, and he had in consequence frequently attended them, but being

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himself confined by illness, Captain Lyon was allowed to prescribe for them, and had therefore frequent opportunities of observing the interior of his family, which would not otherwise have been afforded him. He was much struck with the appearance of his daughters, one of three, the other of one year and a half old, who were dressed in the highest style of barbarian magnificence, and were absolutely laden with gold. From their necks were suspended large ornaments of the manufacture of Timbuctoo; and they had massive gold armlets and anklets of two inches in breadth, and half an inch in thickness, which, from their immense weight had produced callous rings round the legs and arms of the poor infants. They wore silk shirts composed of ribbons sewed together, in stripes of various colours, which hung down over silk trowsers. An embroidered waistcoat and cap completed this overwhelming costume. Their nails, the tips of their fingers, the palms of their hands and soles of their feet were dyed dark-brown with henna. Captain Lyon viewed with amazement and pity the dress of these poor little girls, borne down as they were with finery; but that of the youngest boy, a stupid looking child of four years old, was even more preposterous than that of his sisters. In addition to the ornaments worn by them, he was loaded with a number of charms, enclosed in gold cases, slung round his body, while in his cap were numerous jewels, heavily set in gold, in the form of open hands, to keep off *the evil eye*. These talismans were sewn on the front of his cap, which they entirely covered. His clothes were highly embroidered, and consisted of three waistcoats, a shirt of white silk, the women only wearing coloured ones, and loose cloth, silk, or muslin trowsers.

The costume of the sultan's court or hangers-on, is strictly Tripoline, and as fine as lace or presents of cast off-clothes can make them. It is the custom with Mukni, in imitation of the bashaw, to bestow occasionally on his principal people some article of dress. Those presents are made with much affected dignity, by throwing the garment to the person intended to be honoured, and saying, "Wear that," the dress is immediately put on in his presence, and the receiver kneels and kisses his hand in token of gratitude. Captain Lyon once saw the old kadi, who was very corpulent,

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receive as a gift a kaftan, which was so small for him, that when he had squeezed himself into it, he was unable to move his arms, and was in that condition obliged to walk home.

Each of the sultan's sons has a large troop of slaves, who attend him wherever he goes; they are generally about the same age as their master, and are his playmates, though they are obliged to receive from him many hearty cuffs, without daring to complain. The suite of the youngest boy in particular, formed a very amusing groupe, few of them exceeding five years of age. One bears his master's *bornouse*, another holds one shoe, walking next to the boy who carries its fellow. Some are in fine cast-off clothes, with tarnished embroidery, whilst others are quite or nearly naked, without even a cap on their heads, and the procession is closed by a boy, tottering under the weight of his master's state gun, which is never allowed to be fired off.

In Mourzouk, the luxuries of life are very limited, the people principally subsisting on dates. Many do not, for months together, taste corn; when obtained, they make it into a paste called *asooda*, which is a softer kind of *bascen*. Fowls have now almost disappeared in the country, owing to the sultan having appropriated all he could find for the consumption of his own family. The sheep and goats are driven from the mountains near Benioleed, a distance of four hundred miles; they pass over one desert, which, at their rate of travelling, occupies five days, without food or water. Numbers therefore die, which in course raises the price of the survivors. They are valued at three or four dollars each, when they arrive, being quite skeletons, and are as high as ten and twelve, when fatted. Bread is badly made, and is baked in ovens formed of clay in holes in the earth, and heated by burning wood; the loaves, or rather flat cakes are struck into the side, and are thus baked by the heat which rises from the embers. Butter is brought in goat-skins from the Syrtis, and is very dear. Tobacco is very generally chewed by the women, as well as by the men. They use it with the *trona* (soda). Smoking is the amusement of a great man, rather than of the lower class, the mild tobacco being very dear, and pipes not easily procured.

The revenues of the sultan of Fezzan arise from slaves, mer-

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chandise, and dates. For every slave, great or small, he receives, on their entering his kingdom, two Spanish dollars; in some years the number of slaves amount to 4,000; for a camel's load of oil or butter, seven dollars; for a load of beads, copper, or hardware, four dollars; and of clothing, three dollars. All Arabs, who buy dates pay a dollar duty on each load, equal at times to the price of the article, before they are allowed to remove it. Above 3,000 loads are sold to them annually. Date trees, except those of the kadi and mamlukes, are taxed at the rate of one dollar for every two hundred; by this duty, in the neighbourhood of Mourzouk, or more properly in the few immediately neighbouring villages, the sultan receives yearly 10,000 dollars. Of all sheep or goats, he is entitled to a fifth. On the sale of every slave, he has, in addition to the head-money, a dollar and a half, which, at the rate of 4,000, gives another 6,000 dollars. The captured slaves are sold by auction, at which the sultan's brokers attend, bidding high only for the finest. The owner bids against them until he has an offer equal to what he considers as the value of the slave; he has then three-fourths of the money paid to him, while one-fourth is paid by the purchaser to the sultan. Should the owner not wish to part with his slaves, he buys them in, and the sum which he last names, is considered as the price, from which he has to pay the sultan's share. The trees, which are his private property, produce about 6,000 camel loads of dates, each load 400 pounds weight, and which may be estimated at 18,000 dollars. Every garden pays a *tenth* of the corn produced. The gardens are very small, and are watered, with great labour, from brackish wells. Rain is unknown, and dews never fall. In these alone corn is raised, as well as other esculents. Pomegranates and fig-trees are sometimes planted in the water-channels. Presents of slaves are frequently made, and fines levied. Each town pays a certain sum, which is small; but as the towns are numerous, it may be averaged to produce 4,000 dollars. Add to this his annual excursions for slaves, sometimes bringing 1,000 or 1,600, of which one-fourth are his, as well as the same proportion of camels. He alone can sell horses, which he buys for five or six dollars, when half starved, from the Arabs, who come to trade, and cannot maintain them, and makes a great profit by obtaining slaves

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in exchange for them. All his people are fed by the public, and he has no money to pay, except to the bashaw, which is about 15,000 dollars per annum. There are various other ways, in which he extorts money. If a man dies childless, the sultan inherits great part of his property; and if he thinks it necessary to kill a man, he becomes his entire heir.

In Mourzouk, about a tenth part of the population are slaves, though many of them have been brought away from their native country so young as hardly to be considered in that light. With respect to the household slaves, little or no difference is to be perceived between them and freemen, and they are often entrusted with the affairs of their master. These domestic slaves are rarely sold, and on the death of any of the family to which they belong, one or more of them receive their liberty; when, being accustomed to the country, and not having any recollection of their own, they marry, settle, and are consequently considered as naturalised. It was the custom, when the people were more opulent, to liberate a male or female on the feast of Bairam, after the fast of Rhamadan, This practice is not entirely obsolete, but nearly so. In Mourzouk there are some white families, who are called mamlukes, being descended from renegades, whom the bashaw had presented to the former sultan. These families and their descendants are considered noble, and, however poor and low their situation may be, are not a little vain of their title.

The general appearance of the men of Fezzan is plain, and their complexion black. The women are of the same colour, and ugly in the extreme. Neither sex are remarkable for figure, weight, strength, vigour, or activity. They have a very peculiar cast of countenance, which distinguishes them from other blacks; their cheek-bones are higher and more prominent, their faces flatter, and their noses less depressed, and more peaked at the tip than those of the negroes. Their eyes are generally small, and their mouths of an immense width; but their teeth are frequently good; their hair is woolly, though not completely frizzled. They are a cheerful people, fond of dancing and music, and obliging to each other. The men almost all read and write a little, but in every thing else they are very dull and heavy; their affections are cold and selfish,

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and a kind of general indifference to the common incidents of life, mark all their actions. They are neither prone to sudden anger, nor at all revengeful. In Mourzouk the men drink a great quantity of *lackbi*, or a drink called *busa*, which is prepared from the dates, and is very intoxicating. The men are good-humoured drunkards, and when friends assemble in the evening, the ordinary amusement is mere drinking; but sometimes a *kadanka* (singing girl) is sent for. The Arabs practise hospitality generally; but among the Fezzaners that virtue does not exist, they are, however, very attentive and obsequious to those in whose power they are, or who can repay them tenfold for their pretended disinterestedness. Their religion enjoins, that, should a stranger enter while they are at their meals, he must be invited to partake, but they generally contrive to evade this injunction by eating with closed doors. The lower classes are from necessity very industrious, women as well as men, as they draw water, work in the gardens, drive the asses, make mats, baskets, &c. in addition to their other domestic duties. People of the better class, or, more properly, those who can afford to procure slaves to work for them, are, on the contrary, very idle and lethargic; they do nothing but lounge or loll about, inquiring what their neighbours have had for dinner, gossip about slaves, dates, &c., or boast of some cunning cheat, which they have practised on a Tiboo or Tuarick, who, though very knowing fellows, are, comparatively with the Fezzaners, fair in their dealings. Their moral character is on a par with that of the Tripolines, though, if any thing, they are rather less insincere. Falsehood is not considered odious, unless when detected; and when employed in trading, they affirm that it is allowed by the Koran, for the good of merchants. However this may be, Captain Lyon asserts, that he never could find any one able to point out the passage authorizing these commercial falsehoods.

The lower classes work neatly in leather; they weave a few coarse barracans, and make iron-work in a solid, though clumsy manner. One or two work in gold and silver with much skill, considering the badness of their tools, and every man is capable of acting as a carpenter or mason; the wood being that of the date tree, and the houses being built of mud, very little elegance or skill

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is necessary. Much deference is paid to the artists in leather or metals, who are called, *par excellence*, *sta*, or master, as leather-master, iron-master, &c.

From the constant communication with Bornou and Soudan, the languages of both these countries are generally spoken, and many of their words are introduced into the Arabic. The family slaves and their children by their masters, constantly speak the language of the country, whence they originally come. Their writing is in the Mogrebyn character, which is used, as is supposed by Captain Lyon, universally in western Africa, and differs much from that of the east. The pronunciation is also very different, the kaf being pronounced as a G, and only marked with one nunnation, and F is pointed below; they have no idea of arithmetic, but reckon every thing by dots on the sand, ten in a line; many can hardly tell how much two and two amount to. They expressed great surprise at the Europeans being able to add numbers together without fingering. Though very fond of poetry, they are incapable of composing it. The Arabs, however, invent a few little songs, which the natives have much pleasure in learning, and the women sing some of the negro airs very prettily, while grinding their corn.

The songs of the kadankas (singing girls), who answer to the Egyptian almehs, is Soudanic. Their musical instrument is called rhababe, or erhab. It is an excavated hemisphere, made from the shell of a gourd lime, and covered with leather; to this a long handle is fixed, on which is stretched a string of horse hairs, longitudinally closed, and compact as one cord, about the thickness of a quill. This is played upon with a bow. Captain Lyon says, the women really produced a very pleasing, though a wild melody; their songs were pretty and plaintive, and generally in the Soudan language, which is very musical. What is rather singular, he heard the same song sung by the same woman that Horneman mentions, and she recollected having seen that traveller at the castle.

The lower classes and the slaves, who, in point of colour and appearance, are the same, labour together. The freeman has, however, only one inducement to work, which is hunger; he has no notion of laying by any thing for the advantage of his family, or as a reserve for himself in his old age; but if by any chance he obtains

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money, he remains idle until it is expended, and then returns unwillingly to work. The females here are allowed greater liberty than those of Tripoli, and are more kindly treated. Though so much better used than those of Barbary, their life is still a state of slavery. A man never ventures to speak of his women; is reproached, if he spends much time in their company, never eats with them; but is waited upon at his meals, and fanned by them while he sleeps. Yet these poor beings, never having known the sweets of liberty, are, in spite of their humiliation, comparatively happy.

The authority of parents over their children is very great; some fathers of the better class do not allow their sons even to eat or sit down in their presence, until they become men; the poorer orders are less strict.

There are no written records of events amongst the Fezzaners, and their traditions are so disfigured, and so strangely mingled with religious and superstitious falsehoods, that no confidence can be placed in them. Yet the natives themselves look with particular respect on a man capable of talking of the people of the olden time. Several scriptural traditions are selected and believed. The Psalms of David, the Pentateuch, the Books of Solomon, and many extracts from the inspired writers, are universally known, and most reverentially considered. The New Testament, translated into the Arabic, which Captain Lyon took with him, was eagerly read, and no exception was made to it, but that of our Saviour being designated as the son of God. St. Paul, or Baulus, bears all the blame of Mahomet's name not being inserted in it, as they believe that his coming was foretold by Christ, but that Paul erased it; he is therefore called a kaffir, and his name is not used with much reverence.

Captain Lyon had not been more than ten days at Mourzouk, before he was attacked with severe dysentery, which confined him to his bed during twenty-two days, and reduced him to the last extremity. His unadorned narrative conveys an affecting account of the sufferings to which the party were exposed from the insalubrity of the climate; the inadequate arrangements which had been made for their comfort, or even subsistence, and the sordid and treacherous conduct of the sultan. "Our little party," he says, "was at this time miserably poor; for we had money only sufficient for the

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purchase of corn to keep us alive, and never tasted meat, unless fortunate enough to kill a pigeon in the gardens. My illness was the first break up in our little community, and from that time, it rarely happened that one or two of us were not confined to our beds. The extreme saltness of the water, the poor quality of our food, together with the excessive heat and dryness of the climate, long retarded my recovery, and when it did take place, it was looked on as a miracle by those who had seen me in my worst state, and who thought it impossible for me to survive. I was no sooner convalescent than Mr. Ritchie fell ill, and was confined to his bed with an attack of bilious fever, accompanied with delirium, and great pain in his back and kidneys, for which he required frequent cupping. When a little recovered, he got up for two days, but his disorder soon returned with redoubled and alarming violence. He rejected every thing but water, and, excepting about three hours in the afternoon, remained either constantly asleep or in a delirious state. Even had he been capable of taking food, we had not the power of purchasing any which could nourish or refresh him. Our money was now all expended, and the sultan's treacherous plans to distress us, which daily became too apparent, were so well arranged, that we could not find any one to buy our goods. For six entire weeks we were without animal food, subsisting on a very scanty portion of corn and dates. Our horses were mere skeletons, added to which, Belford became totally deaf, and so emaciated as to be unable to walk. My situation was now such as to create the most gloomy apprehensions. My naturally sanguine mind, however, and above all, my firm reliance on that Power which had so mercifully protected me on so many trying occasions, prevented my giving way to despondency; and Belford beginning soon to rally a little, we united, and took turns in nursing and attending on our poor companion. At this time, having no servant, we performed for Mr. Ritchie the most menial offices. Two young men, brothers, whom we had treated with great kindness, and whom we had engaged to attend on us, so far from commiserating our forlorn condition, forsook us in our distress, and even carried off our little store of rice and cuscoussou; laughing at our com-

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plaints, and well knowing that our poverty prevented the redress which we should otherwise have sought and obtained.

Rhamadan, the Mahommedan Lent, was announced on the 22d June. The strictest fast was immediately commenced, lasting from before day, about three A. M., till sunset, seven P. M. In order to support their assumed character as Moslem; they were now obliged, during the sixteen hours, to eat only by stealth, their friend Mukni having surrounded them with spies. Mr. Ritchie only, being confined to his bed by illness, was privileged to take food or drink. The excessive heat, which now raged, added to their sufferings. During the month of June, the thermometer, at five o'clock A. M., stood at from 86° to 93°, but at two o'clock P. M., it rose to 117°, 122°, 124°, and at length, on the 19th and 20th, to 131° and 133° of Fahrenheit. In the early part of July, the heat somewhat abated; the thermometer, at two P. M., ranging between 110° and 117°. Towards the close of the month, it again rose to 125°, in August to 130° and 133°, in September it ranged between 119° and 133°, with little difference in the temperature of the mornings; and in October, the average was about 110°. The minimum, in December, was 51° at five A. M., and 77° in the afternoon.

The close of the Rhamadan, on the 22d July, was attended, in the city, with the most extravagant demonstrations of rejoicing. Every body was in motion, screaming, dancing, firing guns, eating and drinking. Poor Mr. Ritchie, after having been confined to his bed for fifty-eight days, was now able to sit up a little, and by the 20th August had tolerably recovered. About the same time, Belford was again attacked with giddiness and deafness, and fell into a very weak state. Their rate of living was now reduced to a quart of corn *per diem*, with occasionally a few dates, divided amongst four persons. No one would purchase their merchandize, owing, as it became apparent to Mukni's treacherous orders. Mr. Ritchie, for reasons not explained, did not think it right to draw for money on the treasury, and they were reduced to the last extremity, when the sultan graciously condescended to advance them eight dollars, and at this time a neighbour repaid them ten dollars, which they had lent soon after their arrival. They were now able to treat

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themselves with a little meat. About the 29th September, Mr. Ritchie, who had never recovered his spirits, but had latterly shunned the society even of his companions, again relapsed, and was confined to his bed, and Belford, though better in health, was entirely deaf; their condition became every day more destitute. They had hired a woman to cook for them at a dollar a month. She was required to come only once a day, to bake their bread or make their cuscoussou; and it often happened, that when she had stolen half the allowance to which they had restricted themselves, they were obliged to fast till the morrow. They were saved, when on the very brink of starvation, by a supply of seven dollars, the munificent reward conferred upon Belford by the sultan, for constructing a rude kind of carriage for him. Soon afterwards, they sold a horse for seventy dollars. This seasonable supply was carefully economized; but it had become much reduced when Captain Lyon and Belford both fell ill again. The former rose from his bed, after being confined to it for a week, a skeleton. Under this exigency they met with a remarkable instance of disinterested friendship on the part of a native, Yusuf el Lizari, who, as well as his brother, had previously shown them much kindness. "One night," says Captain Lyon, "as we were all sitting pensively on our mat, our friend Yusuf came in, and, addressing Mr. Ritchie, said, 'Yusuf, you, and Said are my friends. Mukni has hopes you may die, that he may secure to himself all your goods. You seem very melancholy; do you want money?' Mr. Ritchie having acknowledged that he did, Yusuf rejoined, 'I have none myself, but I will borrow some for you.' Twenty dollars being the sum named, our kind friend went out, and soon returned with thirty, an act of generosity so unlooked for, that we were incapable of thanking him as he deserved. This seasonable supply enabled us to buy some good food, and to make some amends for our late privations. Our health soon improved, and Mr. Ritchie's spirits began to brighten."

But this interval of hope was soon darkened. On the 8th of November, poor Ritchie was again attacked by illness, and after lying for three or four days in a state of torpor, without taking any refreshment, he again became delirious, and on the 20th expired. The two survivors of this ill-fated party were themselves reduced

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to the lowest state of debility, and the only prospect before them, was that of probably following, in a few days, their lamented companion. "And now, for the first time in all our distresses," says Captain Lyon, "my hopes did indeed fail me. Belford, as well as he was able, hastened to form a rough coffin out of their chests, while the washers of the dead came to perform their melancholy office. The protestant burial service was read over the body, in secret, during the night, and on the next day, the remains were committed to the grave. At the grave, it was deemed necessary to keep up the farce of Mahommadism, by publicly reciting the first chapter of the Koran, which the most serious Christian would consider as a beautiful and applicable form on such an occasion.

Within an hour after the funeral, a courier arrived from Tripoli, announcing that a further allowance of £1,000 had been made by the British government towards the expenses of the expedition. Had this welcome intelligence reached them a little sooner, many of their distresses would have been prevented. The efforts and mental exertions which the survivors of the party had undergone, proved, however, too much for their strength, and, for ten days, both were again confined to their beds. During this time, they were most humanely attended by Yusuf and Haji Mahmoud, and by a little girl, who was their principal nurse. At length, Captain Lyon sufficiently recovered his health, to undertake, during the months of December and January, two excursions to the east and south of Mourzouk, preparatory to his return to England. On the 9th of February, he finally left Mourzouk; and on the 25th March, exactly one year from the day on which the party left Tripoli, the Captain and Belford, his surviving companion, re-entered that capital.

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CHAPTER XIX.

DEATH had hitherto been the lot of the African adventurers, but nothing could shake the determination of the British government, to obtain, by some means or other, a competent degree of information respecting the unknown countries of Africa. The great favour enjoyed at the court of Tripoli, was still regarded as an advantageous circumstance. It was chiefly due to the prudence and ability of Mr. Warrington, without whose advice scarcely any thing of importance was transacted. The bashaw was therefore disposed to renew his protection to whatever mission Britain might send; nor could the support of any sovereign have been more efficient, for the influence of this petty prince, and the terror of his name, were almost unbounded in the greatest kingdoms of central Africa. One weapon, the gun, in the hands of his troops, gives him all this superiority; for the remoter nations, from the Nile to the Atlantic, scarcely know any other arms besides the spear, the bow, and the javelin. A musket among those tribes is an object of almost supernatural dread; individuals have been seen kneeling down before it, speaking to it in whispers, and addressing to it earnest supplications. With troops thus armed, the bashaw of Tripoli is esteemed, in northern Africa, the most potent monarch on earth; and it is a matter of surprise amongst the natives, that he has not ere now compelled all Europe to embrace the Mahommedan faith. He could, therefore, assure the English, that for any but physical obstacles,

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they might travel in safety from Tripoli to Bornou, as from Edinburgh to London.

Under the confidence inspired by these circumstances, government prepared another expedition, and without difficulty procured a fresh band of adventurers, who undertook to brave all its perils. Major Denham, Lieutenant Clapperton, of the navy, and Dr. Oudney, a naval surgeon, possessing a considerable knowledge of natural history, were appointed to the service. Without delay they proceeded to Tripoli, where they arrived on the 18th November, 1821. They were immediately introduced to the bashaw, whom they found sitting cross-legged on a carpet, attended by armed negroes. After treating them to sherbet and coffee, he invited them to a hawking party, where he appeared mounted on a milk-white Arabian steed, superbly caparisoned, having a saddle of crimson velvet, richly studded with gold nails and with embroidered trappings. The hunt began on the borders of the desert, where parties of six or eight Arabs dashed forward quick as lightning, fired suddenly, and rushed back with loud cries. The skill, with which they manœuvred their steeds, whirling the long muskets over their heads, as they rode at full gallop, appeared quite surprising.

On the 5th March, the party left Tripoli for Bethioleed. Here the consul and his son, who had accompanied them from Tripoli, took their leave, with many hearty good wishes for their success and prosperity.

On the day previously to their approach to Sockna, the uniformity of the journey was somewhat enlivened, by meeting with a kafila, or coffle of slaves from Fezzan, in which were about seventy negresses, much better looking and more healthy than any they had seen near the sea coast. They were marching in parties of fifteen or twenty, and on inquiring of one of these parties from whence they came, the poor things divided themselves with the greatest simplicity, and answered, "Soudan, Berghami and Kanem," pointing out the different parcels from each country as they spoke. Those from Soudan had the most regular features, and an expression of countenance particularly pleasing.

Passing a small wadey and plantation of date trees, they had soon a view of Sockna, and were met on the plain on which it

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stands, by the governor and principal inhabitants, accompanied by some hundreds of the country people, who all crowded round their horses, kissing their hands, and welcoming them with every appearance of sincerity and satisfaction, and in this way they entered the town; the words *Inglesi, Inglesi*, were repeated by a hundred voices. This was to them highly satisfactory, as they were the first English travellers in Africa, who had resisted the persuasion that a disguise was necessary, and who had determined to travel in their real character as Britons and Christians, and to wear on all occasions their English dresses; nor had they at any future period occasion to regret that they had done so. There was here neither jealousy nor distrust of them as Christians, on the contrary, Major Denham was perfectly satisfied that their reception would have been less friendly, had they assumed a character that would have been at the best but ill supported. In trying to make themselves appear as Mussulmans, they would have been set down as real impostors.

Of the inhabitants of Sockna, we have already given a full account in the foregoing travels of Captain Lyon, nor does the history given by Major Denham differ in any of the essential points. Of the affability of the females, the travellers had however many proofs, and whilst only two of them were walking through the town one morning, with a little army of ragged boys following them, two of rather the better order quickly dispersed them, and invited the English to enter a house, saying that a *mara zene*, a beaufiful woman, wished to see them. They put themselves under their guidance, and entering a better sort of dwelling house, were quickly surrounded by half a dozen ladies, most of them aged, but who asked them a thousand questions, and when satisfied that their visitors were not dangerous people, called several younger ones, who appeared to be but waiting for permission to show themselves. The dresses of the visitors were then minutely examined; the yellow buttons on their waistcoats, and their watches created the greatest astonishment. Major Denham wore a pair of loose white trousers, into the pockets of which he accidentally put his hands, which raised the curiosity of the ladies to a wonderful degree; the major's hands were pulled out, and those of three or four of the ladies thrust in, in their stead; these were replaced by others, all

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demanding their use so violently and loudly, that he had considerable difficulty in extricating himself, and was glad to make his escape.

The remaining half of their journey to Mourzouk was pretty nearly the same kind of surface as they had passed before, but in some places worse. Sometimes two, and once three days, they were without finding a supply of water, which was generally muddy, bitter, or brackish. Nor is this the worst which sometimes befals the traveller; the overpowering effect of a sudden sand-wind, when nearly at the close of the desert, often destroys a whole kafila, already weakened by fatigue, and the spot was pointed out to them strewed with bones and dried carcasses, where the year before, fifty sheep, two camels, and two men perished from thirst and fatigue, when within eight hours march of the well, for which they were then anxiously looking.

Indeed the sand storm they had the misfortune to encounter in crossing the desert, gave them a pretty correct idea of the dreaded effects of these hurricanes. The wind raised the fine sand, with which the extensive desert was covered, so as to fill the atmosphere, and render the immense space before them impenetrable to the eye beyond a few yards. The sun and clouds were entirely obscured, and a suffocating and oppressive weight accompanied the flakes and masses of sand, which it might be said they had to penetrate at every step. At times they completely lost sight of the camels, though only a few yards before them. The horses hung their tongues out of their mouths, and refused to face the torrents of sand. A sheep that accompanied the kafila, the last of their stock, lay down in the road, and they were obliged to kill him and throw the carcass on a camel; a parching thirst oppressed them, which nothing alleviated. They had made but little way by three o'clock in the afternoon, when the wind got round to the eastward, and imparted to them a little refreshment. With this change they moved on until about five, when they halted, protected a little by three several ranges of irregular hills, some conical, and some table-topped. As they had but little wood, their fare was confined to tea, and they hoped to find relieve from their fatigues by a sound sleep. That, however, was denied them; the tent had been imprudently pitched, and was exposed to the east wind, which blew a hurricane during the night:

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the tent was blown down, and the whole detachment were employed a full hour in getting it up again; their bedding and everything within it was during that time completely buried, by the constant driving of the sand. Major Denham was obliged three times during the night, to get up for the purpose of strengthening the pegs, and when he awoke in the morning, two hillocks of sand were formed on each side of his head, some inches high.

On the 7th April, they arrived at a village in the midst of a vast multitude of palm trees, just one day's journey short of Mourzouk. As it was to be the last day's march, they were all in good spirits at the prospect of rest, and had they made their arrangements with judgment, every thing would have gone on well. They had, however, neglected sending *an avant courier*, to advise the sultan of their arrival, a practice which ought particularly to have been attended to, and consequently their reception was not what it ought to have been. They arrived at D'leem, a small plantation of date trees, at noon, and finding no water in the well, were obliged to proceed, and it was three in the afternoon before they arrived at the wells near Mourzouk. Here they were obliged to wait till the camels came up, in order that they might advance in form. They might, however, have saved themselves the trouble. No one came out to meet them, except some naked boys, and a mixture of Tibboos, Tuaricks, and Fezzanese, who gazed at them with astonishment, and no very pleasant aspect.

They determined on not entering the town, in a manner so little flattering to those whom they represented, and retiring to a rising ground, a little distance from the gates of the town, waited the return of a *chaoush*, who had been despatched to announce their arrival. After half an hour's delay, the Shiek el Blad, the governor of the town came out, and in the sultan's name requested they would accompany him to the house, which had been prepared for them, and he added, to their great surprise, the English consul is there already. The fact was, a very ill-looking Jew servant of Major Denham's, mounted on a white mule, with a pair of small canteens under him, had preceded the camels and entered the town by himself. He was received with great respect by all the inhabitants, conducted through the streets to the house which was destined

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to receive the party, and from the circumstance of the canteens being all covered with small brass shining nails, a very high idea of his consequence was formed. He very sensibly received all their attentions in silence, and drank the cool water and milk which were handed to him, and they always had the laugh against them afterwards, for having shown so much civility to an Israelite, a race which are heartily despised. "We thought the English," said they, "were better looking than Jews—death to their race! but the God made us all, though not all handsome like Musulmans, so who could tell?

As they were all this time exposed to a burning sun, they were well inclined to compromise a little of their dignity, and determined on entering the town, which they did by the principal gate. Their interview with the sultan of Mourzouk was anything but encouraging; he told them that there was no intention, as they had been led to expect, of any expedition to proceed to the southward for some time to come; that an army could only move in the spring of the year; that the arrangements for moving a body of men through a country, where every necessary must be carried on camels, both for men and horses, were so numerous, that before the following spring it was scarcely possible to complete them, that two camels were required for every man and horse, and one for every two men on foot. And as to their proceeding to Bornou, it would be necessary had the bashaw instructed him to forward them, that they should be accompanied by an escort of two hundred men. He said, he would read to them the bashaw's letter, and they should see the extent to which he could forward their wishes. The letter was then handed to his fighi, or secretary, and they found that they were entrusted to the protection of the sultan of Fezzan, who was to charge himself with their safety, and to ensure their being treated with respect and attention by all his subjects. That they were to reside at Sebha or Mourzouk, or wherever they chose in the kingdom of Fezzan, and to await his return from Tripoli. With this their audience ended, and they returned to their habitation.

It is quite impossible to express the disheartening feelings, with which they left the castle. The heat was intense; the thermometer standing at 97° in the coolest spot in the house during the

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of the day; and the nights were scarcely less oppressive; the flies were in such myriads, that darkness was the only refuge from their annoyance.

They received visits from all the principal people of Mourzouk, the day after their arrival, and remarking a very tall Turiack, with a pair of expressive, large, benevolent looking eyes, above the black mask, with which they always cover the lower part of their face, hovering about the door, Major Denham made signs to him to come near, and inquired after Hateeta, the chief, of whom Captain Lyon had spoken so highly, and for whom at his request, he was the bearer of a sword. To the great surprise of Major Denham, striking his breast, he exclaimed, "I am Hateeta, Are you a countryman of Said? (Captain Lyon's travelling name,) how is he? I have often longed to hear of him." Major Denham found that Hateeta had been but once in Mourzouk, since the departure of Captain Lyon, and was to remain only a few days. On the following morning, he came to the house, and the sword was presented to him. It would be difficult to describe his delight, he drew the sword and returned it repeatedly, pressed it to his breast, exclaimed, Allah! Allah! took the hand of Major Denham, and pressing it, said, *katar heyrick yassur yassur*, (thank you very, very much,) nearly all the Arabic he could speak. It was shortly reported all over the town, that Hateeta had received a present from Said, worth one hundred dollars.

They had been several times visited, and their hopes and spirits raised by a person called Boo Bucker, Boo Khaloom. He said that it was in the sultan's power to send them on to Bornou, if he pleased, he even hinted that a bribe for himself might induce him to do so; this, however, was found not to be the case. Boo Khaloom was represented to them, and truly, as a merchant of very considerable riches and affluence in the interior. He was on the eve of starting for Tripoli, with really superb presents for the bashaw. He had five hundred slaves, the handsomest that could be procured, besides other things. He stated in secret, that his principal object in going to Tripoli, was to obtain the removal of the sultan of Fezzan, and he wished that they should make application to the bashaw, for him to accompany them further into the

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interior; they were not, however, to hint that the proposition had come from him. Boo Khaloom said, that he should be instantly joined by upwards of one hundred merchants, who waited for his going, and no further escort would be necessary; that he should merely remain a few weeks in Tripoli, and on his return they should instantly move on.

Boo Khaloom left Mourzouk for Tripoli with his slaves and presents, loading upwards of thirty camels, apparently reconciled to, and upon good terms with the sultan. It was, however, very well known, that Sultan Mustapha had set every engine at work to have Boo Khaloom's head taken off, on his arrival at Tripoli, and that the other was willing to sacrifice all that he was worth to displace and ruin Mustapha in the bashaw's favour.

It was not until the 18th, that the sultan, after attending the mosque, started for Tripoli; all his camels and suite had marched in divisions for three days previously; in slaves he had alone more than 1,500. He was attended by about ten horsemen, his particular favourites, and four flags were carried before him, through the town. The inhabitants complained dreadfully of his avarice, and declared that he had not left a dollar, or an animal worth one, in all Fezzan.

Nothing was now to be done but to make their arrangements for a favourable start the following spring. By the sultan's departure, every necessary for their proceeding was withdrawn from the spot where they were. Not a camel was to be procured, and every dollar, that he could by any means force from his subjects, was forwarded to Tripoli. To that place, therefore, were they to look for supplies of every kind, and it was unanimously decided, that the departure of Major Denham for Tripoli should follow that of the sultan or as soon as possible.

In pursuance of this determination to represent to the bashaw of Tripoli, how necessary it was that something more than promises should be given them for their sterling money, on Monday, the 20th May, Major Denham left Mourzouk, with only his own negro servant, three camels, and two Arabs, and after a most dreary journey of twenty days, over the same uninteresting country which he had already traversed, the more dreary for want of his

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former companions, he arrived at Tripoli on the 12th June, where he was received by the consul, with his usual hospitality and kindness, and he assigned him apartments in the consulate.

Major Denham requested an immediate audience of the bashaw, which, in consequence of the Rhamadan, was not granted him until the following evening. The consul, Captain Smyth of the navy, and Major Denham, attended. The latter represented, in the strongest terms, how greatly they were disappointed at the unexpected and ruinous delay, which they had experienced at Mourzouk, and requested a specific time being fixed for their proceeding to Bornou, stating also, that were the answer not satisfactory, he should proceed forthwith to England, and represent to the government how grievously they had been deceived. The bashaw denied having intentionally broken his word, and solemnly declared that the will of God, in visiting the sultan of Fezzan with sickness, had alone prevented their being now on the road to Bornou.

Not receiving the full satisfaction which was expected, Major Denham lost no time in setting sail for England, to lodge a complaint with his own court. This news was painfully felt by the bashaw, who sent vessel after vessel, one of which at last overtook Major Denham, while performing quarantine at Marseilles, and announced to him, that arrangements were actually made with Boo Khaloom, for escorting him to the capital of Bornou. Major Denham immediately re-embarked, and a seven days' passage brought him once more to the shores of Barbary. Boo Khaloom and part of the escort were already at the entrance of the desert; and on the 17th September, they re-entered the pass of Melghri in the Tarhona Mountains.

Hope and confidence had now taken possession of the mind of Major Denham, in the place of anxiety and disappointment; there was now an air of assurance and success in all their arrangements, and, with this conviction, Major Denham felt his health and spirits increase. But little beyond the casualties attendant on desert travelling, occurred previously to their arriving again at Sockna, which took place on the 2nd October.

Major Denham found that the great failing of his friend, Boo

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Khaloom, was pomp and show; and feeling that he was on this occasion the representative of the bashaw, he was evidently unwilling that any sultan of Fezzan should exceed him in magnificence. On entering Sockna, his six principal followers, handsomely attired in turbans and fine barracans, and mounted on his best horses, kept near his person, whilst the others at a little distance, formed the flanks. Major Denham rode on his right hand, dressed in his British uniform, with loose Turkish trousers, a red turban, red boots, with a white bornouse over all, as a shade from the sun, and this, though not strictly according to orders, was by no means an unbecoming dress. Boo Khaloom was mounted on a beautiful white Tunisian horse, a present from the bashaw, the peak and rear of the saddle covered with gold, and his housings were of scarlet cloth, with a border of gold six inches broad. His dress consisted of red boots, richly embroidered with gold, yellow silk trousers, a crimson velvet caftan with gold buttons, a silk benise of sky blue, and a silk sidria underneath. A transparent white silk barraca was thrown lightly over this, and on his shoulder hung a scarlet bornouse with wide gold lace, a present also from the bashaw, which had cost at least four hundred dollars, and a cashmere shawl turban crowned the whole. In this splendid array they moved on, until, as they approached the gates of the town, the dancing and singing men and women met them, and amidst these, the shouts and firing of the men, who skirmished before them, and the loo! loo! of the women, they entered Sockna.

They found that houses were provided for them in the town, but the kafila bivouacked outside the gates. It had always been their intention to halt at Sockna for three or four days, and here they expected to be joined by a party of Megarha Arabs, whom their sheik, Abdi Smud ben Erhoma, had left them for the purpose of collecting together. Hoon and Wadan were also to furnish them with another quota.

The house of Major Denham consisted of a court yard eighteen feet square, and a small dark room, leading out of it by two steps. The court, however, was the greater part of the day shaded, and here on a carpet, the major received his visitors. The Arabs, as

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they arrived, were all sent to him by Boo Khaloom, and their presentation has a form in it, not much in character with their accustomed rudeness: they all come armed with their long guns, and the same girdle which confines their barracan, contains also two long pistols; the chief enters, and salutes, dropping on one knee, and touching the stranger's right hand with his, which he carries afterwards to his lips; he then says, "Here are my men, who are come to say health to you." On receiving permission, they approached Major Denham one by one, saluting in the same manner as their chief, who continued to remain at his side; they then sat down, forming a sort of semi-circle round the major, with their guns upright between their knees, and after a little time, on the sheik's making a signal, they all quitted the presence.

Boo Khaloom at this time became so alarmingly ill, that their departure was of necessity postponed. He requested Major Denham to prescribe for him. All the fighis' (writers,) and marabouts in Sockna, were employed on this occasion by the friends of Boo Khaloom; and one night the tassels of his cap were literally loaded with their charms. Boo Khaloom assured Major Denham, when alone, that he had no faith in such things, and smiled when he said his friends would think ill of him, were he to refuse; his faith was, however, stronger than he chose to acknowledge; for entering one morning unexpectedly, the major found him with a dove, that had just been killed and cut open, lying on his head, which, as he assured him, was, because a very great marabout had come from Wadan on purpose to perform the operation. Major Denham was nevertheless still more surprised to find him seated on a carpet, in the centre of the little court yard of his house, in the middle of the day, with five of his horses round him, which had been brought from the tents by his order. The major was convinced, that this was some superstitious idea of the mystic influence which his horses were supposed to have upon his fate, and on expressing his surprise, he made him sit down and told him the following story.

"Sidi Mohammed, praise be to his name!" said he, "was once applied to by a poor man, whose speculations in trade always turned out disadvantageously; his children died, and nothing flourished with him. Mohammed told him, that horses were nearly

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connected with his fate, and that he must buy horses before he would be fortunate. 'If I cannot afford to keep myself,' said the man, 'how can I feed horses?'—'No matter,' said the prophet; alive or dead, no good fortune will come upon your house until you have them.' The poor man went and purchased the head of a dead horse, which was all his means enabled him to do, and this he placed over his house, little dreaming of the good fortune, which by this means he was to enjoy. Before the first day passed, to his extreme surprise and joy, he saw a bird, with a chain attached to its neck, entangled with the horse's head; and, on mounting to the house-top to extricate the bird, he found it one of the greatest beauty, and that the chain was of diamonds. He was not long in discovering the bird had escaped from the window of the favourite of a certain sultan, who, on its being restored, gave the poor man the chain as his reward, and by means of which he became rich and happy. Now," said Boo Khaloom, "I dreamt of this story last night, and that I was the poor man."

During their stay at Sockna, the marriage of the son of one of the richest inhabitants, Haji Mohammed-el-Hair-Trigge, was celebrated in the true Arab style. There is something so rudely chivalric in their ceremonies, so very superior to the dull monotony of a Tripolitan wedding, where from one to five hundred guests, all males assemble, covered with gold lace, and look at one another from the evening of one day until daylight the next, that we cannot refrain from transcribing it.

The morning of the marriage-day, (for the ceremony is always performed in the evening, that is, the final ceremony, for they are generally betrothed, and th 'fatah read a year before,) is ushered in by the music of the town or tribe, consisting of a bagpipe and two small drums, serenading the bride first, and then the bridegroom, who generally walks through the streets, very finely dressed, with all the town at his heels; during which all the women assemble at the bride's house, dressed in their finest clothes, and place themselves at the different holes in the walls, which serve as windows, and look into the court-yard. When they are so placed, and the bride is in front of one of the windows, with her face entirely covered with her barracan, the bridal clothes, consisting of

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silk shifts, shawls, silk trousers, and fine barracans, to show her riches, are hung from the top of the house, quite reaching to the ground. The young Arab chiefs are permitted to pay their respects; they are preceded from the skiffa, or entrance, by their music, and a dancing woman or two advance with great form, and with slow steps, to the centre of the court, under the bride's window; here the ladies salute their visitors with "loo! loo! loo! which they return by laying their right hand on their breasts, as they are conducted quite round the circle. Ample time is afforded them to survey the surrounding beauties, and there are but few who on those occasions are so cruel as to keep the veil quite closed. Such an assemblage of bright black eyes, large ear-rings, and white teeth, are but rarely seen in any country. After having made the circuit, the largess is given, and exposed to view by the chief *danseuse*, and according to its amount, is the donor hailed and greeted by the spectators. Previously to their departure, all visitors discharge their pistols, and then again the ladies salute with the loo! loo!

So far from being displeased at Major Denham asking permission to pay his respects, it was considered as a favour conferred, and the bridegroom, although he could not himself be admitted, attended him to and from the house of his mistress. This ceremony being ended, a little before sunset, the bride prepares to leave her father's house; a camel is sent for her, with a jaafa or sedan chair of basket work on its back, covered with skins of animals, shawls from Soudan, Cairo, and Timbuctoo; she steps into this, and so places herself as to see what is going forward, and yet to lie entirely hidden from the view of others. She is now conducted outside the town, where all the horsemen and footmen, who have arms are assembled. The escort of the travellers on this occasion added to the effect, as they were all by Boo Khaloom's order in the field, consisting of sixty mounted Arabs, and when they all charged and fired at the foot of the bride's camel, Major Denham says, he really felt for the virgin's situation, but it was thought a great honour, and that, he supposes, consoled her for the fright. They commenced by skirmishing by twos and fours, and charging in sections at full speed, always firing close under the bride's jaafa; in this manner they proceeded

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three times round the town, the scene occasionally relieved by a little interlude of the bridegroom; approaching the camel, which was surrounded by the negresses, who instantly commenced a cry, and drove him away, to the great amusement of the bystanders, exclaiming, "*burra! burra!* (be off! be off!) *mazal shoiia*, (a little yet.) With discharges of musketry, and the train of horsemen, &c., she is then conveyed to the bridegroom's house, upon which it is necessary for her to appear greatly surprised, and refuse to dismount; the women scream, and the men shout, and she is at length persuaded to enter, when after receiving a bit of sugar in her mouth, from the bridegroom's hand, and placing another bit in his, with her own fair fingers, the ceremony is finished, and they are declared man and wife.

They had now to pass the Gibel Assoud, or Black Mountains; the northernmost part of this basaltic chain commences on leaving Sockna. They halted at Melaghi the place of meeting; immediately at the foot of the mountain is the well of Agutifa, and from hence probably the most imposing view of these heights will be seen. To the south, the mountain path of Niffdah presents its black, overhanging peaks, the deep chasm round which, the path winds, bearing a most cavern-like appearance; a little to the west, the camel path, called El Nishka, appears scarcely less difficult and precipitous; the more southern crags close in the landscape, while the foreground is occupied by the dingy and barren wadey of Agutifa, with the well immediately overhung by red ridges of limestone and clay; the whole presenting a picture of barrenness not to be perfectly described either by poet or painter.

The first four days of their journey after leaving Agutifa, were all dreariness and misery. This was the third time that they had passed these deserts, but no familiarity with the scenery at all relieves the sense of wretchedness which the dread barrenness of the place inspires. They marched from dawn until dark, for the sake of getting over them as soon as possible, and as scarcely sufficient fuel was to be found to boil a little water, a mass of cold tumuta was usually their supper.

On leaving Tingazeer they had the blessing of a rainy day, for such it was to all, but particularly to the poor negroes who accom-

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panied the kafila; although Boo Khaloom always gave something to drink from his skins once a day, an unusual kindness; yet, marching as they were for twelve and fourteen hours, a single draught was scarcely sufficient to satisfy nature. In consequence of the rain, they found water fresh and pure during almost every day's march, and arrived at Zeghren with the loss of only one camel. On the last day, previously to arriving at the well, Omhul Abeed, a skeleton of a man, with some flesh still hanging about him, lay close to the road, but it was passed by the whole kafila with scarcely a remark.

After these dreary wastes, it was no small pleasure to rest a day at Zeghren, the native town of a considerable merchant, who accompanied the kafila. When they first left Sockna for Mourzouk, Abdi Zeleel had before taken Major Denham to his house, and presented him to his mother and sister, and he now insisted upon his taking up his quarters there altogether. Almost the first person who presented herself, was his friend the merchant's sister, he had almost said, the fair Omhal Henna, (the mother of peace.) We shall allow Major Denham to relate this African amour in his own words:—

"She had a wooden bowl of haleb (fresh milk) in her hand, the greatest rarity she could offer, and holding out the milk, with some confusion, towards me, with both her hands, the hood, which should have concealed her beautiful features, had fallen back. As my taking my milk from her, would have prevented the amicable salutation we both seemed prepared for, and which consisted of four or five gentle pressures of the hand, with as many *aish harleks*, and *tiebs*, and *ham-dulillahs*, she placed the bowl upon the ground, while the ceremonies of greeting, which take up a much longer time in an African village, than in an English drawing room, were by mutual consent most cordially performed. I really could not help looking at her with astonishment, and I heartily wish I had the power of conveying an idea of her portrait. It was the jemma (Friday,) the sabbath, and she was covered, for I cannot call it dressed, with only a blue linen barracan, which passed under one arm, and was fastened on the top of the opposite shoulder, with a silver pin, the remaining part thrown round the body behind, and brought over

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her head as a sort of hood, which, as I have before remarked, had fallen off, and my having taken her hand, when she set down the milk, had prevented its being replaced. This accident displayed her jet black hair, in numberless plaits, all round her expressive face and neck, and her large sparkling eyes and little mouth, filled with the whitest teeth imaginable. She had various figures burnt on her chin, with gunpowder; her complexion was a deep brown, and round her neck were eight or ten necklaces, of coral and different coloured beads. So interesting a person I had not seen in the country, and on my remaining some moments with my eyes fixed on her, she recommenced the salutation. How is your health? &c., and smiling, asked with great naïveté, whether I had not learned, during the last two months, a little more Arabic? I assured her that I had. Looking round to see if any body heard her, and having brought the hood over her face, she said, 'I first heard of your coming last night, and desired the slave to mention it to my brother. I have always looked for your coming, and at night, *because at night I have sometimes seen you.* You were the first man whose hand I ever touched, but they all said it did not signify with you, an Insara (a Christian.) God turn your heart! but my brother says you will never become Moslem—won't you, to please Abdi Zeleel's sister? my mother says, God would never have allowed you to come, but for your conversion.' By this time again the hood had fallen back, and I had again taken her hand, when the unexpected appearance of Abdi Zeleel, accompanied by the governor of the town, who came to visit me, was a most unwelcome interruption. Omhal Henna quickly escaped; she had overstepped the line, and I saw her no more."

On Wednesday the 30th October, they made their entreé into Mourzouk, with all the parade and show that they could muster. By Boo Khaloom's presents to the bashaw, but chiefly on account of his having undertaken to conduct the travellers to Bornou, he had not only gained the bashaw's favour, but had left Tripoli with strong proofs of his master's consideration. The inhabitants came out to meet them, and they entered the gates amidst the shouts of the people, preceded by singing and dancing women. And the Arabs who formed their escort, made such repeated charges upon their

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jaded and tired animals, that Major Denham expected some of them would "fall to rise no more." No living creatures can be treated worse than an Arab's wife and his horse, and if plurality could be transferred from the marriage bed to the stable, both wives and horses would be much benefited by the change.

Major Denham could not quite resist a sensation of disappointment, that no friends came out to meet him, but as the sun was insufferably powerful, and as he had received a message by Boo Khaloom's brother, from Dr. Oudney, that he was unwell, and that Lieutenant Clapperton had the ague, he did not much expect to see them. He was, however, by no means prepared to see either of them so much reduced as they were. He found that both his companions and Hillman, had been confined to their beds with *hemma*, (fever and ague,) had been delirious, and the doctor and Hillman only a little recovered. Clapperton was still on his bed, which for fifteen days he had not quitted. Doctor Oudney was suffering also from a severe complaint in his chest, arising from a cold caught during his excursion to Ghraat, and nothing could be more disheartening than their appearance. The opinion of every body, Arabs, Tripolines, and Ritchie, and Lyon, their predecessors, were all unanimous as to the insalubrity of the air. Every one belonging to the present expedition had been seriously disordered, and amongst the inhabitants themselves, any thing like a healthy-looking person was a rarity.

Notwithstanding Boo Khaloom made every exertion in his power to get away from Mourzouk, as early as possible, yet, from the numerous arrangements, which it was necessary for him to make, for the provisioning of so many persons, during a journey through a country possessing no resources, it was the 29th November before those arrangements were complete. Dr. Oudney and Mr. Clapperton, from a most praiseworthy impatience to proceed on their journey, and at the same time thinking their health might be benefited by the change of air, preceded him to Gatrone by ten days. Major Denham remained behind to urge Boo Khaloom, and expedite his departure, as it was considered, by those means, that any wish might be obviated, which he might have to delay, on account of his private affairs, even for a day. Their caution was, however, needless, no man could be more anxious to obey the orders he had

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received, and forward their views than himself; indeed so peremptory had been the commands of the bashaw, in consequence of the representation of our consul general, when complaining of former procrastinations, that Boo Khaloom's personal safety depended on his expedition, and of this he was well aware.

The following is a correct account of the strength of the party, as it proceeded from Mourzouk. Major Denham had succeeded in engaging, on his return to Tripoli, as an attendant to accompany him to Bornou, a native of the island of St. Vincent, whose real name was Adolphus Sympkins, but who, in consequence of his having run away from home, and as a merchant traversed half the world over, had acquired the name of Columbus. He had been several years in the service of the bashaw, spoke three European languages, and perfect Arabic.* They had besides, three free negroes, who had been hired in Tripoli as private servants. Jacob, a Gibraltar Jew, who was a sort of store-keeper, four men to look after the camels, and these, with Mr. Hillman and the remainder of the Europeans, made up the number of their household to thirteen persons. They were also accompanied by several merchants from Mesurata, Tripoli, Sockna, and Mourzouk, who gladly embraced the protection of their escort, to proceed to the interior with their merchandize.

The Arabs in the service of the bashaw of Tripoli, by whom they were to be escorted to Bornou, and on whose good conduct their success almost wholly depended, were now nearly all assembled, and had been chosen from amongst the most convenient tribes. They gained considerably in the good opinion of the travellers, each day as they became better acquainted with them; they were not only a great and most necessary protection to them, breaking the ground, as they were, for any Europeans who might follow their steps, but enlivened them greatly on their dreary desert way, by their infinite wit and sagacity, as well as by their poetry, extempore and traditional. There were several amongst the party, who shone as orators in verse, to use the idiom of their own expressive language, particularly one of the tribe of Boo Saiff Marabooteens, or

* This person afterwards accompanied Captain Clapperton on his second journey.

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gifted persons, who would sing for an hour together, faithfully describing the whole of their journey for the preceding fortnight, relating the most trifling occurrence that had happened, even to the name of the well, and the colour and taste of the water, with astonishing rapidity and humour, and in very tolerable poetry, while some of his traditional ballads were beautiful.

The Arabs are generally thin, meagre figures, though possessing expressive and sometimes handsome features; great violence of gesture and muscular action; irritable and fiery, they are unlike the dwellers in towns and cities; noisy and loud, their common conversational intercourse appears to be a continual strife and quarrel. They are, however, brave, eloquent, and deeply sensible of shame. Major Denham once knew an Arab of the lower class refuse his food for days together, because in a skirmish his gun had missed fire; to use his own words, "*Gulbi wahr*, (my heart aches,) *Bindikti kadip hashimtui gedam el nas*, (my gun lied, and shamed me before the people.)" Much has been said of their want of cleanliness; they may, however, be pronounced to be much more cleanly than the lower orders of people in any European country. Circumcision, and the shaving the hair from the head, and every other part of the body; the frequent ablutions, which their religion compels them to perform; all tend to enforce practices of cleanliness. Vermin, from the climate of their country, they, as well as every other person, must be annoyed with; and although the lower ranks have not the means of frequently changing their covering, for it can be scarcely called apparel, yet they endeavour to free themselves as much as possible from the persecuting vermin. Their mode of dress has undergone no change for centuries back, and the words of Fenelon will at this day apply with equal truth to their present appearance. "Leurs habits sont aisés a faire, car en ce doux climat on ne porte qu'une piece d'étoffe fine et légère, qui n'est point taillée et que chacun met à long plis autour de son corps pour la modestie; lui donnant la forme qu'il veut."

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CHAPTER XX

During the time that Major Denham had been occupied with transacting his business with the bashaw of Tripoli, Dr. Oudney and Lieutenant Clapperton had determined to make an excursion to the westward of Mourzouk, for the purpose of ascertaining the course of the rivers, and the local curiosities of the country. Accordingly on the 8th June 1822, Dr. Oudney, Lieutenant Clapperton, and Mr. Hillman, departed from Mourzouk, accompanied by Hadje Ali, brother of Ben Bucher, Ben Khalloom, Mahommed Neapolitan Mamelouk, and Mahomet, son of their neighbour Hadje Mahmud. It was their intention to have proceeded direct to Ghraat, and laboured hard to accomplish their object; obstacle after obstacle was, however, thrown in their way by some individuals in Mourzouk. Several came begging them not to go, as the road was dangerous, and the people not all under the bashaw's controul. They at length hired camels from a Targee, Hadge Said, but only to accompany them as far as the wadey Ghrurby.

This course was over sands skirted with date trees, the ground strewed with fragments of calcareous crust, with a vitreous surface from exposure to the weather. About mid-day, after an exhausting journey from oppressive heat, they arrived at El Hummum, a straggling village, the houses of which were mostly constructed of palm leaves. They remained until the sun was well down and then proceeded on their course. The country had the same character. At eight they arrived at Tessouwa.

The greater number of inhabitants were Turiacks. They had

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a warlike appearance, a physiognomy and costume different from the Fezzaners. More than a dozen muffled-up faces were seated near their tents, with every one's spear stuck forcibly in the ground before him. This struck them forcibly, from being very different from that which they had been accustomed to see. The Arab is always armed in his journey, with his long gun and pistols, but there is something more imposing in the spear, dagger, and broad straight sword.

Their course now lay over an extensive high plain, with a long range of hills, running nearly east and west. They entered them by a pass, in which were numerous recesses, evidently leading to more extensive wadeys. This pass led to another, the finest they had yet seen, and the only part approaching to the sublime, which they had beheld in Fezzan. It was rugged and narrow; its sides high, and overhanging in some places near the end of the pass, the wady Ghrarby opens, with groves of date palms, and high sandy hills. The change was sudden and striking, and instead of taking away, added to the effect of the pass they were descending.

Having travelled up the valley for about four miles, they halted at a small town, called Kharaik, having passed two in their course. The number of date trees in the eastern and western division of the valley, is said to be 340,000. The first division, or wadey Shirgi, extends from near Siba to within a few miles of Thirtiba, the other from the termination of Shirgi to Aubari.

In the evening, they saw some of the preparatory steps for a marriage. The woman belonged to Kharaik, and the man to the next town. A band of musicians, accompanied by all the women of the village, with every now and then a volley of musketry, formed the chief part of the procession. One woman carried a basket on her head, for the purpose of collecting gomah to form a feast, and pay the musicians. They came from the village of the bridegroom, which was about a mile distant.

The sheik of this town, whose name was Ali, was a good-natured Tibboo, exceedingly poor, but very attentive, and always in good humour. The place was so poor that they had sometimes to wait half a day before they could get a couple of fowls, or a feed of dates or barley for their horses. They were in hourly expectation of the

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arrival of camels from the friends of Hateeta, for the purpose of conveying them to Ghraat; no camels, however, arrived, and they were obliged to remain, much against their inclination. On Hateeta conversing with Dr. Oudney, on the difficulty they experienced in getting away from Mourzouk, on account of the obstacles thrown in the way by the people, he said, that the dread, which they had of the Turiacks, was unfounded, and that they should soon be convinced of it. He further added, that he could by his influence alone conduct them in perfect safety to Timbuctoo, and would answer with his head. He was indignant at the feelings, which the people of Mourzouk had against the Turiacks, who, he said, pride themselves on having but one word, and performing whatever they promise.

The promised camels not having arrived, they hired two of Mahomet el Buin, and with these they proceeded on to Gorma, which they found to be a larger town than any in the wadey, but both walls and houses have the marks of time. The sheik, Mustapha Ben Ussuf, soon visited them. He was an old man, a Fezzaner. His ancestors were natives of the place, and his features might be considered as characteristic of the natives of Fezzan.

They had many accounts of inscriptions being in this place, which the people could not read. They were conducted by sheik Mustapha to examine a building, different, as he stated, from any in the country. When they arrived, they found to their satisfaction, it was a structure which had been erected by the Romans.

There were no inscriptions to be found, although they carefully turned up a number of the stones strewed about, but a few figures and letters rudely hewn out, and evidently of recent date. They imagined they could trace some resemblance to the letters of Europe, and conjectured that they had been hewn out by some European traveller at no very distant period. Their thoughts naturally went back to Horneman, but again they had no intelligence of his having been there, "In short," as Dr. Oudney says, "to confess the truth, we did not know what to make of them, till we afterwards made the discovery of the Targee writing."

This building is about twelve feet high, and eight broad. It is built of sandstone well finished, and dug from the neighbouring

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hills. Its interior is solid, and of small stones, cemented by mortar. It stands about three miles from Gorma, and a quarter of a mile from the foot of the mountain. It is either a tomb or an altar; those well acquainted with Roman architecture will easily determine which. The finding a structure of these people proves, without doubt, their intercourse here. It is probable they had no extensive establishment, otherwise they would have seen more remains as they went along; they passed by, and saw to the westward, the remains of ancient Gorma. It appeared to occupy a space more extensive than the present town. They were not able to learn from the old sheik, whether any antique coins were ever found, or any building similar to this in the vicinity. Was this the tract of the Romans merely into the interior, or did they come to the valley for dates?

Hateeta arrived during the night of the 18th June; their departure was, however, delayed on account of his illness. On the following morning, they struck their tents by daylight, and commenced their journey. They sent their horses home, that is, to Mourzouk, by their servant, Adam, and set out on foot. They intended mounting the camels, but the loads were so ill arranged that they dared not venture. Their course lay through groves of date trees, growing in the salt plains. These extended about four miles, and two miles further west, was a small Arab town. They halted about an hour under the shade of the date trees, waiting for the coming up of the camels. They then mounted, and in the afternoon entered the date groves of Oubari, where they halted. Hateeta joined them in the evening. They had numerous Tuarick visitors, some residents of the town, and others belonging to a kafila about to depart for the Tuarick country. They are an independent-looking race. They examine with care every thing they see, and are not scrupulous in asking for different articles, such as tobacco, powder, and flints.

The camel men not coming forward with their camels, the party took the advantage of their detention to visit the neighbouring hills. One part appeared at a distance as an artificial excavation, which, however, disappeared as they approached, and they found it to be

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a smooth surface, with a portion so removed as to give rise to the delusion.

In ascending this by the track of a mountain torrent, they fell in with numerous inscriptions, in characters similar to those on the Roman building. Some were evidently done centuries ago, others very recently. To the southward there was another portion of the same range. When they got to the top, they were perspiring copiously, and had to take care that the perspiration was not checked too suddenly, as a strong cool breeze was blowing on the top. Many places were cleared away for prayer, in the same manner as they had observed in places on all the roads, on which they had travelled. The form in general is an oblong square, with a small recess in one of the longer sides, looking to the rising sun, or it is semicircular, with a similar recess. On the top of a steep precipice, "God save the king" was sung with great energy and taste by Hillman.

The new moon was seen on this evening, to the great joy of all the followers of Mahomet. Muskets and pistols were discharged, and all the musicians began their labours. This sport was continued until night. A party of musicians came out to visit them, but several of them were so drunk that they could scarcely walk. The fast was kept by all with a bad grace, and scarcely one was to be seen who had not a long visage. It was even laughable to see some young men going about the streets, with long walking-sticks, leaning forward like men bent with age. As soon as the maraboot calls, not a person was to be seen in the streets; all commence, as soon as he pronounces "Allah Akber!" All pretend to keep it, and if they do not, they take care that no one shall know it; but from the wry faces and pharasaical shows, the rigidity may be called in question. None of the European party kept the fast, except for a day now and then; for all travellers, after the first day, are allowed exemption, but they have to make it up at some other time.

They were greatly amused with stories of the great powers of eating of the Tuaricks. They were told that two men have consumed three sheep at one meal, another eating a kail of bruised

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dates, and a corresponding quantity of milk, and another eating about a hundred loaves, about the size of an English penny loaf. They had many inquiries respecting the English females; for a notion prevailed, that they always bore more than one child at a time, and that they went longer than nine calendar months. On being told that they were the same in that respect as other women, they appeared pleased. They were also asked, how the women were kept; if they were locked up as the moorish women, or allowed to go freely abroad. The Tuarick women are allowed great liberties that way, and are not a little pleased at having such an advantage.

The customs and manners of Europe, which they related to their friends, were so similar to some of theirs, that an old Targee exclaimed, in a forcible manner, "that he was sure they had the same origin as us." The Tuarick women have full round faces, black curling hair, and, from a negro mixture, inclined to be crispy; eyebrows a little arched, eyes black and large, nose plain and well formed. The dress a barracan, neatly wrapped round, with a cover of dark blue cloth for the head, sometimes coming over the lower part of the face, as in the men. They are not very fond of beads, but often have shells suspended to the ears as ear-drops.

Being obliged to postpone their departure for ten days, in consequence of the indisposition of Hateeta, Dr. Oudney determined in the mean time to visit Wady Shiati, whilst Mr. Hillman was sent back to Mourzouk, to send down supplies, and to take charge of the property. They arranged about the fare for their camels, and made every preparation for their immediate departure. Before, however, they could set out, a guide for the sands was necessary; and for that purpose they engaged an old Targee, who professed to know every part of the track. They travelled by moonlight, over a sandy soil, with numerous tufts of grass, and mound hillocks covered with shrubs, the surface in many places hard and crusty, from saline incrustations. The old men told them, that the mounds of earth were formed by water, as the wadey, at the times of great rains, was covered with water.

At daylight they resumed their journey, and a little after sunrise entered among the sand-hills, which were here two or three hundred feet high. The ascent and descent of these proved very fatiguing

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to both their camels and themselves. The precipitous sides obliged them often to make a circuitous route, and rendered it necessary to form with their hands a track, by which the camels might ascend. Beyond this boundary there was an extensive sandy plain, with here and there tufts of grass.

In the afternoon, their track was on the same plain; and near sunset they began ascending high sand-hills, one appearing as if heaped upon the other. The guide ran before, to endeavour to find out the easiest track, with all the agility of a boy. The presence of nothing but deep sandy valleys and high sand-hills strikes the mind most forcibly. There is something of the sublime mixed with the melancholy; who can contemplate without admiration masses of loose sand, fully four hundred feet high, ready to be tossed about by every breeze, and not shudder with horror at the idea of the unfortunate traveller being entombed in a moment by one of those fatal blasts, which sometimes occur. They halted for the night on the top of one of these sand-hills.

For three or four days their course still lay among the sand-hills; their guide, whom they now styled Mahomet Ben Kaml, or son of the sand, was almost always on before, endeavouring to find out the best way. They could detect in the sand numerous footmarks of the jackal and the fox, and here and there a solitary antelope. In some of the wadeys there were a great many fragments of the ostrich egg. About mid-day, they halted in a valley, and remained under the shade of some date trees for a few hours. The heat was oppressive, and their travelling was difficult They next came to an extensive level plain, which was some refreshment, for they were completely tired of ascending and descending sand-hills. The servants strayed, proceeding on a track, which was pointed out to them as the right one, and, before they were aware of their error, they went so far that they were not able to send after them. They, as well as themselves, thought the town was near, and they went forwards, with the intention of getting in before the remainder of the party could come up. They felt exceedingly uneasy respecting them, as they might so easily lose themselves in such intricate travelling. They halted in low spirits, and, after a little refreshment, went to sleep with heavy hearts.

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During the night, some strong breezes sprang up, by which their trunks and bed-clothes were all covered with sand in the morning. They heard nothing of their servants, and consoled themselves that they had perhaps found some place of shelter or rest. They commenced their journey early, and in a short time the hills of Wadey Shiati were seen stretching east and west, and the date-palms in several groves; but some high sand-hills were seen between them. They wished their old guide to take them a more direct course, but notwithstanding their desire, and even threats, he persevered in having his way; and, to do the old man justice, they afterwards found it would almost have been impossible for the camels to have gone the way they wished. After passing the base of some high sand-hills, they came to a strong pass, of gentle descent, covered with loose fragments of quartz rock, a yellowish feldspar, and iron ore, very similar to the rocks in the Sebah district. From this place the town opened to their view, erected on a hill about three hundred feet high, standing in the middle of the valley, and has the appearance, at a distance, of a hill studded over with basaltic columns. They had no idea that the town was built on the hill, and consequently that the deception was produced by it.

The majority of the inhabitants soon visited them, and all appeared pleased at their arrival. The kadi of the two neighbouring towns paid them many compliments, and pressed them much to spend a few days in his towns. They could not take advantage of this offer, which was no doubt of a selfish nature, for Dr. Oudney had not conversed long with him, before he began to beg a shirt. The doctor told him that his could be of no use to him, as it was very different from those of the country. On being told that, he asked for a dollar to buy one, which Dr. Oudney took care to refuse, saying that he only gave presents of money to the poor. The people made numerous urgent demands for medicines, and in a very short time, their large tent was surrounded with sick, the female part forming the majority. Some beautiful faces and forms were clothed in rags; the plaited hair and necks of these even were loaded with ornaments. The females were rather under the middle stature, strongly built, and possess considerable vivacity and liveli-

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ness. The complexion of those not much exposed to the sun was of a dirty white.

Dr. Oudney was also applied to in a new capacity, that of a charm-writer. A man came and offered him two fowls, if he would give him a charm for a disease of the stomach; he was, however, obliged to decline the office of charm-writer, and confine himself to the cure of diseases by medicine. A buxom widow applied for a medicine to obtain her a husband, but the doctor told her he had no such medicine along with him. The same worthy personage took Lieutenant Clapperton for an old man, on account of his light-coloured beard and mustachios; but although this afforded some amusement to the party, Clapperton felt some chagrin at it, for he had prided himself on the strength and bushiness of his beard, and was not a little hurt that light colour should be taken as a mark of old age. None of them had ever seen a light-coloured beard before, and all the old men dye their grey beards with henna, which gives them a colour approaching to that of Lieutenant Clapperton.

They now proceeded to visit the interior of the town. The houses were built of mud, and erected on the sides of the hill, appearing as if one were pulled on the other. The passages or streets between them are narrow, and in two or three instances, some excavations were made through the rocks. The ascent was steep in some places, and they had to pass through the mosque before they arrived at the highest portion. From this they had a fine view of Wadey Shiati in every direction, running nearly east and west; in the former direction it was well inhabited as far as Oml'Abeed, which is the westernmost town. Many houses were in ruins, and many more were approaching to that state, still it was called the new town, although its appearance little entitles it to that appellation; but the ancient inhabitants lived in excavations in the rocks, the remains of which are very distinct. At the bottom of the hill, they entered several, not much decayed by time. At a hundred yards, however, from the base of the hill, and now used as a burying-ground, there is a subterranean house, of large dimensions, and probably the residence of the great personage. Dr. Oudney and

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Clapperton entered this excavation, and found three extensive galleries, which communicated only by small openings, on passing through which, they had to stoop considerably. The galleries were, however, high, and of considerable length, about one hundred and fifty feet, and each had several small recesses, like sleeping rooms. The whole had neatness about it, and showed a taste in the excavation. There are no traces of similar abodes in Fezzan. The people are so afraid, and so superstitious, that scarcely one of the town had ever entered it. They were astonished when the Europeans entered it without ceremony, and two, encouraged by their example, brought them a light, by which they were enabled to look into the different recesses.

On the 6th July, they started, with a beautiful moonlight, over a sandy plain, with a great many small hillocks. They stopped at Dalhoon, a well nearly filled up with sand, and containing water so brackish that they were unable to drink it. They started again, and got in amongst the sand-hills. Their new guide proved neither such an active man, nor so experienced a pilot, as their old Tuarick, as they had several times to retrace their steps.

After visiting several places of no particular note, they arrived at Ghraat, and were soon visited by a number of Hateeta's relations, one of whom was his sister; some were much affected, and wept at the sufferings that had detained him so long from them. A number of his male relations soon came, and many of the inhabitants of the town. The ladies were a free and lively set. They were not a little pleased with the grave manner in which their visitors uttered the various complimentary expressions. Hateeta was not well pleased with something he had heard, but he told them not to be afraid, as he had numerous relations. They informed him that fear never entered their breasts, and begged him not to be uneasy on their account.

Early on the following morning, numerous visitors paid their respects to Hateeta, and were introduced in due form to the Europeans, who felt the length of time spent in salutations quite fatiguing, and so absurd in their eyes, that they could scarcely at times retain their gravity. The visitors were mostly residents of the city, and all were decorated in their best. There were also a sedateness and

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gravity in the appearance of all, which the dress tended greatly to augment.

In the afternoon, they visited the sultan. Mats had been spread in the castle in a small anti-chamber. The old man was seated, but rose up to receive them, and welcomed them to his city. He apologized for not waiting on them, but said he was sick, and had been very little out for some time. He had guinea-worm, and cataract was forming in his eyes. He was dressed in a nearly worn-out robe, and trousers of the same colour, and round his head was wrapped an old piece of yellow coarse cloth for a turban. Notwithstanding the meanness of the dress, there was something pleasing and prepossessing in his countenance, and such as made them quite as much at home, as if in their tents. They presented him with a sword, with which he was highly pleased. Hateeta wished it had been a Bornouse; but they had none with them which they considered sufficiently good. They were led away by the title sultan, having no idea that the Tuaricks were so vain; for they used to fill them with high notions of the wealth and greatness of the people of Ghraat.

On the whole, their interview was highly pleasing, and every one seemed much pleased with their visitors. The old sultan showed them every kindness, and they had every reason to believe him sincere in his wishes. After their visit, they called at the house of Lameens, son of the kadi. He was a young man of excellent character, and universally respected. His father was then in Ghadames, arranging, with some of the other principal inhabitants, the affairs of the community. He had left directions with his son, to show the strangers every attention. His house was neatly fitted up, and carpets spread on a high bed, on which the visitors seated themselves. Several of the people who were in the castle came along with them, and by the assistance of those, who could speak Arabic, they were able to keep up a tolerably good conversation. On inquiring about the Tuarick letters, they found the same sounds given them as they had before heard from others. They were here at the fountain-head, but were disappointed at not being able to find a book in the Tuarick language; they were informed, that there was not one extant.

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In the evening Hateeta's kinswomen returned. They were greatly amused, and laughed heartily at their visitors blundering out a few Tuarick words. It may be well supposed they were very unfit companions for the ladies, as they spoke no other language than their own, and the strangers knew very little of it. Still, however, they got on very well, and were mutually pleased. Dr. Oudney could scarcely refrain laughing several times, at the grave manner which Clapperton assumed. He had been tutored by Hateeta, and fully acted up to his instructions; no Tuarick could have done it better. Their friend Hateeta was anxious that they should shine, if not make an impression on the hearts of the ladies, and therefore read a number of lectures to Clapperton, as to the manner in which he should deport himself. He was directed not to laugh nor sing, but to look as grave as possible, which Hateeta said would be sure to please the grave Tuaricks. The liveliness of the women, their freeness with the men, and the marked attention the latter paid them, formed a striking contrast with other Mahommedan states.

They now proceeded to take a circuit of the town, and during their walk they fell in with a number of females, who had come out to see them. All were free and lively, and not at all deterred by the presence of the men. Several of them had fine features, but only one or two could be called beautiful. Many of the natives came out of their houses as they passed along, and cordially welcomed them to their town. It was done with so much sincerity and good heartedness, that they could not but be pleased and highly flattered.

In the evening they heard a numerous band of females, singing at a distance, which was continued till near midnight. The women were principally those of the country. This custom is very common among the people, and is one of the principal amusements in the mountain recesses. Hateeta said they go out when their work is finished, in the evening, and remain till near midnight, singing and telling stories; return home, take supper, and go to bed.

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CHAPTER XXI.

Dr. Oudney and his companions now determined to return to Mourzouk, where they arrived in November, and on the 29th of the same month, they again departed, accompanied by nearly all those of the town, who could muster horses; the camels had moved early in the day, and at Zerzow, they found the tents pitched. From Zerzow to Traghan there is a good high road, with frequent incrustations of salt. A marabout of great sanctity, is the principal person in Traghan, as his father was before him. After being crammed as it were by the hospitality of this marabout, they left Traghan for Maefen, an assemblage of date huts, with but one house. The road to this place lies over a mixture of sand and salt, having a curious and uncommon appearance. The path, by which all the animals move for some miles, is a narrow space, or strip, worn smooth, bearing a resemblance both in appearance and hardness to ice.

Quitting Maefen, they quickly entered on a desert plain, and after a dreary fourteen hours march for camels, they arrived at Mestoota, a maten or resting place, where the camels found some little grazing, from a plant called abgul. Starting at sunrise, they had another fatiguing day, over the same kind of desert, without seeing one living thing that did not belong to the kafila, not a bird, nor even an insect; the sand is beautifully fine, round, and red. It is difficult to give the most distant idea of the stillness and beauty of a night scene, on a desert of this description. The distance

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between the resting places is not sufficiently great, for the dread of want of water to be alarmingly felt, and the track, though a sandy one, is well known to the guides. The burning heat of the day is succeeded by cool and refreshing breezes, and the sky ever illumined by large and brilliant stars, or an unclouded moon. By removing the loose and pearl-like sand, to the depth of a few inches, the effects of the sunbeams of the day are not perceptible, and a most soft and refreshing couch is easily formed. The ripple of the driving sand resembles that of a slow and murmuring stream, and after escaping from the myriads of fleas, which day and night persecute you, in the date-bound valley in which Mourzouk stands, the luxury of an evening of this description is an indescribable relief. Added to the solemn stillness, so peculiarly striking and impressive, there is an extraordinary echo in all deserts, arising probably from the closeness and solidity of a sandy soil, which does not absorb the sound. They now arrived at Gabrone. The Arabs watch for a sight of the high date trees, which surround this town, as sailors look for land, and after discovering these land marks, they shape their course accordingly.

Here Major Denham joined his companions, whom he found in a state of health but ill calculated for undertaking a long and tedious journey. During the stay of the major at Mourzouk, he had suffered from a severe attack of fever, which had kept him for ten days in his bed, and although considerably debilitated, yet he was strong in comparison with his associates. Dr. Oudney was suffering much from his cough, and still complaining of his chest. Mr. Clapperton's ague had not left him, and Hillman had been twice attacked so violently, as to be given over by the doctor. They all, however, looked forward anxiously to proceeding on their journey, and fancied that change of scene and warmer weather, would bring them all round.

Gabrone is not unpleasantly situated; it is surrounded by sand-hills and mounds of earth, covered with a small tree, called *athalé*. The person of the greatest importance at Gabrone, is one Hagi el Raschid, a large proprietor, and a marabout. He was a man of very clear understanding and amiable manners, and as he uses the superstition of the people as the means of making them happy, and

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turning them from vicious pursuits, we become, as it were, almost reconciled to an impostor.

They departed from Gabrone at 11 o'clock, A. M. The marabout accompanied Boo Khaloom outside the town, and having drawn, not a magic circle, but a parallelogram on the sand, with his wand, he wrote in it certain words of great import, from the Koran; the crowd looked on him in silent astonishment, while he assumed a manner both graceful and imposing, so as to make it impossible for any one to feel at all inclined to ridicule his motions. When he had finished repeating the fatah aloud, he invited the party singly to ride through the spot he had consecrated, and having obeyed him, they silently proceeded on their journey, without repeating even an idea.

They past a small nest of huts in the road, prettily situated, called El Bahhi, from whence the women of the place followed them with songs for several miles. Having halted at Medroosa, they moved on the next morning, and leaving an Arab castle to the south-east, and some table-top hills, they arrived at Kasrowa by three in the afternoon.

On the 9th December, they were to arrive at Tegerhy. The Arabs commenced skirmishing as soon as they came within sight of it, and kept it up in front of the town for half an hour after their arrival. They were to halt here for a day or two, for the purpose of taking in the remainder of their dates and provisions, and never was halt more acceptable. Almost the whole of the party were afflicted with illness; the servants were all so ill, that one of the negro women made them a mess of kouscasou, with some preserved fat, which had been prepared in Mourzouk, it was a sorry meal, for the fat was rancid, and although tired and not very strong, Major Denham could not refuse an invitation about nine at night, after he had laid down to sleep, to eat camels' heart with Boo Khaloom; it was woefully hard and tough, and the major suffered the next morning from indulging too much at the feast.

The Tibboos and Arabs kept them awake half the night with their singing and dancing, in consequence of the bousafer or feast, on entering the Tibboo country. Boo Khaloom gave two camels, and the major and his party gave one. The sick seemed to gain a

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little strength; they had succeeded in purchasing a sheep, and a little soup seemed to revive them much, but they feared that Hillman and one of the servants must be left behind. However distressing such an event would have been, it was impossible for men, who could not sit upright on a mule, to commence a journey of fifteen days over a desert, during which travellers are obliged to march from sunrise until dark.

The morning of the 12th December was beautifully mild. After breakfast, all seemed revived, but it was with great pain that Major Denham observed the exceeding weakness of Dr. Oudney and Hillman; he fancied that he already saw in them, two more victims to the noxious climate of central Africa.

Almost every town in Africa has its charm or wonder, and Tegerhy is not without one. There is a well just outside the castle gates, the water of which, they were told most gravely, always rose when a kafila was coming near the town; that the inhabitants always prepared what they had to sell, on seeing this water increase in bulk, for it never deceived them. In proof of this assertion, they pointed out to Major Denham, how much higher the water had been previously to their arrival, than it was at the moment, when they were standing on the brink. This Major Denham could have explained, by the number of camels that had drunk at it, but he saw it was better policy to believe what every body allowed to be true, even Boo Khaloom exclaimed, "Allah! God is great, powerful, and wise. How wonderful! Oh!" Over the inner gate of the castle, there is a large hole through to the gateway underneath, and they tell a story, of a woman dropping from thence a stone on the head of some leader, who had gained the outer wall, giving him by that means the death of Abimelech in sacred history.

The natives of Tegerhy are quite black, but have not the negro face; the men are slim, very plain, with high cheek bones, the negro nose, large mouth, teeth much stained by the quantity of tobacco, and *trona* or carbonate of soda, which they eat, and even snuff, when given to them, goes directly into their mouths.

The young girls are most of them pretty, but less so than those of Gabrone. The men always carry two daggers, one about eighteen inches, and the other six inches; the latter of which is

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attached to a ring, and worn on the arm or wrist. A Tibboo once told Major Denham, pointing to the long one, "This is my gun, and this" showing the smaller of the two, "is my pistol."

On the 13th they left Tegerhy and proceeded on the desert. After travelling six miles they arrived at a well called Omah, where their tents were pitched, and here they halted three days. Near these wells, numbers of human skeletons, or parts of them, lay scattered on the sands. Hillman, who had suffered dreadfully since leaving Tegerhy, was greatly shocked at these whitened skulls, and unhallowed remains, so much so as to stand in need of all the encouragement which Major Denham could administer to him.

On the 17th they continued their course over a stony plain, without the least appearance of vegetation. About sunset, they halted near a well, within half a mile of Meshroo. Round this spot were lying more than a hundred skeletons, some of them with the skin still remaining attached to the bones, not even a little sand thrown over them. The Arabs laughed heartily at the expression which Major Denham evinced, and said, "they were only blacks, *nam boo!* (d—n their fathers,)" and began knocking about the limbs with the butt end of their firelocks, saying, "this was a woman: this was a youngster," and such like unfeeling expressions. The greater part of the unhappy people, of whom these were the remains, had formed the spoils of the sultan of Fezzan the year before. Major Denham was assured, that they had left Bornou, with not above a quarter's allowance for each; and that more died from want than fatigue; they were marched off with chains round their necks and legs; the most robust only arrived in Fezzan in a very debilitated state, and were there fattened for the Tripoli slave market.

Their camels did not come up until it was quite dark, and they bivouacked in the midst of these unearthed remains of the victims of persecution and avarice, after a long day's journey of twenty-six miles, in the course of which, one of the party counted one hundred and seven of these skeletons.

Their road now lay over a long plain with a slight ridge. A fine naga (she camel), lay down on the road, as it was supposed from fatigue. The Arabs crowded round and commenced unloading her, when, upon inquiry, it was found that she was suddenly taken in

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labour; about five minutes completed the operation; a very fine little animal was literally dragged into light. It was then thrown across another camel, and the mother, after being reloaded, followed quietly after her offspring.

One of the skeletons which they passed this day, had a very fresh appearance, the beard was still hanging to the skin of the face, and the features were still discernible. A merchant, travelling with the kafila, suddenly exclaimed, "That was my slave I left behind four months ago, near this spot." "Make haste! take him to the *fsug* (market)," said an Arab wag, "for fear any body else should claim him."

On the 20th December, they arrived at the Hormut el Wahr, which were the highest hills they had seen since leaving Fezzan; the highest peak being from five to six hundred feet. They had a bold black appearance, and were a relief to the eye, after the long level they had quitted. They blundered and stumbled on until ten at night, when they found the resting place, after a toilsome and most distressing day. This was the eighth day since the camels had tasted water; they were weak and sore-footed, from the stony nature of the passes in these hills of Elwahr.

They had now a stony plain, with low hills of sand and gravel, till they reached El Garha, and here they rested for the night. Several of the camels during this day were drunk—their eyes heavy, and wanting their usual animation; their gait staggering, and every now and then falling, as a man in a state of intoxication. This arose from eating dates after drinking water; these probably pass into a spirituous fermentation in the stomach.

On the 22nd of December, they moved before daylight, and halted at the maten called El Hammar, close under a bluff head, which had been in view since quitting their encampment in the morning. Strict orders were given this day for the camels to keep close up, and for the Arabs not to straggle, the Tibboo Arabs having been seen on the look out. During the last two days, they had passed, on an average, from sixty to ninety skeletons each day, but the numbers that lay about the wells at El Hammar were countless; those of two young women, whose perfect and regular teeth bespoke them young, were particularly shocking; their arms still remained

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clasped round each other as they had expired, although the flesh had long since perished by being exposed to the burning rays of the sun, and the blackened bones only left; the nails of the fingers, and some of the sinews of the hand also remained, and part of the tongue of one of them still appeared through the teeth.

They had now passed six days of desert, without the slightest appearance of vegetation, and a little branch of the snag, (*Caparis sodada,*) was brought as a comfort and curiosity. On the following day, they had alternately plains of sand and loose gravel, and had a distant view of some hills to the westward. While Major Denham was dozing on his horse about noon, overcome by the heat of the sun, which, at that time of the day, shone with great power, he was suddenly awakened by a crashing under his feet, which startled him excessively. He found that his steed had, without any sensation of shame or alarm, stepped upon the perfect skeletons of two human beings, cracking their brittle bones under his feet, and by one trip of his foot, separating a skull from the trunk, which rolled on like a ball before him. This event imparted a sensation to him, which it took him a long time to remove. His horse was for may days afterwards not looked upon with the same regard as formerly.

One of their nagas had this day her accouchement on the road, and they all looked forward to the milk, which the Arabs assured them she had in abundance, and envied them not a little their morning draughts, which they were already quaffing in imagination. However, one of the many slips between the cup and the lip was to befal them. The poor naga suddenly fell, and as suddenly died. The exclamations of the Arabs were dreadful. "The evil eye! the evil eye!" they all exclaimed; "she was sure to die, I knew it. Well! if she had been mine, I would rather have lost a child, or three slaves. God be praised! God is great, powerful, and wise; those looks of the people are always fatal."

On the 1st January 1823, they arrived at the wadey Ikbar. The Arabs here caught a hyena, and brought it to Major Denham; he, nor any other of the party, had any other wish than to have merely a look at it. They then tied it to a tree, and shot at it, until the poor animal was literally knocked to pieces. This was the most refreshing spot they had seen for many days; there were dome trees

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laden with fruit, though not ripe, which lay in clusters, and grass in abundance. They could have staid here a week, says Major Denham, with pleasure; so reviving is the least appearance of cultivation, or rather a sprinkling of nature's beauty, after the parching wilds of the long and dreary desert they had passed.

Looking back with great regret at leaving the few green branches in Ikbar, with nothing before them but the dark hills and sandy desert, they ascended slightly from the wadey, and leaving the hills of Ikbar, proceeded towards a prominent head in a low range to the east of their course, called Tummer as Kumma, meaning "You'll soon drink water;" and about two miles in advance, they halted just under a ridge of the same hills, after making twenty-four miles. Four camels were knocked up during this day's march: on such occasions, the Arabs wait in savage impatience in the rear, with their knives in their hands, ready, on the signal of the owner, to plunge them into the poor animal, and bear off a portion of the flesh for their evening meal. They were obliged to kill two of them on the spot; the other two, it was hoped, would come up in the night. Major Denham attended the slaughter of one, and despatch being the order of the day, a knife is struck into the camel's heart, while his head is turned to the east, and he dies almost in an instant; but before that instant expires, a dozen knives are thrust into different parts of the carcass, in order to carry off the choicest parts of the flesh. The heart, considered as the greatest delicacy, is torn out, the skin stripped from the breast and haunches, part of the meat cut, or rather torn from the bones, and thrust into bags, which they carry for the purpose, and the remainder of the carcass is left for the crows, vultures, and hyenas, while the Arabs quickly follow the kafila.

On the 4th, they arrived at Anay, a town which consists of a few huts built on the top of a mass of stone, round the base of which are also habitations, but the riches of the people are always kept above. The Tuaricks annually, and sometimes oftener, pay them a most destructive visit, carrying off cattle and every thing they can lay their hands upon. The people, on those occasions, take refuge at the top of the rock, ascending by a rude ladder, which is drawn up after them; and as the sides of their citadel are always

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precipitous, they defend themselves with their missiles, and by rolling down stones on the assailants.

The sultan Tibboo, whose territory extends from this place to Bilma, was at this time visiting a town to the south-west of Anay, called Kisbee, and he requested Boo Khaloom to halt there one day, promising to proceed with him to Bilma. They accordingly reached Kisbee on the evening of the 5th, where the camels got some pickings of dry grass.

Kisbee is a great place of rendezvous for all kafilas and merchants, and it is here that the sultan always takes his tribute for permission to pass through his country. The sultan himself had neither much majesty nor cleanliness of appearance; he came to Boo Khaloom's tent, accompanied by six or seven Tibboos, some of them really hideous. They take a quantity of snuff, both in their mouths and noses; their teeth were of a deep yellow; the nose resembles nothing so much as a round lump of flesh stuck on the face, and the nostrils are so large, that their fingers go up as far as they can reach, in order to ensure the snuff an admission into the head. The watch, compass, and musical snuff-box of one of the party created but little astonishment; they looked at their own faces in the bright covers, and were most stupidly inattentive to what would have excited the wonder of almost any imagination, however savage. Here was "the *os sublime*," but the "*spiritus intus*," the "*mens divinior*," were scarcely discoverable. Boo Khaloom gave the sultan a fine scarlet bornouse, which seemed a little to animate his stupid features.

In the evening, they had a dance by Tibboo men, performed in front of their tents. It is graceful and slow, but not so well adapted to the male as the female. It was succeeded by one performed by some free slaves from Soudan, who were living with the Tibboos, enjoying, as they said, their liberty. It appeared to be most violent exertion; one man is placed in the middle of a circle, which he endeavours to break, and each one whom he approaches, throws him off, while he adds to the impetus by a leap, and ascends several feet from the ground; when one has completed the round, another takes his place.

Whilst they were on the road, a violent disturbance arose

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amongst the Arabs, one of them having shot a ball through the shirt of another of the Magarha tribe; the sheik of the Magarha took up the quarrel, and the man saved himself from being punished, by hanging to the stirrup-leather of Major Denham's saddle. The Arab sheik made use of some expressions, in defending his man, which displeased Boo Khaloom, who instantly knocked him off his horse, and his slaves soundly bastinadoed him.

Tiggema, near which they halted, is one of the highest points in the range, and hangs over the mud houses of the town; this point stands at the south extremity of the recess, which the hills here form, and is about four hundred feet high; the sides are nearly perpendicular, and it is detached from the other hills by a chasm. On the approach of the Tuaricks, the whole population flock to the top of these heights, with all their property, and make the best defence they can. The interior of some of the houses is neat and tidy; the men are generally travelling merchants, or rather pedlars, and probably do not pass more than four months in the year with their families, for the Tibboos rarely go beyond Bornou to the south, or Mourzouk to the north; they appeared light-hearted, and happy as people constantly in dread of such visitors as the Tuaricks can be, who spare neither age nor sex.

They proceeded from Tiggema nearly in a south-west direction, leaving the hills; and while resting under the shade of acacia trees, which were here very abundant, they had the agreeable, and to them very novel sight, of a drove of oxen; the bare idea of once more being in a country that afforded beef and pasture, was consoling in the extreme; and the luxurious thought of fresh milk, wholesome food, and plenty, were highly exhilarating to the whole of the party.

In the afternoon, they came to a halt at Dirkee. A good deal of powder was here expended in honour of the sultan, who again met them on their approach: his new scarlet bornouse was thrown over a filthy check shirt, and his turban and cap, though once white, were rapidly approaching to the colour of the head which they covered; when, however, on the following morning, his majesty condescended to ask one of the party for a little soap, these little negligences in his outward appearance were more easily accounted for.

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They had rather a numerous assembly of females, who danced for some hours before the tents. Some of their movements were very elegant, and not unlike the Greek dances, as they are represented. They were regaled by the sultan with cheese and ground nuts from Soudan; the former of a pleasant flavour, but so hard that they were obliged to moisten it with water previously to eating. During the time that they halted at Dirkee, the women brought them dates, fancifully strung on rushes, in the shape of hearts, with much ingenuity, and a few pots of honey and fat.

They halted at Dirkee rather more than two days. So many of Boo Khaloom's camels had fallen on the road, that, notwithstanding the very peaceable professions which the travelling party held forth, a marauding party was sent out to plunder some maherhies, and bring them in; an excursion that was sanctioned by the sultan, who gave them instructions as to the route they were to take. The former deeds of the Arabs are, however, still in the memory of the Tibboos, and they had therefore increased the distance between their huts and the high road, by a timely striking of their tents. Nine camels, of the maherhy species, were brought in, but not without a skirmish; and a fresh party were despatched, which did not return that night. All the party were ordered to remain loaded, and no one was allowed to quit the circle in which the tents were pitched.

On the following day, the Arabs, who had been out foraging, returned with thirteen camels, which they had much difficulty in bringing to the halting place, as the Tibboos had followed them several miles. Patroles were placed during the whole of the night, who, to awaken the sleepers for the purpose of assuring them they were awake themselves, were constantly exclaiming, *Balek ho!* the watchword of the Arabs.

They had this day the enjoyment of a dish of venison, one of the Arabs having succeeded in shooting two gazelles, many of which had crossed their path for the last three days. On finding a young one, only a few days old, the wily Arab instantly laid down on the grass, imitating the cry of the young one, and as the mother came bounding towards the spot, he shot her in the throat.

On the 12th, they reached Bilma, the capital of the Tibboos, and

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the residence of their sultan, who having always managed to get before and receive them, advanced a mile from the town attended by some fifty of his men-at-arms, and double the number of the sex, styled in Europe, the fair. The men had most of them bows and arrows, and all carried spears; they approached Boo Khaloom, shaking the spears in the air over their heads, and after this salutation, the whole party moved on towards the town, the females dancing, and throwing themselves about with screams and songs quite original, at least to the European portion of the party. They were of a superior class to those of the minor towns; some having extremely pleasing features, while the pearly whiteness of their regular teeth, was beautifully contrasted with the glossy black of their skin, and the triangular flaps of plaited hair, which hung down on each side of their faces, streaming with oil, with the addition of the coral in the nose, and large amber necklaces, gave them a very seducing appearance. Some of them carried a *sheish*, a fan made of soft grass or hair, for the purpose of keeping off the flies; others a branch of a tree, and some, fans of ostrich feathers, or a branch of the date palm. All had something in their hands, which they waved over their heads as they advanced. One wrapper of Soudan, tied on the top of the left shoulder, leaving the right breast bare, formed their covering, while a smaller one was thrown over the head, which hung down to their shoulders, or was thrown back at pleasure; nowithstanding the apparent scantiness of their habiliments, nothing could be farther from indelicate than was their appearance or deportment.

On arriving at Bilma, they halted under the shade of a large tulloh tree, whilst the tents were pitching, and the women danced with great taste, and, as Major Denham was assured by the sultan's nephew, with great skill also. As they approached each other, accompanied by the slow beat of an instrument formed out of a calabash, covered with goat's skin, for a long time their movements were confined to the head, hands, and body, which they throw from one side to the other, flourish in the air, and bend without moving their feet; suddenly, however, the music becomes quicker and louder, when they start into the most violent gestures, rolling their heads round, gnashing their teeth, and shaking their hands at each

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other, leaping up, and on each side, until one or both are so exhausted that they fall to the ground, another pair then take their place.

Major Denham now, for the first time, produced Captain Lyon's book, in Boo Khaloom's tent, and on turning over the prints of the natives, he swore, and exclaimed, and insisted upon it, that he knew every face. This was such a one's slave—that was his own—he was right,—he knew it. Praised be God for the talents he gave the English: they were *shater; walla shater,* (very clever.) Of a landscape, however, it was found, that he had not the least idea, nor could he be made at all to understand the intention of the print of the sand-wind in the desert; he would look at it upside down, and when it was twice reversed for him, he exclaimed, *why! why!* (it is all the same.) A camel, or a human figure, was all he could be made to understand, and at these he was all agitation and delight. *Gieb! gieb!* (wonderful! wonderful!) The eyes first took his attention, then the other features; at the sight of the sword, he cried out, *Allah! allah!* and on discovering the guns, instantly exclaimed, "Where is the powder?" This want of perception as was imagined in so intelligent a man, excited at first the surprise of Major Denham, but perhaps, just the same would a European have felt, under similar circumstances. Were a European to attain manhood without ever casting his eye upon the representation of a landscape on paper, would he immediately feel the particular beauties of it, the perspective and the distant objects of it? It is from our opportunities of contemplating works of art, even in the common walks of life, as well as to cultivation of mind, and associations of the finer feelings, by an intercourse with the enlightened and accomplished, that we derive our quick perception in matters of this kind, rather than from nature.

On leaving Bilma their road lay over loose hills of sand, in which the camels sunk nearly knee-deep. In passing these desert wilds, where hills disappear in a single night by the drifting of the sand, and where all traces of the passage of even a large kafila sometimes vanish in a few hours, the Tibboos have certain points in the dark sandstone ridges, which from time to time raise their heads in

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the midst of this dry ocean of sand, and form the only variety, and by them they steer their course. From one of these land-marks they waded through sand formed into hills from twenty to sixty feet in height, with nearly perpendicular sides, the camels blundering and falling with their heavy loads. The greatest care is taken by the drivers in descending these banks; the Arabs hang with all their weight on the animal's tail, by which means they steady him in his descent. Without this precaution the camel generally falls forward, and of course all he carries goes over his head.

In the evening they bivouacked under a head called Zow, (the difficult,) where they found several wells. On the following day, the sand-hills were less than on the preceding one. But the animals still sank so deep that it was a tedious day, for all the four camels of Boo Khaloom gave in; two were killed by the Arabs, and two were left to the chance of coming up before the following morning. Tremendously dreary are these marches, as far as the eye can reach, billows of sand bound the prospect. On seeing the solitary foot passenger of the kafila, with his water flask in his hand, and the bag of zumeeta on his head, sink at a distance beneath the slope of one of these, as he plods his way along, hoping to gain a few paces in his long day's work, by not following the track of the camels, one trembles for his safety; the obstacle passed which concealed him from the view, the eye is strained towards the spot, in order to be assured that he has not been hurried quickly in the treacherous overwhelming sand.

An unfortunate merchant of Tripoli, Mahomet N'Diff, who had suffered much on the road from an enlarged spleen, was here advised to undergo the operation of burning with a red hot iron, the sovereign Arab remedy for almost every disorder; he gave his consent, and previously to their proceeding, he was laid on his back, and while five or six Arabs held him on the sand, the rude operators burnt him on the left side under the ribs in three places, nearly the size of a sixpence each. The iron was again placed in the fire, and while heating, the thumbs of about a dozen Arabs were thrust into different parts of the poor man's side, to know if the pressure pained him, until his flesh was so bruised, that he declared all gave him pain: four more marks with the iron were now made near the

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former ones, upon which he was turned on his face, and three larger made within two inches of the back-bone. It might have been supposed that the operation was now at an end, but an old Arab, who had been feeling his throat for some time, declared that a hot iron and a large burn were absolutely necessary just above the collar bone on the same side. The poor man submitted with wonderful patience to all this mangling, and after drinking a draught of water moved on with the camels. More than twenty camels were lost this day, on account of their straying out of the path. After travelling several days over the desert, encountering great distress and many privations, they arrived at an extensive wadey called Aghadem. Here there were several wells of excellent water, forage, and numbers of the tree called Suag, the red berries of which are nearly as good as cranberries. They here broke in upon the retreats of about a hundred gazelles, who were enjoying the fertility of the valley. It was, however, not without great difficulty, from their extreme shyness, that one was shot, which afforded an ample and salutary meal to the distressed travellers. Aghadem is a great rendezvous, and the dread of all small kafilas and travellers. It is frequented by freebooters of all descriptions.

On the 24th January, the thermometer, in the shade of Major Denham's tent, was 101° at half-past two. The animals were all enjoying the blessings of plenty in the ravines, which run through the range of low black hills, extending nearly north and south, quite across the valley. The camels, in particular, feasted on the small branches of the suag, of which they are fond to excess. The tracks of the hyena had been numerous for the last three days, and one night they approached in droves quite close to the encampment.

The evening of the 25th being beautifully serene, the telescope of Major Denham afforded great delight to Boo Khaloom; the brother of the kadi at Mourzouk, Mohamed Abedeen, and several others, for more than an hour. Major Denham usually passed some time every evening in Boo Khaloom's tent, and had promised them a sight of the moon *greeb* (near) for some time. An old hadje, who obtained a sight by the assistance of the major, for he could not fix the glass on the object, after an exclamation of wonder,

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looked him fully in the face, spoke not a word, but walked off as fast as he could, repeating some words from the Koran. This conduct the major was pleased to see, brought down the ridicule of the others, who were gratified beyond measure, and asked a hundred questions. The night was beautifully serene and clear, and the three splendid constellations, Orion, Canis Major, and Taurus, presented a coup d'oeil at once impressive and sublime.

On the 25th January, the camels moved off soon after eight, and they took shelter from the sun, under the shade of some clumps, covered with high grass, near the wells, in order that the horses might drink at the moment of their departure. They had three or four long days to the next water, and the camels were too much fatigued to carry more than one day's food for the horses. While they were in this situation, two Arabs, who had gone on with the camels, came galloping back, to say that they had encountered two Tibboo couriers, on their way from Bornou to Mourzouk. They soon made their appearance, mounted on maherhies, only nine days from Kouka. They brought news, that the sheik el Kanemy, who now governed Bornou, had just returned from a successful expedition against the sultan of Bergharmi; that he had attacked and routed a powerful tribe of Arabs, called La Sala; and that the sultan, on hearing this, had fled, as before, to the south side of the great river, amongst the Kirdies.

They proceeded on their route, which was along a continued desert, and at sunset halted on the sand, without either wood or water, after twenty-four miles. The courier from Bornou to Mourzouk assured them, that he should not be more than thirty days on the road from where they left him. The Tibboos are the only people who will undertake this most arduous service, and the chances are so much against both returning in safety, that one is never sent alone. The two men whom they had encountered were mounted on two superb maherhies, and proceeding at the rate of about six miles an hour. A bag of zumeeta (some parched corn), and one or two skins for water, with a small brass basin, and a wooden bowl, out of which they ate and drank, were all their comforts. A little meat, cut in strips, and dried in the sun, called *gedeed*, is sometimes added to the store, which they eat raw; for

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they rarely light a fire for the purpose of cooking; although the want of this comfort during the nights, on approaching Fezzan, where the cold winds are sometimes biting after the day's heat, is often fatal to such travellers. A bag is suspended under the tail of the maherhy, by which means the dung is preserved, and this serves as fuel on halting in the night. Without a kafila, and a sufficient number of camels to carry such indispensables as wood and water, it is indeed a perilous journey.

On the 27th, they appeared gradually to approach something resembling vegetation. They had rising lands and clumps of fine grass the whole of the way, and the country was not unlike some of the heaths in England. A herd of more than a hundred gazelles crossed them towards the evening, and the footmarks of the ostrich, and some of its feathers, were discovered by the Arabs. The spot where they halted was called Geogo Balwy.

Early on the following morning, they made Beere-Kashifery, and soon afterwards Mina Tahr, (the black bird,) the sheik of the Gunda Tibboos, attended by three of his followers, approached the camp. Beere-Kashifery lay within his territories, and no kafilas pass without paying tribute, which, as he is absolute, sometimes amounts to half what they possess. In the present case, the visit was one of respect. Boo Khaloom received him in his tent, and clothed him in a scarlet bornouse of coarse cloth, and a tawdry silk caftan, which was considered as a superb present. The Tibboos are smart active fellows, mounted on small horses of great swiftness; their saddles are of wood, small and light, open along the bone of the back; the pieces of wood, of which they are composed, are lashed together with thongs of hide; the stuffing is camels' hair, wound and plaited so as to be a perfect guard; the girths and stirrup-leathers are also of plaited thongs, and the stirrups themselves of iron, very small and light; into these, four toes only are thrust, the great toe being left to take its chance. They mount quickly, in half the time an Arab does, by the assistance of a spear, which they place in the ground, at the same time the left foot is planted in the stirrup, and thus they spring into the saddle.

Their camels had not finished drinking until the sun was full six fathoms high, as the Arabs term it; and as the expedition was in want

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of fresh meat, and indeed of every thing, Mina Tahr proposed that they should go to a well nearer his people, which, he assured them, was never yet shown to an Arab.

On the 29th January, therefore, they moved on, accompanied by the Tibboos; and after travelling about ten miles, they came to the well of Duggesheinga. This was a retired spot, undiscoverable from the ordinary route of travellers, being completely hidden from it by rising sand-hills. Here the Tibboos left them, promising to return early on the following day, with sheep, an ox, honey, and fat. This was joyful news to persons who had not tasted fresh animal food for fourteen or fifteen days, with the exception of a little camel's flesh.

On the following day, the wind and drifting sand were so violent, that they were obliged to keep their tents during the whole of it. Major Denham found a loose shirt only the most convenient covering, as the sand could be shaken off as soon as it made a lodgement, which with other articles of dress, could not be done, and the irritation it caused, produced a soreness almost intolerable. A little oil or fat, from the hand of a negress, all of whom are early taught the art of shampooing to perfection, rubbed well round the neck, loins, and back, is the best cure, and the greatest comfort in cases of this kind; and although, from his christian belief, he was deprived of the luxury of possessing half a dozen of these shampooing beauties, yet, by marrying his negro, Barca, to one of the freed women slaves, as he had done at Sockna, he became, to a certain degree, also the master of Zerega, whose education in the castle had been of a superior kind, and she was of the greatest use to the major on these occasions of fatigue or sickness. It is an undoubted fact, and in no case probably better exemplified than in this, that man naturally longs for attentions and support from female hands, of whatever colour or country, so soon as debility or sickness comes upon him.

Towards the evening, when the wind became hushed, and the sky re-assumed its bright and truly celestial blue, the Tibboo sheik, and about thirty of his people, male and female, returned; but their supplies were very scanty for a kafila of nearly three hundred persons. The sweet milk turned out to be nothing but sour

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camel's milk, full of dirt and sand; and the fat was in small quantities, and very rancid. They, however, purchased a lean sheep for two dollars, which was indeed a treat.

Some of the girls who brought the milk were really pretty, as contrasted with the extreme ugliness of the men. They were different from those of Bilma, were more of a copper colour, with high foreheads, and a sinking between the eyes. They have fine teeth, and are smaller and more delicately formed than the Tibboos who inhabit the towns.

It is quite surprising with what terror these children of the desert view the Arabs, and the idea they have of their invincibility, while they are smart, active fellows themselves, and both ride and move better and quicker; but the guns! the guns! are their dread; and five or six of them will go round a tree, where an Arab has laid down his gun for a minute, stepping on tiptoe, as if afraid of disturbing it, talking to each other in a whisper, as if the gun could understand their exclamations, and, it may be presumed, praying to it not to do them an injury, as fervently as ever man Friday did Robinson Crusoe's musket.

None of the Gunda Tibboos were above the middle size, well made, with sharp, intelligent, copper-coloured faces, large prominent eyes, flat noses, large mouth, and teeth regular, but stained a deep red, from the immoderate use of tobacco; the forehead is high, and the turban, which is a deep indigo colour, is worn high on the head, and brought under the chin, and across the face, so as to cover all the lower part, from the nose downwards; they have sometimes fifteen or twenty charms, in red, green, or black leather cases, attached to the folds of their turbans.

The majority of them have scars on different parts of their faces; these generally denote their rank, and are considered as an ornament. Their sheik had one under each eye, with one more on each side of his forehead, in shape resembling a half-moon. Like the Arabs of the north, their chieftainship is hereditary, provided the heir be worthy, any act of cowardice disqualifies, and the command devolves upon the next successor. Their guide a sheik, Mina Tahr ben Soogo Lammo, was the seventh in regular succession. This tribe is called Nafra Sunda, and are always near Beere-Kashifery.

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The watch of Major Denham pleased him wonderfully at first but after a little time, it was found that looking at himself in the bright part of the inside of the case, gave him the greatest satisfaction; they are vainer than the vainest. Mina Tahr was now habited in the finest clothes that had ever been brought to Beere Kashifery, and what to him could be so agreeable as contemplating the reflection of his own person so decked out? Major Denham, therefore, could not help giving him a small looking-glass, and he took his station in one corner of the major's tent, for hours, surveying himself with a satisfaction that burst from his lips in frequent exclamations of joy, and which he also occasionally testified by sundry high jumps and springs into the air.

After regaining the road, they moved till noon, when their horses were watered at a well called Kanimani, or the sheep's well, where some really sweet milk was brought to them, in immensely large basket bottles, some holding two gallons and more. They had drank and acknowledged its goodness, and how grateful it was to their weak stomachs, before they found out that it was camel's milk.

No traveller in Africa should imagine that *this* he could not bear, or *that* could not be endured. It is most wonderful how a man's taste conforms itself to his necessities. Six months ago camel's milk would have acted upon them as an emetic, now they thought it a most refreshing and grateful cordial.

The face of the country now improved in appearance every mile, and on this day they passed along, what seemed to them a most joyous valley, smiling in flowery grasses, tulloh trees, and kossom. About mid-day, they halted in a luxurious shade, the ground covered with creeping vines of the colycinth, in full blossom, which, with the red flower of the kossom, that drooped over their heads, made their resting place a little Arcadia.

They killed to-day one of the largest serpents they had seen: it is called *liffa* by the Arabs, and its bite is said to be mortal, unless the part is instantly cut out. It is a mistaken idea that all the serpent tribe are called liffa; this species alone bears the name; it has two horns, and is of a light brown colour. Major Denham's old Choush Ghreneim had a distorted foot, which was but of little

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use to him except on horseback, from the bite of one of those poisonous reptiles, notwithstanding the part infected was cut out; he was for thirteen months confined to his hut, and never expected to recover.

Arabs are always on the look out for plunder, "'Tis my vocation, Hal," none were ashamed to acknowledge it, but they were on this occasion to act as an escort, to oppose banditti, and not play the part of one. Nevertheless, they were greatly dissatisfied at having come so far, and *done* so little; they formed small parties for reconnoitring on each side of the road, and were open-mouthed for any thing that might offer. One fellow on foot had traced the marks of a flock of sheep, to a small village of tents to the east of their course, and now gave notice of the discovery he had made, but that the people had seen him, and he believed struck their tents. Major Denham felt that he should be a check upon them in their plunderings, and he, Boo Khaloom, and about a dozen horsemen, with each a footman behind him, instantly started for their retreat, which lay over the hills to the east. On arriving at the spot, in a valley of considerable beauty, where these flocks and tents had been observed, they found the place quite deserted. The poor affrighted shepherds had moved off with their all, knowing too well what would be their treatment from the Naz Abiad (white people), as they call the Arabs. Their caution, however, was made the excuse for plundering them, and a pursuit was instantly determined upon. "What! not stay to sell their sheep—the rogues, we'll take them without payment." They scoured two valleys, without discovering the fugitives, and Major Denham began to hope that the Tibboos had eluded their pursuers, when after crossing a deep ravine, and ascending the succeeding ridge, they came directly on two hundred head of cattle, and about twenty persons, men, women, and children, with ten camels, laden with their tents and other necessaries, all moving off. The extra Arabs instantly slipped from behind their leaders, and with a shout rushed down the hill; part headed the cattle to prevent their escape, and the most rapid plunder immediately commenced. The camels were instantly brought to the ground, and every part of their load rifled; the poor girls and women lifted up their hands to Major Denham, stripped as they were to the skin, but he could

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do nothing more for them beyond saving their lives. A sheik and a marabout assured Major Denham, it was quite lawful to plunder those, who left their tents instead of supplying travellers. Boo Khaloom now came up and was petitioned. Major Denham saw that he was ashamed of the paltry booty which his followers had obtained, as well as moved by the tears of the sufferers. The major seized the favourable moment, and advised that the Arabs should give every thing back, and have a few sheep and an ox for a bousafer (feast), he accordingly gave the orders, and the Arabs from under their barracans, threw down the wrappers they had torn off the bodies of the Tibboo women, and the major was glad in his heart, when taking ten sheep and a fat bullock, they left these poor creatures to their fate, as had more Arabs arrived, they would most certainly have stripped them of every thing.

On the 31st, Boo Khaloom had thought it right to send on a Tibboo, with the news of their approach to the sheik El Kanemy, who, they understood, resided at Kouka, and one was despatched with a camel, and a man of Mina Tahr. On their arrival at Kofei, the Tibboo only, who had been despatched, was found alone and naked, some Tibboo Arabs of a tribe called Wandela, had met them near the well, on the preceding evening, and robbed him even to his cap, and taking from him the letters, saying they cared not for the sheik or Boo Khaloom, tied him to a tree and there left him. In this state he was found by Major Denham's party, and Mr. Clapperton coming up soon afterwards, gave him from his biscuit bag, wherewithal to break his fast, after being twenty-four hours without eating. Eighteen men had stripped him, he said, and taken off the camel and Mina Tahr's man, who, they also said, should be ransomed, or have his throat cut. Mina Tahr represented these people as the worst on the road, in every sense of the word. "They have no flocks," said he, "and have not more than three hundred camels, although their numbers are one thousand and more; they live by plunder, and have no connexion with any other people. No considerable body of men can follow them; their tents are in the heart of the desert, and there are no wells for four days in the line of their retreat. Geddy Ben Agah is their chief, and I alone would give fifty camels for his head: these are the people, who often attack

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and murder travellers and small kafilas, and the Gundowy, who respect strangers, have the credit of it."

The men of Traita, with their chief Eskou Ben Cogla, came in the evening to welcome them; the well Kofei belongs to them, and greatly enraged they appeared to be at the conduct of the Wandelas. This chief returned to Boo Khaloom his letters, which he said, the chief of the Wandelas had sent him that morning, begging that he would meet the kafila at the well, and deliver them to Boo Khaloom; had he known then what had taken place, "the slave," he said, "should have been stabbed at his father's grave, before he would have delivered them."

Boo Khaloom was greatly enraged, and Major Denham was almost afraid, that he would have revenged himself on the Traita chiefs. However the Tibboo courier was again clothed and mounted, and once more started for Bornou.

Their course during the early part of the following day, was due south, and through a country more thickly planted by the all tasteful hand of bounteous nature. Boo Khaloom, Major Denham, and about six Arabs had ridden on in front; it was said they had lost the track, and should miss the well; the day had been oppressively hot—the major's companions were sick and fatigued, and they dreaded the want of water. A fine dust, arising from a light clayey and sandy soil, had also increased their sufferings; the exclamations of the Arab who first discovered the wells, were indeed music to their ears, and after satisfying his own thirst, with that of his weary animals, Major Denham laid himself down by one of the distant wells, far from his companions, and these moments of tranquillity, the freshness of the air, with the melody of the hundred songsters that were perched amongst the creeping plants, whose flowers threw an aromatic odour all around, were a relief scarcely to be described. Ere long, however, the noisy kafila, and the clouds of dust, which accompanied it, disturbed him from the delightful reverie into which he had fallen.

Previously to their arrival at Lari, they came upon two encampments of the Traita Tibboos, calling themselves the sheik's people; their huts were not numerous, but very regularly built in a square, with a space left in the north and south faces of the quadrangle, for

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the use of the cattle. The huts were entirely of mats, which excluding the sun, yet admitted both the light and the air. These habitations for fine weather are preferable to the bete shars or tents of the Arabs of the north. The interior was singularly neat; clean wooden bowls, with each a cover of basketwork, for holding their milk, were hung against the wall. In the centre of the inclosure were about one hundred and fifty head of cattle, feeding from cradles; these were chiefly milch cows with calves, and sheep. The Tibboos received them kindly at first, but presumed rather too much on sheik Kaneny's protection, which they claim or throw off, it is said, accordingly as it suits their purpose. The modest request of a man with two hundred armed Arabs, for a little milk, was refused, and ready as the Arabs are to throw down the gauntlet, a slight expression of displeasure from their leader, was followed by such a rapid attack on the Tibboos, that before Major Denham could mount, half the stock was driven off, and the sheik well bastinadoed. Boo Khaloom was, however, too kind to injure them, and after driving their cattle for about a mile, he allowed them to return, with a caution to be more accommodating for the future. Accustomed as these people are to plunder one another, they expect no better usage from any one, who visits them, provided they are strong enough, and *vice versa*. They are perfect Spartans in the art of thieving, both male and female.

An old woman, who was sitting at the door of one of the huts, sent a very pretty girl to Major Denham, as he was standing by his horse, whose massy amber necklace, greased head, and coral nose-studs and ear-rings, announced a person of no common order, to see what she could pick up; and after gaining possession of his handkerchief and some needles, while he turned his head, in an instant thrust her hand into the pocket of the saddle cloth, as she said, to find some beads, for she knew he had plenty.

Another and much larger nest of the Traitas, lay to the east of their course, a little further on, with numerous flocks and herds. About two in the afternoon, they arrived at Lari, ten miles distant from Mittimee. On ascending the rising ground on which the town stands, the distressing sight presented itself of all the female, and most of the male inhabitants with their families, flying across the

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plain in all directions, alarmed at the strength of the kafila. Beyond, however, was an object full of interest to them, and the sight of which conveyed to their minds a sensation so gratifying and inspiring, that it would be difficult for language to convey an idea of its force and pleasure. The great Lake Tchad, glowing with the golden rays of the sun in its strength, appeared to be within a mile of the spot on which they stood. The hearts of the whole party bounded within them at the prospect, for they believed this lake to be the key to the great object of their search: and they could not refrain from silently imploring Heaven's continued protection, which had enabled them to proceed so far in health and strength, even to the accomplishment of their task.

It was long before Boo Khaloom's best endeavours could restore confidence; the inhabitants had been plundered by the Tuaricks only the year before, and four hundred of their people butchered, and but a few days before, a party of the same nation had again pillaged them, though partially. When at length these people were satisfied that no harm was intended them, the women came in numbers with baskets of gussub, gafooly, fowls and honey, which were purchased by small pieces of coral and amber of the coarsest kinds, and coloured beads. One merchant bought a fine lamb for two bits of amber, worth about two pence each in Europe; two needles purchased a fowl, and a handful of salt, four or five good-sized fish from the lake.

Lari is inhabited by the people of Kanem, who are known by the name of Kanimboo; the women are good looking, laughing negresses, and all but naked; but this they were now used to, and it excited no emotions of surprise. Most of them had a square of silver or tin hanging at the back of the head, suspended from the hair, which was brought down in narrow plaits, quite round the neck.

The town of Lari stands on an eminence, and may probably contain two thousand inhabitants. The huts are built of the rush which grows by the side of the lake, have conical tops, and look very like well-thatched stacks of corn in England. They have neat inclosures round them, made with fences of the same reed, and passages leading to them like labyrinths. In the inclosure are

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a goat or two, poultry, and sometimes a cow. The women were almost always spinning cotton, which grows well, though not abundantly, near the town and the lake. The interior of the huts is neat, they are completely circular, with no admission for air or light, except at the door, which has a mat, hung up by way of safeguard. Major Denham entered one of the best appearance, although the owner gave him no smiles of encouragement, and followed close at his heels, with a spear and dagger in his hand. In one corner stood the bed, a couch of rushes lashed together, and supported by six poles, fixed strongly in the ground. This was covered by the skins of the tiger-cat and wild bull. Round the sides were hung the wooden bowls, used for water and milk; his tall shield rested against the wall. The hut had a division of mat-work, one half being allotted to the female part of the family. The owner, however, continued to look at his unexpected visitor with so much suspicion, and seemed so little pleased with his visit, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Major Denham to assure him, he was his friend, that he hurried from the inhospitable door, and resumed his walk through the town.

On quitting Lari, they immediately plunged into a thickly-planted forest of acacias, with high underwood, and at the distance of only a few hundred yards from the town, they came upon large heaps of elephants' dung, forming hillocks three or four feet in height, and marks of their footsteps; the tracks of these animals increased as they proceeded. Part of the day their road lay along the banks of the Tchad, and the elephants' footmarks of an immense size, and only a few hours old, were in abundance. Whole trees were broken down, where they had fed; and where they had reposed their ponderous bodies, young trees, shrubs, and underwood, had been crushed beneath their weight. They also killed an enormous snake, a species of coluber; it was a most disgusting, horrible animal, but not, however, venomous. It measured eighteen feet from the mouth to the tail, it was shot by five balls and was still moving off, when two Arabs, with each a sword, nearly severed the head from the body. On opening the belly, several pounds of fat were found, and carefully taken off by the two native guides, by whom they were accompanied. This they pronounced a sovereign

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remedy for sick and diseased cattle, and much prized amongst them. Scarcely a mile further, a drove of wild red cattle, which were first taken for deer, were seen bounding to the westward. They were what the Arabs called, *bugru hammar wahash*, (red cow wild.) They appeared to partake of the bullock and buffalo, with a tuft or lump on the shoulder.

They bivouacked near a small parcel of huts, called Nyagami, in a beautiful spot, so thick of wood, that they could scarcely find a clear place for their encampment. While the tents were fixing, an alarm was given of wild boars; one of the party followed the scent, and on his return, said he had seen a lion, and near him seven gazelles. No information could be obtained from the natives of lions ever being seen in the neighbourhood; numerous other animals appeared to abound, and that confirmed the opinion.

They moved for Woodie on the 7th February, accompanied by two Arabs of Boo Saif Major Denham left the kafila, and proceeded a little to the westward, making a parallel movement with the camels. Birds of the most beautiful plumage were perched on every tree, and several monkeys chattered at them so impudently, that separating one from the rest, they chased him for nearly half an hour; he did not run very fast, nor straight forward, but was constantly doubling and turning, with his head over his shoulder, to see who was close to him. He was a handsome fellow, of a light brown colour, and black about the muzzle. About noon they came to a village of huts, called Barrah, and although only three in number, the natives flew in all directions. On their approaching the town, they beckoned to them, and got off their horses, for the purpose of giving them confidence, and sat down under the shade of a large tamarind tree. An old negro, who spoke a little Arabic, was the first who ventured to approach; seeing that he was not ill-treated, the others soon followed his example. Major Denham begged a little sour milk, a most refreshing beverage after a hot ride, but none was to be found, until they were assured that it should be paid for, and at the sight of the dollar they all jumped and skipped like so many monkeys. Major Denham now began to eat some biscuit which he had in his saddle cloth, which created much astonishment, and the first to whom he offered some,

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refused to eat it. One, rather bolder than the rest, put a small piece in his mouth, and pronounced it good, with such extravagant gestures, that the visitors all became clamorous. The major refused for a long time the man, who had been suspicious at first, to the great amusement of the rest, who seemed to relish the joke amazingly.

The little nest of thatched huts in which they lived, was most beautifully situated on a rising spot, in the midst of a rich and luxuriant though not thick forest, about three miles to the north-east of Woodie. One of the old men accompanied them, while his son carried a sheep, which the major had purchased at Woodie, for which service he was rewarded by two coral beads and a little snuff.

Close to the town of Woodie, they found the tents. The party had made about fourteen miles, without leaving the banks of the lake at any great distance. Two elephants were seen swimming in the lake this day, and one, belonging to a drove at a distance, absolutely remained just before the kafila. Hillman had gone on in front on his mule, suffering sadly from weakness and fatigue, and had laid himself down in what appeared a delightful shade, to await the arrival of the camels, not expecting to see an elephant. He was actually reposing within a dozen yards of a very large one, without being aware of it; and on an Arab striking the animal with a spear, he roared o t, and moved off.

Poor Hillman's alarm was extreme.

The courier had been sent off a second time, after being re-clothed and remounted, to receive the sheik's orders, and they were not to proceed beyond Woodie until his pleasure was known. So jealous and suspicious are these negro princes of the encroachments of the Arabs, that divers were the speculations as to whether the sheik would or would not allow the Arabs to proceed with the party nearer his capital.

A weekly fsug, or market, was held about a mile from the town, and the women, flocking from the neighbouring negro villages, mounted on bullocks, who have a thong of hide passed through the cartilage of the nose when young, and are managed with great ease, had a curious appearance. A skin is spread on the animal's

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back, upon which, after hanging the different articles they take for sale, they mount themselves. Milk, sour and sweet, a little honey, fowls, gussub, and gafooly, are amongst their wares; fat and *melokeea* (ochra), a green herb, which, with the bazeen, all negroes eat voraciously, and indeed Christians too, as was afterwards experienced. The men brought oxen, sheep, goats, and slaves; the latter were few in number, and in miserable condition.

Woodie is a capital, or, as they say, blad kebir, and is governed by a sheik, who is a eunuch, and a man of considerable importance; they appear to have all the necessaries of life in abundance, and are the most indolent people which the travellers ever met with. The women spin a little cotton, and weave it into a coarse cloth of about six inches width. The men either lie idling in their huts during the whole of the day, or in the shade of a building formed by four supporters and a thatched roof, which stands in an open space amongst the huts; this is also the court of justice and the house of prayer. The men are considerably above the comm n stature, and of an athletic make, but have an expression of features particularly dull and heavy. The town stands about one mile west of the Tchad, four short days' march from Bornou.

The women, like the Tibboos, have a square piece of blue or white cloth tied over one shoulder, which forms their whole covering; their hair is, however, curiously and laboriously trained, and it was observed, that no one of tender years had any thing like a perfect head of hair. From childhood the head is shaved, leaving only the top covered; the hair from hence falls down quite round, from the forehead to the pole of the neck, and is there formed into one solid plait, which in front lying quite flat just over the eyes, and, behind, being turned up with a little curl, has just the appearance of an old-fashioned coachman's wig in England; some of them are, however, very pretty.

On the morning of the 10th February, Major Denham went to the eastward, in order to see the extent of the forest, and also, if possible, to get a sight of the herd of upwards of one hundred and fifty elephants, which some of the Arabs had seen the day before, while their camels were feeding. He was not disappointed, for he found them about six miles from the town, on the grounds annually

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overflowed by the waters of the lake, where the coarse grass is twice the height of a man; they seemed to cover the face of the country, and far exceeded the number which was reported. When the waters flow over these their pasturages, they are forced by hunger to approach the towns, and spread devastation throughout their march; whole plantations, the hopes of the inhabitants for the next year, are sometimes destroyed in a single night.

When quite fatigued, Major Denham determined on making for some huts, and begged a little milk, sweet or sour. No knowing landlady of a country ever scanned the character of her customer more than did this untaught, though cunning negro, who was found there. He first denied that he had any, notwithstanding the bowls were scarcely ten paces behind him, and then asked, what they had got to pay for it? Major Denham had in reality nothing with him; and after offering his pocket handkerchief, which was returned to him, as not worth any thing, he was about to depart, though ten long miles from the tents, thirsty as he was, when the Arab pointed to a needle, which was sticking in the major's jacket; for this and a white bead, which the Arab produced, they had a bowl of fine milk and a basket of nuts, which refreshed them much. On their way to the tents, they saw a flock of at least five hundred pelicans, but could not get near enough to fire at them.

On the 11th, two of the sheik's officers arrived, with letters and a present of goroo nuts of Soudan; they have a pleasant bitter taste, and are much esteemed by all the Tripoli people. These letters pressed Boo Khaloom to continue his march towards Kouka, with all his people, a very great proof of his confidence in the peaceable disposition of their chief. In the evening of the same day, they reached a town called Burwha. It is walled, and it was the first negro one they had seen. It may be called in that country a place of some strength, in proof of which, the inhabitants have always defied the Tuarick marauders, who never entered the town. The walls may be about thirteen or fourteen feet high, and have a dry ditch which runs quite round them. The town probably covers an extent equal to three square miles, and contains five or six thousand inhabitants. There is a covered way, from which the defenders lance their spears at the besiegers, and instantly conceal themselves

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There are but two gates, which are nearly east and west; and these being the most vulnerable part for an enemy to attack, are defended by mounds of earth thrown up on each side, and carried out at least twenty yards in front of the gate, and have nearly perpendicular faces. These advanced posts are always thickly manned, and they conceive them to be a great defence to their walls; they cannot, however, calculate upon their being abandoned, as an enemy once in possession of them, would so completely command the town, that from thence every part of it may be seen. Nevertheless, Burwha is a strong place, considering the means of attack which the Arabs have.

Major Denham rode nearly the whole of this day with Min Ali Tahar, the Gundowy Tibbo sheik, who was accompanying them to Bornou; he had some little difference with the sheik, of whom he was perfectly independent, and Boo Khaloom, ever politic, undertook to make up the misunderstanding; thereby not only showing his influence, but securing in a manner the future friendship of Tahar, whose district was always considered the most dangerous part of the Tibboo country, on the road to Mourzouk. Tahar was a sharp, intelligent fellow, spoke a little Arabic, and had often asked Major Denham many questions about his country, and his sultan or king, but on this day he was more inquisitive than usual. "Rais Khaleel," said he, "what would your sultan do to Min Ali, if he was to go to England? Would he kill me, or would he keep me there a prisoner? I should like to be there for about a month."

"Certainly neither the one nor the other," replied Major Denham; "he would be much more inclined to make you a handsome present, and send you back again."

"Oh!" exclaimed Min Ali, "I should take him something; but what could I give him? nothing but the skins of a dozen ostriches, some elephants' teeth, and a lion's skin."

"The value of the present," said Major Denham, "could be of no importance to my sultan; he would look at the intention. Do you, however, befriend his people; remember the Inglezi that you have seen; and should any more ever find their way to your tents, give them milk and sheep, and put them in the road they are going.

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Promise me to do this, and I can almost promise you, that my sultan shall send you a sword, such a one as Hateeta had on my return, without your going to England, or giving him any thing."

"Is he such a man?" exclaimed Min Ali. "Barak Allah! what is his name?"

"George," replied Major Denham.

"George," repeated Min Ali. "Health to George; much of it! *Salem Ali; George yassur*. Tell him, Min Ali Tahar wishes him all health and happiness; that he is a Tibboo, who can command a thousand spears, and fears no man. Is he liberal? Is his heart large? *Gulba kabir*, does he give presents to his people?"

"Very much so indeed," replied Major Denham; "some of his people think him too generous."

"By the head of my father!" "*Raas el Booe!* exclaimed Min Ali, they are wrong; the sultan of a great people should have a large heart, or he is unworthy of them. Who will succeed him when he dies?"

"His brother," answered Major Denham.

"What is his name?" asked Min Ali.

"Frederick," replied the major.

"Barak Allah!" cried Min Ali; "I hope he will be like George, *mutlook* (liberal). *Salem Ali Frederick!* How many wives have they?"

"No Englishman," replied Major Denham, "has more than one."

"A gieb! a gieb! wonderful! wonderful!" exclaimed Min Ali; why, they should have a hundred."

"No, no," said Major Denham, "we think that a sin."

"Wallah! really!" (literally, by God!) cried Min Ali; "why, I have four now, and I have had more than sixty. She, however, whom I like best, always says, one would be more lawful; she may be right; you say she is. You are a great people; I see you are a great people, and know every thing. I, a Tibboo, am little better than a gazelle."

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CHAPTER XXII.

The 17th of February was a momentous day to the Europeans, as well as to their conductors. Notwithstanding all the difficulties that had presented themselves at the various stages of their journey, they were at last within a few short miles of their destination; they were about to become acquainted with a people, who had never seen, or scarcely heardof a European, and to tread on ground, the knowledge and true situation of which had hitherto been wholly unknown. These ideas of course excited no common sensations, and could scarcely be unaccompanied by strong hopes of their labours being beneficial to the race amongst whom they were shortly to mix; of their laying the first stone of a work, which might lead to their civilization, if not their emancipation from all their prejudices and ignorance, at the same time open a field of commerce to their own country, which might increase its wealth and prosperity.

The accounts, which they had received of the state of this country, had been so contradictory, that no opinion could be formed as to the real condition, or the number of its inhabitants. They had been told that the sheik's soldiers were a few ragged negroes, armed with spears, who lived upon the plunder of the black kaffir countries, by which he was surrounded, and which he was enabled to subdue by the assistance of a few Arabs, who were in his service; and again they had been assured that his forces were not only numerous, but to a certain degree well trained. The degree of credit which might

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be attached to these reports, was nearly balanced in the scales of probability, and they advanced towards the town of Kouka, in a most interesting state of uncertainty, whether they should find its chief at the head of thousands, or be received by him under a tree, surrounded by a few naked slaves.

These doubts, however, were quickly removed; Major Denham had ridden on a short distance in front of Boo Khaloom, with his train of Arabs all mounted, and dressed out in their best apparel, and from the thickness of the leaves soon lost sight of them, fancying that the road could not be mistaken. He rode still onwards, and on approaching a spot less thickly planted, was not a little surprised to see in front of him a body of several thousand cavalry, drawn up in a line, and extending right and left as far as he could see; checking his horse, he awaited the arrival of his party, under the shade of a wide-spreading acacia. The Bornou troops remained quite steady without noise or confusion, and a few horsemen, who were moving about in front giving directions, were the only persons out of the ranks. On the Arabs appearing in sight, a shout or yell was given by the sheik's people, which rent the air; a blast was blown from their rude instruments of music equally loud, and they moved on to meet Boo Khaloom and his Arabs. There was an appearance of tact and management in their movements, which astonished every one; three separate small bodies from the centre and each flank, kept charging rapidly towards them, to within a few feet of their horses' heads, without checking the speed of their own, until the movement of their halt, while the whole body moved onwards. These parties, shaking their spears over their heads, exclaimed, *Barca! barca! Alla hiakkum, cha, alla cheragu*; Blessing! blessing! sons of your country! sons of your country. While all this was going on, they closed in their left and right flanks, and surrounded the little body of Arab warriors so completely, as to give the compliment of welcoming them, very much the appearance of a declaration of their contempt of their weakness. They were all now so closely pressed as to be nearly smothered, and in some danger from the crowding of the horses, and clashing of the spears; moving on was impossible, and they therefore came to a full stop. Boo Khaloom was much enraged, but it was all to no purpose; he

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was only answered by shrieks of welcome, and the spears most unpleasantly rattled over their heads, expressive of the same feeling. This annoyance, however, was not of long duration. Barca Gana, the sheik's first general, a negro of noble aspect, clothed in a figured silk tobe, and mounted on a beautiful Mandara horse, made his appearance, and after a little delay, the rear was cleared of those, who had pressed in upon the Europeans and Arabs, and they moved on, although very slowly, from the frequent impediments thrown in their way by these wild equestrians.

The sheik's negroes as they were called, meaning the black chiefs and favourites, all raised to that rank by some deed of bravery, were habited in coats of mail composed of iron chain, which covered them from the throat to the knees, dividing behind, and coming on each side of the horse. Their horses heads were also defended by plates of iron, brass, and silver, just leaving sufficient room for the eyes of the animal.

At length, on arriving at the gate of the town, the Europeans, Boo Khaloom, and about a dozen of his followers, were alone allowed to enter the gates, and they proceeded along a wide street, completely lined with spearmen on foot, with cavalry in front of them to the door of the sheik's residence. Here the horsemen were formed up three deep, and they came to a stand; some of the chief attendants came out, and after a great many Barcas! barcas! retired, when others performed the same ceremony. They were now again left sitting on their horses in the sun. Boo Khaloom began to lose all patience, and swore by the bashaw's head, that he would return to the tents, if he was not immediately admitted, he got, however, no satisfaction but a motion of the hand from one of the chiefs, meaning "wait patiently;" and Major Denham whispered to him the necessity of obeying, as they were hemmed in on all sides, and to retire without permission would have been as difficult as to advance. Barca Gana now appeared, and made a sign that Boo Khaloom should dismount; the Europeans were about to follow his example, when an intimation that Boo Khaloom was alone to be admitted, fixed them again to their saddles. Another half hour at least elapsed, without any news from the interior of the building, when the gates opened, and the four Englishmen only were called

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for, and they advanced to the skiffa (entrance). Here they were stopped most unceremoniously by the black guards in waiting, and were allowed one by one only to ascend a staircase; at the top of which they were again brought to a stand by crossed spears, and the open flat hand of a negro laid upon their breast. Boo Khaloom came from the inner chamber, and asked, "If we were prepared to salute the sheik, as we did the bashaw." They replied, "certainly;" which was merely an inclination of the head, and laying the right hand on the heart. He advised their laying their hands also on their heads—but they replied the thing was impossible. They had but one manner of salutation for any body, except their own sovereign.

Another parley now took place, but in a minute or two he returned, and they were ushered into the presence of the sheik of spears. They found him in a small dark room, sitting on a carpet, plainly dressed in a blue tobe of Soudan, and a shawl turban. Two negroes were on each side of him, armed with pistols, and on his carpet lay a brace of those instruments. Fire arms were hanging in different parts of the room, presents from the bashaw and Mustapha L'Achmar, the sultan of Fezzan, which are here considered as invaluable. His personal appearance was prepossessing, apparently not more than forty-five or forty-six, with an expressive countenance and benevolent smile. They delivered their letter from the bashaw, and after he had read it, he inquired, "What was our object in coming?" They answered, "to see the country merely, and to give an account of its inhabitants, produce, and appearance; as our sultan was desirous of knowing every part of the globe." His reply was, "that we were welcome, and whatever he could show us would give him pleasure; that he had ordered huts to be built for us in the town, and that we might then go, accompanied by one of his people, to see them, and that when we were recovered from the fatigue of our long journey, he would be happy to see us." With this, they took their leave. Their huts were little round mud buildings, placed within a wall, at no great distance from the residence of the sheik. The inclosure was quadrangular, and had several divisions, formed by partitions of straw mats, where nests of huts were built, and occupied by the stranger mus-

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chants, who accompanied the kafila. One of these divisions was assigned to the Europeans, and they crept into the shade of their earthly dwellings, not a little fatigued with their entrée and presentation.

Their huts were immediately so crowded with visitors, that they had not a moment's peace, and the heat was insufferable. Boo Khaloom had delivered his presents from the bashaw, and brought the Europeans a message of compliment, together with an intimation, that their presents would be received on the following day. About noon, a summons was received for them to attend the sheik, and they proceeded to the palace, preceded by their negroes, bearing the articles destined for the sheik by their government, consisting of a double-barrelled gun, with a box, and all the apparatus complete, a pair of excellent pistols, in a case; two pieces of superfine broad-cloth, red and blue, to which were added a set of china. and two bundles of spices.

The ceremony of getting into the presence was ridiculous enough, although nothing could be more plain and devoid of pretension than the appearance of the sheik himself. They entered through passages lined with attendants, the front men sitting on their hams; and when they advanced too quickly, they were suddenly arrested by these fellows, who caught forcibly hold of them by their legs, and had not the crowd prevented their falling, they would most infallibly have become prostrate before arriving in the presence. Previously to entering into the open court in which they were received; their papouches, or slippers, were whipped off by those active, though sedentary gentlemen of the chamber, and they were seated on some clean sand, on each side of a raised bench of earth, covered with a carpet, on which the sheik was reclining. They laid the gun and the pistols together before him, and explained to him the locks, turnscrews, and steel shot cases, holding two charges each, with all of which he seemed exceedingly well pleased; the powder-flask, and the manner in which the charge is divided from the body of the powder, did not escape his observation. The other articles were taken off by the slaves, as soon as they were laid before him. Again they were questioned as to the object of their visit. The sheik, however, showed evident satisfaction at their as-

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surance that the king of England had heard of Bornou and himself; and immediately turning to his kaganawha (counsellors), said, "This is in consequence of our defeating the Begharmis." Upon which the chief who had most distinguished himself in these memorable battles, Ragah Turby, (the gatherer of horses,) seating himself in front of them, demanded, "Did he ever hear of me?" The immediate reply of "*Certainly*," did wonders for the European cause. Exclamations were general, and "Ah! then your king must be a great man," was re-echoed from every side. They had not any thing offered them by way of refreshment, and took their leave.

It may be here observed, that besides occasional presents of bullocks, camel loads of wheat and rice, leathern skins of butter, jars of honey, and honey in the comb, five or six wooden bowls were sent them morning and evening, containing rice with meat, paste made of barley flour, savoury but very greasy, and on their first arrival, as many had been sent of sweets, mostly composed of curd and honey.

In England a brace of trout might be considered as a handsome present to a traveller sojourning in the neighbourhood of a stream, but at Bornou things are managed differently. A camel load of bream and a sort of mullet were thrown before their huts on the second morning after their arrival, and for fear that should not be sufficient, in the evening another was sent.

The costume of the women, who attended the fsug, or market, was various; those of Kanem and Bornou were most numerous, and the former was as becoming as the latter had a contrary appearance. The variety in costume amongst the ladies consists entirely in the head ornaments; the only difference in the scanty covering which is bestowed on the other parts of the person, lies in the choice of the wearer, who either ties the piece of linen, blue or white, under the arms and across the breasts, or fastens it rather fantastically on one shoulder, leaving one breast naked. The Kanamboo women have small plaits of hair hanging down all round the head, quite to the poll of the neck, with a roll of leather, or string of little brass beads in front, hanging down from the centre on each side of the face, which has by no means an unbecoming

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appearance; they have sometimes strings of silver rings instead of the brass, and a large round silver ornament in front of their foreheads. The female slaves from Musgow, a large kingdom to the south-east of Mandara, are particularly disagreeable in their appearance, although considered as very trust-worthy, and capable of great labour; their hair is rolled up in three large plaits, which extend from the forehead to the back of the neck, like the Bornowy; one larger in the centre, and two smaller on each side; they have silver studs in their nose, and one large one just under the lower lip, of the size of a shilling, which goes quite through into the mouth; to make room for this ornament, a tooth or two are sometimes displaced.

Amongst the articles offered to Major Denham in the market, was a young lion and a monkey; the latter appeared really the more dangerous of the two, and from being a degree or two lighter in complexion than his master, he seemed to have taken a decided aversion to the European.

The lion walked about with great unconcern, confined merely by a small rope round his neck, held by the negro who had caught him when he was not two months old, and having had him for a period of three months, now wished to part with him; he was about the size of a donkey colt, with very large limbs, and the people seemed to go very close to him without much alarm, notwithstanding he struck with his foot the leg of one man who stood in his way, and made the blood flow copiously. They opened the ring which was formed round the noble animal, as Major Denham approached, and coming within two or three yards of him, he fixed his eye upon him, in a way that excited sensations, which it was impossible to describe, and from which the major was awakened, by a fellow calling him to come nearer, at the same time laying his hand on the animal's back; a moment's recollection convinced him, that there could be no more danger nearer, than where he was, and he stepped boldly up beside the negro, and he believed he should have laid his hand on the lion the next moment, but the beast, after looking carelessly at him, brushed past his legs, broke the ring, overturning several who stood before him, and bounded off to another part, where there were fewer people.

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It remained that Major Denham should be introduced to the sultan, in his royal residence at Birnie, where all the real state and pomp of the kingdom, with none of its real power were concentrated. On the 2nd March, the English accompanied Boo Khaloom to that city, and on their arrival, the following day was fixed for the interview. Fashion even in the most refined European courts, does not always follow the absolute guidance of taste or reason, and her magic power is often displayed in converting deformities into beauties, but there is certainly no court, of which the taste is so absurd, grotesque, and monstrous, as that to which Major Denham was now introduced. An enormous protruding belly, and a huge mis-shapen head, are the two features, without which it is vain to aspire to the rank of a courtier, or fine gentleman. The form, valued perhaps as the type of abundance and luxury, is esteemed so essential, that where nature has not bestowed, and the most excessive feeding and cramming cannot supply it, wadding is employed, and a false belly produced, which in riding appears to hang over the saddle. Turbans are also wrapped round the head, in fold after fold, till it appears swelled on one side to the most unnatural dimensions, and only one half of the face remains visible. The fictitious bulk of the lords of Bornou is still further augmented by drawing round them, even in this burning climate, ten or twelve successive robes of cotton or silk, while the whole is covered with numberless charms enclosed in green leathern cases. Yet under all these incumbrances, they do sometimes mount and take the field, but the idéa of such unwieldly hogsheads being of any avail in the day of battle, appeared altogether ridiculous, and it proved accordingly, that on such high occasions, they merely exhibited themselves as ornaments, without making even a show of encountering the enemy.

With about three hundred of this puissant chivalry before and around him, the sultan was himself seated in a sort of cage of cane or wood near the door of his garden, on a seat, which at the distance appeared to be covered with silk or satin, and through the railing looked upon the assembly before him, who formed a kind of semicircle, extending from his seat to nearly where the English were waiting. The courtiers having taken their seats in due form, the embassy was allowed to approach within about pistol shot of the

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spot where the sultan was sitting, and desired to sit down, when the ugliest black that can be imagined, his chief eunuch, the only person who approached the sultan's seat, asked for the presents. Boo Khaloom's were produced in a large shawl, and were carried unopened to the presence. The glimpse which the English obtained of the sultan, was but a faint one, through the lattice work of his pavilion, sufficient, however, to show that his turban was larger than any of his subjects, and that his face from the nose downwards was completely covered. A little to the left, and nearly in front of the sultan, was an extempore declaimer, shouting forth praises of his master, with his pedigree; near him was one who bore the long wooden frumfrum, on which ever and anon he blew a blast loud and unmusical. Nothing could be more ridiculous than the appearance of these people, squatting under the weight and magnitude of their bellies, while the thin legs that appeared underneath, but ill accorded with the bulk of the other parts.

This was all that was ever seen of the sultan of Bornou. The party then set out for Kouka, passing on their way through Angornou, the largest city in the kingdom, containing at least thirty thousand inhabitants.

During his residence at Kouka and Angornou, Major Denham frequently attended the markets, where besides the proper Bornouese, he saw the Shouass, an Arab tribe, who are the chief breeders of cattle; the Kanemboos from the north, with their hair neatly and tastefully plaited, and the Musgow, a southern clan of the most savage aspect. A loose robe or shirt of the cotton cloth of the country, often finely and beautifully dyed, was the universal dress, and high rank was indicated by six or seven of these, worn one above another. Ornament was studied chiefly in plaiting the hair, in attaching to it strings of brass or silver beads, in inserting large pieces of amber or coral into the nose, the ear, and the lip, and when to these was added a face, streaming with oil, the Bornouese belle was fully equipped for conquest. Thus adorned, the wife or daughter of a rich Shouaa might be seen entering the market in full style, bestriding an ox, which she managed dexterously, by a leathern thong passed through the nose, and whose unwieldy bulk she even contrived to torture into something like caper-

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ing and curvetting. Angornou is the chief market, and the crowd there is sometimes immense, amounting to eighty or one hundred thousand individuals. All the produce of the country is bought and sold in open market, for shops and warehouses do not enter into the system of African traffic.

Bornou taken altogether forms an extensive plain, stretching two hundred miles along the western shore of Lake Tchad, and nearly the same distance inland. This sea periodically changes its bed in a singular manner. During the rains, when its tributary rivers pour in thrice the usual quantity of water, it inundates an extensive tract, from which it retires in the dry season. This space, then overgrown with dense underwood, and with grass double the height of a man, contains a motley assemblage of wild beasts—lions, panthers, hyenas, elephants, and serpents of extraordinary form and bulk. These monsters, while undisturbed in this mighty den, remain tranquil, or war only with each other, but when the lake swells, and its waters rush in, they of necessity seek refuge among the abodes of men, to whom they prove the most dreadful scourge. Not only the cattle but the slaves attending the grain, often fall victims; they even rush in large bodies into the towns. The fields beyond the reach of this annual inundation are very fertile, and land may be had in any quantity, by him who has slaves to cultivate it. This service is performed by females from Musgow, who, aiding their native ugliness, by the insertion of a large piece of silver into the upper lip, which throws it entirely out of shape, are estimated according to the quantity of hard work which they can execute. The processes of agriculture are extremely simple. Their only fine manufacture is that of tobes, or vestments of cotton skilfully woven and beautifully dyed, but still not equal to those of Soudan.

The Bornouese are complete negroes both in form and feature; they are ugly, simple, and good natured, but destitute of all intellectual culture. Only a few of the great fighis or doctors, of whom the sheik was one, can read the Koran. "A great writer" is held in still higher estimation than with us, but his compositions consist only of words written on scraps of paper, to be enclosed in cases, and worn as amulets. They are then supposed to defend their possessor against every danger, to act as charms to destroy his

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enemies, and to be the main instrument in the cure of all diseases. For this last purpose they are assisted only by a few simple applications, yet the Bornou practice is said to be very successful, either through the power of imagination, or owing to the excellence of their constitutions. In the absence of all refined pleasure, various rude sports are pursued with eagerness, and almost with fury. The most favourite is wrestling, which the chiefs do not practise in person, but train their slaves to it as our jockeys do game cocks, taking the same pride in their prowess and victory. Nations are often pitched against each other; the Musgowy and the Bughami being the most powerful. Many of them are extremely handsome, and of gigantic size, and hence their contests are truly terrific. Their masters loudly cheer them on, offering high premiums for victory, and sometimes threatening instant death in case of defeat. They place their trust not in science, but in main strength and rapid movements. Occasionally, the wrestler, eluding his adversary's vigilance, seizes him by the thigh, lifts him into the air, and dashes him against the ground. When the match is decided, the victor is greeted with loud plaudits by the spectators, some of whom even testify their admiration by throwing to him presents of fine cloth. He then kneels before his master, who not unfrequently bestows upon him a robe worth thirty or forty dollars, taken perhaps from his own person. Death or maiming is no unfrequent result of these encounters. The ladies even of rank engage in another very odd species of contest. Placing themselves back to back, they cause certain parts to strike together with the most violent collision, when she who maintains her equilibrium, while the other lies stretched upon the ground, is proclaimed victor with loud cheers. In this conflict the girdle of beads worn by the more opulent females, very frequently bursts, when these ornaments are seen flying about in every direction. To these recreations is added gaming, always the rage of uncultivated minds. Their favourite game is one rudely played with beans, by means of holes made in the sand.

Boo-Khaloom having despatched his affairs in Bornou, wished to turn his journey to some farther account, and proposed an expedition into the more wealthy and commercial region of Houssa or Soudan, but the eager wishes of his followers pointed to a different

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object. They called upon him to lead them into the mountains of Mandara, in the south, to attack a village of the Kerdies or unbelievers, and carry off the people as slaves to Fezzan. He long stood out against this nefarious proposal, but the sheik who also had his own views, took part against him; even his own brother joined the malcontents, and at length there appeared no other mode in which he could return with equal credit and profit. Influenced by these inducements, he suffered his better judgment to be overpowered, and determined to conduct his troops upon this perilous and guilty excursion. Major Denham allowed his zeal for discovery to overcome other considerations, and contrived, notwithstanding the prohibition of the sheik, to be one of the party. They were accompanied by Barca Gana, the principal general, a negro of huge strength and great courage, along with other warriors, and a large troop of Bournouse cavalry. These last are a fine military body in point of external appearance. Their persons are covered with iron plate and mail, and they manage with surprising dexterity their little active steeds, which are also supplied with defensive armour. They have one fault only, but it is a serious one, they cannot stand the shock of an enemy. While the contest continues doubtful, they hover round as spectators, ready, should the tide turn against them, to spur on their coursers to a rapid flight; but if they see their friends victorious, and the enemy turning their backs, they come forward and display no small vigour in pursuit and plunder.

The road to Mandara formed a continual ascent through a fertile country, which contained some populous towns. The path being quite overgrown with thick and prickly underwood, twelve pioneers went forward with long poles, opening a track, pushing back the branches,, and giving warning to beware of holes. These operations they accompanied with loud praises of Barca Gana, calling out, "Who is in battle like the rolling of thunder? Barca Gana. In battle, who spreads terror around him like the buffalo in his rage? Barca Gana." Even the chiefs on this expedition carried no provisions, except a paste of rice, flour, and honey, with which they contented themselves, unless when sheep could be procured; in which case, half the animal, roasted over a frame-work of wood, was placed on the table, and the sharpest dagger present was em-

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ployed in cutting it into large pieces, to be eaten without bread or salt. At length they approached Mora, the capital of Mandara *. This was another kingdom, which the energy of its present sultan had rescued from the yoke of the Fellata empire; and the strong position of its capital, enclosed by lofty ridges of hills, had enabled it to defy repeated attacks. It consists of a fine plain, bordered on the south by an immense and almost interminable range of mountains. The eminences directly in front were not quite so lofty as the hills of Cumberland, but bold, rocky, and precipitous, and distant summits appeared towering much higher, and shooting up a line of sharp pinnacles, resembling the Needles of Mont Blanc. It was reported that two months were required to cross their greatest breadth, and reach the other side, where they rose ten times higher, and were called large *moon* mountains. They there overlooked the plain of Adamowa, through which a great river, that has erroneously been supposed to be the Quorra or Niger, was said to flow from the westward. The hills immediately in view were thickly clustered with villages perched on their sides, and even on their tops, and were distinctly seen from the plain of Mandara. They were occupied by half-savage tribes, whom the ferocious bigotry of the nations in the low country branded as pagans, and whom they claimed a right to plunder, seize, and drive in crowds for sale to the markets of Fezzan and Bornou. The fires, which were visible in the different nests of these unfortunate beings, threw a glare upon the bold rocks and blunt promontories of granite by which they were surrounded, and produced a picturesque and somewhat awful appearance. A baleful joy beamed on the visage of the Arabs, as they eyed these abodes of their future victims, whom they already fancied themselves driving in bands across the desert. "A Kerdy village to plunder!" was all their cry, and Boo Khaloom doubted not that he would be able to gratify their wishes. Their common fear of the Fellatas had united the sultan of Mandara in close alliance with the sheik, to whom he had lately married his daughter; and the nuptials had been celebrated by a great slave-hunt amongst the mountains, when, after a dreadful struggle, three

* See vignette in engraved title-page.

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thousand captives, by their tears and bondage, furnished out the materials of a magnificent marriage festival.

The expedition obtained a reception quite as favourable as had been expected. In approaching the capital, they were met by the sultan, with five hundred Mandara horse, who, charging full speed, wheeled round them with the same threatening movements which had been exhibited at Bornou. The horses were of a superior breed, most skilfully managed, and covered with cloths of various colours, as well as with skins of the leopard and tiger-cat. This cavalry, of course, made a most brilliant appearance; but Major Denham did not yet know that their valour was exactly on a level with that of their Bornou allies. The party were then escorted to the capital, amid the music of long pipes, like clarionets, and of two immense trumpets. They were introduced next day. The mode of approaching the royal residence is to gallop up to the gate with a furious speed, which often causes fatal accidents, and on this occasion a man was ridden down and killed on the spot. The sultan was found in a dark-blue tent, sitting on a mud bench, surrounded by about two hundred attendants, handsomely arrayed in silk and cotton robes. He was an intelligent little man, about fifty years old, with a beard dyed sky-blue. Courteous salutations were exchanged, during which he steadily eyed Major Denham, concerning whom he at last inquired, and the traveller was advantageously introduced, as belonging to a powerful distant nation, allies of the bashaw of Tripoli. At last, however, came the fatal question,—"Is he moslem?" "*La! la!*" (No, no.) "What! has the great bashaw caffre friends?" Every eye was instantly averted; the sun of Major Denham's favour was set, and he was never again allowed to enter the palace.

The bigotry of this court seems to have surpassed even the usual bitterness of the African tribes, and our traveller had to undergo a regular persecution, carried on especially by Malam Chadily, the leading fighi of the court. As Major Denham was showing to the admiring chiefs, the mode of writing with a pencil, and effacing it with Indian rubber; Malem wrote some words of the Koran with such force, that their traces could not be wholly removed. He then exclaimed with triumph, "They are the words of God delivered to

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his prophet. I defy you to erase them. "The major was then called upon to acknowledge this great miracle, and as his countenance still expressed incredulity, he was viewed with looks of such mingled contempt and indignation, as induced him to retire. Malem, however, again assailed him with the assurance that this was only one of the many miracles which he could show, as wrought by the Koran, imploring him to turn, and paradise would be his, otherwise nothing could save him from eternal fire. "Oh!" said he, "while sitting in the third heaven, I shall see you in the midst of the flames, crying out to your friend Barca Gana and myself for a drop of water, but the gulf will be between us:" his tears then flowed profusely. Major Denham, taking the general aside, entreated to be relieved from this incessant persecution, but Gana assured him that the fighi was a great and holy man, to whom he ought to listen. He then held out not only paradise, but honours, slaves, and wives of the first families, as gifts to be lavished on him by the sheik, if he would renounce his unbelief. Major Denham asked the commander what would be thought of himself, if he should go to England and turn Christian. "God forbid," exclaimed he, "but how can you compare our faiths? mine would lead you to paradise, while yours would bring me to hell. Not a word more." Nothing appears to have annoyed the stranger more than to be told, that he was of the same faith with the Kerdies or savages, little distinction being made between any who denied the Koran. After a long discussion of this question, he thought the validity of his reasoning would be admitted, when he could point to a party of those wretches devouring a dead horse, and appealed to Boo Khaloom if he had ever seen the English do the same; but to this, which after all was not a very deep theological argument, the Arab replied, "I know they eat the flesh of swine, and God knows, that is worse." "Grant me patience," exclaimed the major to himself, "this is almost too much to bear and to remain silent."

The unfortunate Kerdies, from the moment they saw Arab tents in the valley of Mandara, knew the dreadful calamity which awaited them. To avert it and to propitiate the sultan, numerous parties came down with presents of honey, asses, and slaves. Finally appeared the Musgow, a more distant and savage race, mounted

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on small fiery steeds, covered only with the skin of a goat or leopard, and with necklaces made of the teeth of their enemies. They threw themselves at the feet of the sultan, casting sand on their heads, and uttering the most piteous cries. The monarch apparently moved by these gifts and entreaties, began to intimate to Boo Khaloom his hopes, that these savages might by gentle means be reclaimed, and led to the true faith. These hopes were held by the latter in the utmost derision, and he privately assured Major Denham, that nothing would more annoy the devout Mussulmans, than to see them fulfilled, whereby he must have forfeited all right to drive these unhappy creatures in crowds, to the markets of Soudan and Bornou. In fact, both the sultan and the sheik had a much deeper aim. Every effort was used to induce Boo Khaloom to engage in the attack of some strong Fellata posts, by which the country was hemmed in, and as the two monarchs viewed the Arabs with extreme jealousy, it was strongly suspected that their defeat would not have been regarded as a public calamity. The royal councils were secret and profound; and it was not known what influences worked upon Boo Khaloom. On this occasion, however, he was mastered by his evil genius, and consented to the proposed attack, but as he came out and ordered his troops to prepare for marching, his countenance bore such marks of trouble, that Major Denham asked, if all went well; to which he hurriedly answered, "Please God." The Arabs, however, who at all events expected plunder, proceeded with alacrity.

The expedition set out on the following morning, and after passing through a beautiful plain, began to penetrate the mighty chain of mountains, which form the southern border of the kingdom. Alpine heights rising around them in rugged magnificence, and gigantic grandeur, presented scenery which our traveller had never seen surpassed. The passes of Hainey and of Horza, amid a superb ampitheatre of hills, closely shut in by overhanging cliffs, more than two thousand feet high, were truly striking. Here for the first time in Africa, did nature appear to the English to rival in the production of vegetable life. The trees were covered with luxuriant and bright green foliage, and their trunks were hidden by a crowd of parasitical plants, whose aromatic blossoms perfumed the air. There was also an abundance of animal life of a less agree-

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able description. Three scorpions were killed in the tent, and a fierce but beautiful panther, more than eight feet long, just as he had gorged himself by sucking the blood of a newly-killed negro, was attacked and speared. The sultan and Barca Gana were attended by a considerable body of Bornou and Mandara cavalry, whose brilliant armour, martial aspect, and skilful horsemanship, gave confidence to the European officer, who had not seen them put to the proof.

It was the third day, when the expedition came in view of the Fellata town of Dirkulla. The Arabs, supported by Barca Gana, and about one hundred spearmen marched instantly to the attack, and carried first that place, and then a smaller town beyond it, killing all who had not time to escape. The enemy, however, then entrenched themselves in a third and stronger position, called Musfeia, enclosed by high hills, and fortified in front by numerous swamps and palisades. This was likewise attacked and all its defences forced. The guns of the Arabs spread terror, while Barca Gana threw eight spears with his own hand, every one of which took effect. It was thought, that had the two bodies of cavalry, made even a show of advancing, the victory would have been at once decided, but Major Denham was much surprised to see those puissant warriors, keeping carefully under cover, behind a hill, on the opposite side of the stream, where not an arrow could reach them. The Fellatas seeing that their antagonists were only a handful, rallied on the top of the hills, were joined by new troops, and turned round. Their women behind cheered them on, continually supplied fresh arrows, and rolled down fragments of rock on the assailants. These arrows were tipt with poison, and wherever they pierced the body, in a few hours became black, blood gushed from every orifice, and the victim expired in agony. The condition of the Arabs soon became alarming, scarcely a man was left unhurt, and their horses were dying under them. Boo Khaloom and his charger were both wounded with poisoned arrows. As soon as the Fellatas saw the Arabs waver, they dashed in with their horse, at the sight of which all the heroic squadrons of Bornou and Mandara put spurs to their steeds, the sultan at their head, and the whole became one mass of confused and tumultuous flight. Major Den-

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ham saw too late the peril into which he had inconsiderately plunged. His horse, wounded in to the shoulder, could scarcely support his weight, but the cries of the pursuing Fellatas urged him forward. At last the animal fell twice, and the second time threw him against a tree, then, frightened by the noise behind, started up and ran off. The Fellatas were instantly up, when four of his companions were stabbed beside him, uttering the most frightful cries. He himself fully expected the same fate, but happily his clothes formed a valuable booty, through which the savages were loath to run their spears. After inflicting some slight wounds, therefore, they stripped him to the skin, and forthwith began to quarrel about the plunder. While they were thus busied, he contrived to slip away, and though hotly pursued, and nearly overtaken, succeeded in reaching a mountain stream, gliding at the bottom of a deep and precipitous ravine. Here he had snatched the young branches issuing from the stump of a large over-hanging tree, in order to let himself down into the water, when beneath his hand, a large *siffa*, the most dangerous serpent in this country, rose from its coil, as in the very act of darting upon him. Struck with horror, Major Denham lost all recollection, and fell headlong into the water, but the shock revived him, and with three strokes of his arm, he reached the opposite bank, and felt himself for the moment in safety. Running forward, he was delighted to see his friends Barca Gana and Boo Khaloom, but amidst the cheers with which they were endeavouring to rally their troops, and the cries of those who were falling under the Fellata spears, he could not for some time make himself heard. Then Maramy, a negro appointed by the sheik to attend upon him, rode up and took him on his own horse. Boo Khaloom ordered a bornouse to be thrown over the major—very seasonably, for the burning sun had began to blister his naked body. Suddenly, however, Maramy called out, "See! see! Boo Khaloom is dead," and that spirited chief, overpowered by the wound of a poisoned arrow, dropped from his horse and spoke no more. The others now only thought of pressing their flight, and soon reached a stream, where they refreshed themselves by copious draughts, and a halt was made to collect the stragglers. Major Denham here fell into a swoon during which, as he afterwards learned, Maramy complained tha.

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the jaded horse could scarcely carry the stranger forward, when Barca Gana said, "By the head of the prophet! believers enough have breathed their last to-day, why should we concern ourselves about a Christian's death." Malem Chadily, however, so bitter as a theological opponent, showed now the influence of a milder spirit, and said, "No, God has preserved him; let us not abandon him;" and Maramy declared, his heart told him what to do. They therefore moved on slowly till about midnight, when they passed the Mandara frontier, in a state of severe suffering, but the major met with much kindness from a dethroned prince, Mai Meagamy, who seeing his wounds festering under the rough woollen cloak, which formed his only covering, took off his own trousers and gave them to him.

The Arabs lost forty-five of their number, besides their chief; the survivors were in a miserable plight, most of them wounded, some mortally, and all deprived of their camels, and the rest of their property. Renouncing their pride, they were obliged to supplicate from Barca Gana a handful of corn to keep them from starving. The sultan of Mandara, in whose cause they had suffered, treated them with the utmost contumely, which, perhaps, they might deserve, but certainly not from him. Deep sorrow was afterwards felt in Fezzan, when they arrived in this deplorable condition, and reported the fall of their chief, who was there almost idolized. A national song was composed on the occasion, which the following extract will show to be marked by great depth of feeling, and not devoid of poetical beauty:—

"Oh trust not to the gun and the sword: the spear of the unbeliever prevails!

"Boo Khaloom, the good and the brave, has fallen! Fallen has he in his might! Who shall now be safe? Even as the moon amongst the little stars, so was Boo Khaloom amongst men! Where shall Fezzan now look for her protector? Men hang their heads in sorrow, while women wring their hands, rending the air with their cries! As a shepherd is to his flock, so was Boo Khaloom to Fezzan

"Give him songs! Give him music! What words can equal his praise! His heart was as large as the desert! His coffers

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were like the rich overflowings from the udder of the she camel; comforting and nourishing those around him.

"Even as the flowers without rain perish in the field, so will the Fezzaners droop; for Boo Khaloom returns no more.

"His body lies in the land of the heathen! the poisoned arrow of the unbeliever prevails!

"Oh trust not to the gun and the sword! The spear of the heathen conquers! Boo Khaloom, the good and the brave, has fallen! Who shall now be safe?"

The sheik of Bornou was considerably mortified by the result of this expedition, and the miserable figure made by his troops, though he sought to throw the chief blame on the Mandara part of the armament. He now invited the major to accompany an expedition against the Mungas, a rebel tribe on his outer border, on which occasion he was to employ his native band of Kanemboo spearmen, who, he trusted, would redeem the military reputation of the monarchy. Major Denham was always ready to go wherever he had a chance of seeing the manners and scenery of Africa. The sheik took the field, attended by his armour-bearer, his drummer, fantastically dressed in a straw hat with ostrich feathers, and followed by three wives, whose heads and persons were wrapped up in brown silk robes, and each led by a eunuch. He was preceded by five green and red flags, on each of which were extracts from the Koran, written in letters of gold. Etiquette even required that the sultan should follow with his unwieldy pomp, having a harem, and attendance much more numerous; while frumfrums, or wooden trumpets, were continually sounding before him. This monarch is too distinguished to fight in person; but his guards, the swollen and overloaded figures formerly described, envelopped in multiplied folds, and groaning beneath the weight of ponderous amulets, produced themselves as warriors, though manifestly unfit to face any real danger.

he route lay along the banks of the river Yeou, called also Gambarou, through a country naturally fertile and delightful, but presenting a dismal picture of the desolation occasioned by African warfare. The expedition passed through upwards of thirty towns, completely destroyed by the Fellatas in their last inroad, and of

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which all the inhabitants had been either killed or carried into slavery. These fine plains were now overgrown with forests and thickets, in which grew tamarind and other trees, producing delicate fruits, while large bands of monkeys, called by the Arabs "enchanted men," filled the woods with their cries. Here, too, was found old Birnie, the ancient but now desolate capital, evidently much larger than any of the present cities, covering five or six miles with its ruins. They passed also Gambarou, formerly the favourite residence of the sultans, where the remains of a palace and two mosques gave an idea of civilization superior to any thing that had yet been seen in interior Africa. There were left in this country only small detached villages, the inhabitants of which remained fixed to them by local attachment, in spite of constant predatory inroads of the Tuaricks, who carried off their friends, their children, and cattle. They have recourse to one mode of defence, which consists in digging a number of *blaquas*, or large pits; these they cover with a false surface of sods and grass, into which the Tuarick with his horse plunges before he is aware, and is received at the bottom upon sharp-pointed stakes, which often kill both on the spot. Unluckily, harmless travellers are equally liable to fall into these living graves. Major Denham was petrified with horror, to find how near he had approached to several of them; indeed one of his servants stepped upon the deceitful covering, and was saved only by an almost miraculous spring. It seems wonderful that the sheik should not have endeavoured to restore some kind of security to this portion of his subjects, and to re-people those fine but deserted regions.

The troops that had been seen hastening in parties to the scene of action were mustered at Kobshary, a town which the Mungas had nearly destroyed. The sheik made a review of his favourite forces, the Kanemboo spearmen, nine thousand strong. They were really a very savage and military-looking host, entirely naked, except a girdle of goat-skin, with the hair hanging down, and a piece of cloth wrapped round the head. They carried large wooden shields, shaped like a gothic window, with which they warded off the arrows of the enemy, while they pressed forward to attack with their own spears. Unlike almost all other barbarous armies, they

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kept a regular night-watch, passing the cry every half-hour along the line, and, at any alarm, raising a united yell, which was truly frightful. At the review they passed in tribes before the sheik, to whom they showed the most enthusiastic attachment, kneeling on the ground, and kissing his feet. The Mungas again were described as terrible antagonists, hardened by conflicts with the Tuaricks, fighting on foot with poisoned arrows, longer and more deadly than those of the Fellatas.

The sultan, however, contemplated other means of securing success, placing his main reliance on his powers as a mohammedan doctor and writer. Three successive nights were spent in inscribing upon little scraps of paper figures or words, destined to exercise a magical influence upon the rebel host, and their effect was heightened by the display of sky-rockets, supplied by Major Denham. Tidings of his being thus employed were conveyed to the camp, when the Mungas, stout and fierce warriors, who never shrunk from an enemy, yielded to the power of superstition, and felt all their strength withered. It seemed to them that their arrows were blunted, their quivers broken, their hearts struck with sickness and fear, in short, that to oppose a sheik of the Koran, who could accomplish such wonders, was alike vain and impious. They came in by hundreds, bowing themselves to the ground, and casting sand on their heads, in token of the most abject submission. At length, Malem Fanamy, the leader of the rebellion, saw that resistance was hopeless. After vain overtures of conditional submission, he appeared in person, mounted on a white horse, with one thousand followers. He was clothed in rags, and having fallen prostrate, was about to pour sand on his head, when the sultan, instead of permitting this humiliation, caused eight robes of fine cotton cloth, one after another, to be thrown over him, and his head to be wrapped in Egyptian turbans till it was swelled to six times its natural size, and no longer resembled any thing human. By such signal honours the sheik gained the hearts of those whom his pen had subdued, and this wise policy enabled him not only to overcome the resistance of this formidable tribe, but to convert them into supporters and bulwarks of his power.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

MAJOR DENHAM, who always sought, with laudable zeal, to penetrate into every corner of Africa, now found his way in another direction. He had heard much of the Shary, a great river flowing into lake Tchad, on whose banks the kingdom of Loggun was situated. After several delays, he set out on the 23d January 1824, in company with Mr. Toole, a spirited young volunteer, who, journeying by way of Tripoli and Mourzouk, had thence crossed the desert to join him. The travellers passed Angornou and Angola, and arrived at Showy, where they saw the river, which really proved to be a magnificent stream, fully half a mile broad, and flowing at the rate of two or three miles an hour. They descended it through a succession of noble reaches, bordered with fine woods and a profusion of variously tinted and aromatic plants. At length, it opened into the wide expanse of the Tchad, after viewing which, they again ascended, and reached the capital of Loggun, beneath whose high walls the river was seen flowing in majestic beauty. Major Denham entered, and found a handsome city, with a street as wide as Pall-Mall, and bordered by large dwellings, having spacious areas in front. Having proceeded to the palace, for the purpose of visiting the sovereign, he was led through several dark rooms into a wide and crowded court, at one end of which a lattice opened, and showed a pile of silk robes, stretched on a carpet, amid which two eyes became gradually visible; this was the sultan. On

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his appearance, there arose a tumult of horns and frumfrums, while all the attendants threw themselves prostrate, casting sand on their heads. In a voice, which the court fashion of Loggun required to be scarcely audible, the monarch inquired Major Denham's object in coming to this country, observing that, if it was to purchase handsome female slaves, he need go no further, since he himself had hundreds, who could be afforded at a very easy rate. This overture was rejected on other grounds than the price; yet, notwithstanding so decided a proof of barbarism, the Logguneses were found to be a people more advanced in the arts of peace than any hitherto seen in Africa. By a studied neutrality they avoided involving themselves in the dreadful wars, which had desolated the neighbouring countries; manufacturing industry was honoured, and the cloths woven here were superior to those of Bornou, being finely dyed with indigo, and beautifully glazed. There was even a current coin, made of iron, somewhat in the form of a horse-shoe, and rude as this was, none of their neighbours possessed any thing similar. The ladies were handsome, intelligent, and of a lively air and carriage; but, besides pushing their frankness to excess, their general demeanour was by no means scrupulous. They used, in particular, the utmost diligence in stealing from Major Denham's person every thing that could be reached, even searching the pockets of his trousers, and when detected, only laughed, and called to each other, how sharp he was. But the darkest feature of savage life was disclosed, when the sultan and his son each sent to solicit poison "that would not lie," to be used against each other. The latter even accompanied the request with a bribe of three lovely black damsels, and ridiculed the horror which was expressed at the proposal.

The Logguneses live in a country abounding in grain and cattle, and diversified with forests of lofty acacias, and many beautiful shrubs. Its chief scourge consists in the millions of tormenting insects, which fill the atmosphere, making it scarcely possible to go into the open air at mid-day, without being thrown into a fever, indeed, children have been killed by their stings. The natives build one house within another to protect themselves against this scourge,

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while some kindle a large fire of wet straw, and sit in the smoke; but this remedy seems worse than the evil it is meant to obviate.

Major Denham was much distressed on this journey by the death of his companion, Mr. Toole; and he could no longer delay his return, when he learnt that the Begharmis, with a large army, were crossing the Shary to attack Bornou. Soon after his arrival at Kouka, the sheik led out his troops, which he mustered on the plain of Angola, and was there furiously attacked by five thousand Begharmis, led by two hundred chiefs. The Begharmi cavalry are stout, fierce-looking men, and both riders and horses still more thoroughly cased in mail than those of Bornou; but their courage, when brought to the proof, is nearly on a level. The sheik encountered them with his Kanemboo spearmen and a small band of musketeers, when, after a short conflict, the whole of this mighty host was thrown into the most disorderly flight; even the Bornou cavalry joined in the pursuit. Seven sons of the sultan, and almost all the chiefs fell; two hundred of their favourite wives were taken, many of whom were of exquisite beauty.

Mr. Tyrwhit, a gentleman sent out by government to strengthen the party, arrived on the 20th May, and on the 22d delivered to the sheik a number of presents, which were received with the highest satisfaction. In company with this gentleman, Major Denham, eager to explore Africa, still further took advantage of another expedition, undertaken against a tribe of Shouaa Arabs, distinguished by the name of La Sala, a race of amphibious shepherds, who inhabit certain islands along the south-eastern shores of the Tchad. These spots afford rich pasture; while the water is so shallow, that, by knowing the channels, the natives can ride without difficulty from one island to the other. Barca Gana led one thousand men on this expedition, and was joined by four hundred of a Shouaa tribe, called Dugganahs, enemies to the La Salas. These allies presented human nature under a more pleasing aspect than it had yet been seen in any part of central Africa. They despise the negro nations, and all who live in houses, and still more in cities, while they themselves reside in tents of skin, in circular camps, which they move periodically from place to place. They live in

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simple plenty on the produce of their flocks and herds, celebrate their joys and sorrows in extemporary poetry, and seem to be united by the strongest ties of domestic affection. Tahr, their chief, having closely examined our traveller, as to the motives of his journey, said, "And have you been three years from your home? Are not your eyes dimmed with straining to the north, where all your thoughts must ever be? If my eyes do not see the wife and children of my heart for ten days, they are flowing with tears, when they should be closed in sleep." On taking leave, Tahr's parting wish was, "May you die at your own tents, and in the arms of your wife and family." This chief might have sitten for the picture of a patriarch; his fine, serious, expressive countenance, large features, and long bushy beard, afforded a favourable specimen of his tribe.

The united forces now marched to the shores of the lake, and began to reconnoitre the islands on which the Shouaas, with their cattle and cavalry, were stationed; but the experienced eye of Barca Gana soon discerned, that the channel, though shallow, was full of holes, and had a muddy deceitful appearance. He proposed therefore to delay the attack, till a resolute band of Kanemboo spearmen should arrive and lead the way. The lowing, however, of the numerous herds, and the bleating of the flocks on the green islands, which lay before them, excited in the troops a degree of hunger, as well as of military ardour, that was quite irrepressible. They called out, "What! be so near them, and not eat them?—No, no, let us on; this night, these flocks and women shall be ours." Barca Gana suffered himself to be hurried away, and plunged in amongst the foremost. Soon, however, the troops began to sink into the holes, or stick in the mud; their guns and powder were wetted, and became useless; while the enemy, who knew every step, and could ride through the water as quickly as on land, at once charged the invaders in front, and sent round a detachment to take them in the rear. The assault was accordingly soon changed into a disgraceful flight, in which those who had been the loudest in urging to this rash onset set the example. Barca Gana, who had boasted himself invulnerable, was deeply wounded through his coat of mail and four cotton tobes, and with difficulty

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rescued by his chiefs from five La Sala horsemen, who had vowed his death. The army returned to their quarters in disappointment and dismay, and with a severe loss. During the whole night, the Dugganah women were heard bewailing their husbands, who had fallen, in dirges composed for the occasion, and with plaintive notes, which could not be listened to without the deepest sympathy. Major Denham was deterred by this disaster from making any further attempt to penetrate to the eastern shores of the Tchad.

The Beddoomahs are another tribe who inhabit extensive and ragged islands, in the interior of the lake, amid its deep waters, which they navigate with nearly a thousand large boats. They neither cultivate the ground, nor rear flocks and herds, while their manners appeared to Major Denham, the rudest and most savage observed even among Africans—the Musgows always excepted. They have adopted as a religious creed, that God having withheld from them corn and cattle, which the nations around enjoy, has given in their stead strength and courage, to be employed in taking these good things from all in whose possession they may be found. To this belief they act up in the most devout manner, spreading terror and desolation over all the shores of this inland sea, no part of which, even in the immediate vicinity of the great capitals, is for a moment secure from their ravages. The most powerful and warlike of the Bornou sovereigns, finding among their subjects neither the requisite skill nor experience in navigation, make no attempt to cope with the Biddoomahs on these watery domains, and thus give up the lake to their undisputed sway.

While Major Denham was thus traversing in every direction Bornou, and the surrounding countries, Lieutenant Clapperton and Dr. Oudney were proceeding through Houssa, by a route less varied and hazardous indeed, but disclosing forms both of nature and society fully as interesting. They departed from Kouka on the 14th December 1823, and passing the site of old Birnie, found the banks of the Yeou fertile, and diversified with towns and villages.

On entering Katagum, the most easterly Fellata province, they observed a superior style of culture; two crops of wheat being raised in one season by irrigation, and the grain stored in covered sheds, elevated from the ground on posts. The country to the south

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was covered with extensive swamps and mountains, tenanted by rude and pagan tribes, who furnish to the faithful an inexhaustible supply of slaves. The practice of travelling with a caravan was found very advantageous, from the help it afforded, as well as from the good reports spread by the merchants, respecting their European companions. In Bornou, these last had been viewed with almost unmingled horror, and for having eaten their bread under the extremest necessity, a man had his testimony rejected in a court of justice. Some young Bornouese ladies, who accosted Major Denham, having ventured to say a word in his favour, an attendant matron exclaimed, "Be silent, he is an uncircumcised kafir—neither washes nor prays, eats pork, and will go to hell." Upon which the others screamed, and ran off. But in Houssa, this horror was not so great, and was mingled with the belief, that they possessed supernatural powers. Not only did the sick come in crowds expecting to be cured, but the ladies solicited amulets to restore their beauty, to preserve the affections of their lovers, and even to destroy a hated rival. The son of the governor of Kano, having called upon Clapperton, stated it was the conviction of the whole city and his own, that the English had the power of converting men into asses, goats, and monkeys, and likewise that by reading in his book, he could at any time commute a handful of earth into gold. The traveller having declared to him the difficulty he often found in procuring both asses and gold, induced him with trembling hands to taste a cup of tea, when he became more composed, and made a sort of recantation of his errors.

As the caravan proceeded they met many other travellers, and found sitting along the road, numerous females selling potatos, beans, bits of roasted meat, and water with an infusion of gussub-grains; and when they stopped at any place for the night, the people crowded in such numbers as to form a little fair. Clapperton attracted the notice of many of the Fellata ladies, who, after examining him closely, declared, that had he only been less white, his external appearance might have merited approbation.

The travellers passed through Sansan, a great market place, divided into three distinct towns, and Katagum, the strongly fortified capital of the province, containing about eight thousand inhabitants.

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Thence they proceeded to Murmur, where the severe illness under which Dr. Oudney had long laboured, came to a crisis. Though now in the last stage of consumption, he insisted on continuing his journey and with the aid of his servant had been supported to his camel. when Clapperton, seeing the ghastliness of death on his countenance, insisted on replacing him in his tent, where, soon after, without a groan, he breathed his last. His companion caused him to be buried with the honours of the country. The body was washed, wrapped in turban shawls, and a wall of clay built round the grave, to protect it from wild beasts; two sheep were also killed and distributed amongst the poor.

Katungwa, the first town of Houssa proper, and the next on the route, is situated in a country well enclosed, and under high cultivation. To the south is an extensive range of rocky hills, amid which is the town of Zangeia, with its buildings picturesquely scattered over masses of rocks. Clapperton passed also Girkwa, near a river of the same name, which appears to come from these hills, and to fall into the Yeou.

Two days after, he entered Kano, the Ghana of Edrisi, and which is now, as it was six hundred years ago, the chief commercial city of Houssa, and of all central Africa. Yet it disappointed our traveller on his first entry, and for a quarter of a mile scarcely appeared a city at all. Even in its more crowded quarters, the houses rose generally in clusters, separated by stagnant pools. The inhabited part on the whole, did not comprise more than a fourth of the space enclosed by the walls, the rest consisted of fields, gardens, and swamps; however, as the whole circuit is fifteen miles, there is space for a population moderately estimated, to be between thirty or forty thousand. The market is held on a neck of land, between two swamps, by which, during the rains, it is entirely overflowed, but in the dry season it is covered with sheds of bamboo, arranged into regular streets. Different quarters are allowed for the several kinds of goods; some for cattle, others for vegetables, while fruits of various descriptions, so much neglected in Bornou, are here displayed in profusion. The fine cotton fabrics of the country are sold either in webs, or in what are called tobes and Turkadees, with rich silken strips or borders ready to be added. Amongst the

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favourite articles are goora or kolla nuts, which are called African coffee, being supposed to give a peculiar relish to the water drunk after them; and crude antimony, with the black tint of which every eyebrow in Houssa must be dyed. The Arabs also dispose here of sundry commodities that have become obsolete in the north; the cast-off dresses of the mamelukes and other great men, and old sword-blades from Malta. But the busiest scene is the slave market, composed of two long ranges of sheds, one for males and another for females. These poor creatures are seated in rows, decked out for exhibition. The buyer scrutinizes them as nicely as a purchaser with us does a horse, inspecting the tongue, teeth, eyes, and limbs; making them cough and perform various movements, to ascertain if there be any thing unsound, and in case of a blemish appearing, or even without assigning a reason, he may return them within three days. As soon as the slaves are sold, the exposer gets back their finery, to be employed in ornamenting others. Most of the captives purchased at Kano, are conveyed across the desert, during which their masters endeavour to keep up their spirits, by an assurance, that on passing its boundary, they will be set free and dressed in red, which they account the gayest of colours. Supplies, however, often fail in this dreary journey, a want first felt by the slaves, many of whom perish with hunger and fatigue. Clapperton heard the doleful tale of a mother, who had seen her child dashed to the ground, while she herself was compelled by the lash to drag on an exhausted frame. Yet, when at all tolerably treated, they are very gay, an observation generally made in regard to slaves, but this gayety, arising only from the absence of thought, probably conceals much secret wretchedness.

The regulations of the market of Kano seem to be good, and strictly enforced. A sheik superintends the police, and is said even to fix the prices. The *dylalas* or brokers, are men of somewhat high character; packages of goods are often sold unopened bearing merely their mark. If the purchaser afterwards finds any defect, he returns it to the agent, who must grant compensation. The medium of exchange is not cloth as in Bornou, nor iron as in Loggun, but cowries or little shells, brought from the coast, twenty of which are worth a halfpenny, and four hundred and eighty make a shilling,

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so that in paying a pound sterling, one has to count over nine thousand six hundred cowries. Amid so many strangers, there is ample room for the trade of the *restaurateur*, which is carried on by a female seated on the ground, with a mat on her knees, on which are spread vegetables, gussub water, and bits of roasted meat about the size of a penny; these she retails to her customers squatted around her. The killing of a bullock forms a sort of festival at Kano; its horns are dyed red with henna, drums are beaten, and a crowd collected, who, if they approve of the appearance and condition of the animal, readily become purchasers.

Boxing in Houssa, like wrestling in Bornou, forms a favourite exercise, and the grand national spectacle. Clapperton, having heard much of the *fancy* of Kano, intimated his willingness to pay for a performance, which was forthwith arranged. The whole body of butchers attended, and acted as masters of the ceremonies; while, as soon as the tidings spread, girls left their pitchers at the wells; the market people threw down their baskets, and an immense crowd were assembled. The ring being formed, and drums beaten, the performers first came forward singly, plying their muscles, like a musician tuning his instrument, and each calling out to the bystanders—"I am a hyena." "I am a lion." "I can kill all that oppose me." After about twenty had shown off in this manner, they came forward in pairs, wearing only a leathern girdle, and with their hands muffled in numerous folds of country cloth. It was first ascertained that they were not mutual friends; after which they closed with the utmost fury, aiming their blows at the most mortal parts, as the pit of the stomach, beneath the ribs, or under the ear; they even endeavoured to scoop out the eyes; so that in spite of every precaution, the match often terminated in the death of one of the combatants. Whenever Clapperton saw the affair verging to such an issue, he gave orders to stop, and after seeing six parties exhibit, he paid the hire, and broke up the meeting.

The negroes here are excessively polite and ceremonious, especially to those advanced in years. They salute one another by laying the hand on the breast, making a bow, and inquiring, *Kona lafia? ki ha ky kee—Fo fo da rana*: How do you do? I hope you are well. How have you passed the heat of the day? The last

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question corresponds in their climate to the circumstantiality, with what our country folks inquire about a good night's rest.

The unmarried girls, whether slaves or free, and likewise the young unmarried men, wear a long apron of blue and white check, with a notched edging of red woollen cloth. It is tied with two broad bands, ornamented in the same way, and hanging down behind to the very ankles. This is peculiar to Soudan, and forms the only distinction in dress from the people of Bornou.

Their marriages are not distinguished by any great form or ceremony. When a bride is first conducted to the house of the bridegroom, she is attended by a great number of friends and slaves, bearing presents of melted fat, honey, wheat, turkadees, and tobes as her dower. She whines all the way, "*Wey kina! wey kina! wey Io!*" O my head! my head! Oh! dear me. Notwithstanding this lamentation, the husband has commonly known his wife some time before marriage. Preparatory to the ceremony of reading the fatah, both bridegroom and bride remain shut up for some days, and have their hands and feet dyed for three days successively, with henna. The bride herself visits the bridegroom, and applies the henna plasters with her own hands.

Every one is buried under the floor of his own house, without monument or memorial, and among the commonalty the house continues occupied as usual, but among the great there is more refinement, and it is ever after abandoned. The corpse being washed, the first chapter of the Koran is read over it, and the interment takes place the same day. The bodies of slaves are dragged out of town, and left a prey to vultures and wild beasts. In Kano they do not even take the trouble to convey them beyond the walls, but throw the corpse into the morass, or nearest pool of water.

Major Denham was now informed that the sultan had sent a messenger express, with orders to have him conducted to his capital, and to supply him with every thing necessary for his journey. He now begged him to state what he stood in need of. The major assured him that the king of England, his master, had liberally provided for all his wants, but that he felt profoundly grateful for the kind offer of the sultan, and had only to crave from him the favour of being attended by one of his people as a guide. He instantly

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called a fair-complexioned Fellata, and asked the major if he liked him; the answer was given in the affirmative, and Major Denham took his leave. He afterwards went by invitation, to visit the governor of Hadyja, who was here on his return from Sockatoo, and lived in the house of the Wanbey. He found this governor of Hadyja, a black man, about fifty years of age, sitting amongst his own people, at the upper end of the room, which is usually a little raised, and is reserved in this country for the master of the house, or visitors of high rank. He was well acquainted with the major's travelling name, for the moment he entered, he said laughing, "How do you do, Abdallah? will you come and see me at Hadyja on your return?"

"God be willing," answered the major, with due moslem solemnity.

"You are a Christian, Abdallah?" asked the governor.

"I am," replied the major.

"And what are you come to see?" inquired the governor.

"The country," replied the major, "its manners and customs."

"What do you think of it?" asked the governor.

"It is a fine country," said the major, "but very sickly."

At this the governor smiled, and again asked, "would you Christians allow us to come and see your country?"

"Certainly," said the major, "and every civility and kindness would be shown to you."

"Would you force us to become Christians?" asked the governor.

"By no means," answered the major, "we never meddle with a man's religion."

"What!" he exclaimed, "and do you ever pray?"

"Sometimes," said the major. "Our religion commands us to pray always, but we pray in secret, and not in public, except on Sundays."

One of his attendants here abruptly asked, what a Christian was "Why, a kafir," rejoined the governor. "Where is your Jew servant?" he asked, "you ought to let us see him."

"Excuse me," said the major, "he is averse from it, and I never allow my servants to be molested for their religious opinions."

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"Well, Abdallah," said the governor, "thou art a man of understanding, and must come and see me at Hadyja."

The major then retired, and the Arabs afterwards told him, that he was a perfect savage, and sometimes put a merchant to death for the sake of his goods, but this account, if true, is less to be wondered at, from the notorious villiany of some of them.

From Kano, Lieutenant Clapperton set out, under the guidance of Mohammed Jollie, leader of a caravan intended for Sockatoo, capital of the sultan of the Fellatas. The country was perhaps the finest in Africa, being under high cultivation, diversified with groves of noble trees, and traversed in a picturesque manner by ridges of granite. The manners of the people, too, were pleasing and pastoral. At many clear springs, gushing from the rocks, young women were drawing water. As an excuse for engaging in talk, our traveller asked several times for the means of quenching his thirst. Bending gracefully on one knee, and displaying, at the same time, teeth of pearly whiteness and eyes of the blackest lustre, they presented a gourd, and appeared highly delighted, when he thanked them for their civility, remarking to one another, "Did you hear the white man thank me?" But the scene was changed on reaching the borders of the provinces of Goobar and Zamfra, which were in a state of rebellion against Sockatoo. The utmost alarm at that moment prevailed; men and women, with their bullocks, asses, and camels, all struggled to be foremost, every one crying out, "Woe to the wretch that falls behind; he will be sure to meet an unhappy end, even at the hands of the Goobarites!" There was danger of being even thrown down and trampled to death by the bullocks, which were furiously rushing backward and forward; however, through the unremitting care of the escort, Clapperton made his way safely, though not without much fatigue and annoyance, along this perilous frontier.

The country was now highly cultivated. The road was crowded with passengers and loaded bullocks, going to the market of Zimrie, which town was passed a little to the southward about noon, when the country became more wooded. In the evening, a halt was made at a town called Quarra, where Clapperton waited upon the governor, who was an aged Fellata. Here Clapperton was

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unluckily taken for a fighi, or teacher, and was pestered at all hours of the day to write out prayers by the people. His servants hit upon a scheme to get rid of their importunities, by acquainting them, that, if he did such things, they must be paid the perquisites usually given to the servants of other fighis. Clapperton's washer-woman positively insisted on being paid with a charm in writing, that would entice people to buy earthen-ware of her, and no persuasion of his could either induce her to accept of money for her service, or make her believe that the request was beyond human power. In the cool of the afternoon, he was visited by three of the governor's wives, who, after examining his skin with much attention, remarked, compassionately, it was a thousand pities he was not black, for then he would have been tolerably good looking. He asked one of them, a buxom young girl of fifteen, if she would accept of him for a husband, provided he could obtain the permission of her master, the governor. She immediately began to whimper, and on urging her to explain the cause, she frankly avowed, *she did not know what to do with his white legs.* He gave to each of them a snuff-box, and, in addition, a string of white beads to the coy maiden. They were attended by an old woman and two little female slaves, and, during their stay, made very merry; but he feared much that their gayety soon fled on returning to the close custody of their old gaoler.

Clapperton now tried every thing in his power to induce his guide to proceed, without waiting for the escort; but El Wordee and the shreef, who were the most pusillanimous rascals he ever met with, effectually dissuaded him from it.

He was much amused with a conversation he overheard between the blind shreef and his servant, respecting himself and his intended journey. "That Abdallah," says the servant, "is a very bad man; he has no more sense than an ass, and is now going to lead us all to the devil, if we will accompany him. I hope, master, you are not such a fool."

"Yes," ejaculated the shreef, "it was a black day when I joined that kafir; but if I don't go with him; I shall never see the sultan; and when I return to Kano without any thing, the people will laugh at me for my pains."

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"Why did you not talk to him," said the servant, "about the dangers of the road?"

"D—n his father!" replied the shreef; "I have talked to him, but these infidels have no prudence."

Clapperton now called out, "A thousand thanks to you, my lord shreef."

"May the blessings of God be upon you!" exclaimed the shreef. "Oh! Rais Abdallah, you are a beautiful man. I will go with you wherever you go. I was only speaking in jest to this dog."

"My lord shreef," said Clapperton, "I was aware of it from the first; it is of no importance, but, if the escort does not arrive to-morrow, I may merely mention to you, I shall certainly proceed, without further delay, to Kashna."

This Clapperton said by way of alarming the shreef, who liked his present quarters too well, from the number of pious females, who sought edification from the lips of so true a descendant of the prophet; besides the chance such visits afforded of transmitting to their offspring the honour of so holy a descent.

The small-pox was at this time raging in the country to an alarming degree. The treatment of the disease is as follows:—When the disease makes its appearance, they anoint the whole body with honey, and the patient lies down on the floor, previously strewed with warm sand, some of which is also sprinkled upon him. If the patient be very ill, he is bathed in cold water early every morning, and is afterwards anointed with honey, and replaced in the warm sand. This is their only mode of treatment; but numbers died every day of this loathsome disease, which had now been raging for six months.

Clapperton had now his baggage packed up for his journey to Kashna, to the great terror of El Wordee, the shreef, and all his servants, who earnestly begged him to remain only a day longer. A party of horse and foot arrived from Zirmee the same night. It was the retinue of a Fellata captain, who was bringing back a young wife from her father's, where she had made her escape. The fair fugitive bestrode a very handsome palfrey, amid a groupe of female attendants on foot. Clapperton was introduced to her on the following morning, when she politely joined her husband in re-

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questing Clapperton to delay his journey another day, in which case, they kindly proposed they should travel together. Of course, it was impossible to refuse so agreeable an invitation, to which Clapperton seemed to yield with all possible courtesy. Indeed he had no serious intention of setting out that day. The figure of the lady was small, but finely formed, and her complexion of a clear copper colour, while, unlike most beautiful women, she was mild and unobtrusive in her manners. Her husband, too, whom she had deserted, was one of the finest looking men Clapperton ever saw, and had also the reputation of being one of the bravest of his nation.

A humpbacked lad, in the service of the gadado, or vizier of Bello, who, on his way from Sockatoo, had his hand dreadfully wounded by the people of Goober, was in the habit of coming every evening to Clapperton's servants to have the wound dressed. On conversing with Clapperton himself, he told him that he had formerly been on an expedition under Abdecachman, a Fallata chief. They started from the town of Labogee, or Nyffee, and, crossing the Quarra, travelled south fourteen days along the banks of the river, until they were within four days journey of the sea, where, according to his literal expression, "the river was one, and the sea was one," but at what precise point the river actually entered the sea, he had no distinct notion.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

EARLY in the morning of the 13th March, Clapperton commenced his journey, in company with the Fellata chief. El Wordee and the shreef were evidently in much trepidation, as they did not consider their present party sufficiently strong, in case of attack; but they had not proceeded far on their route, when they were agreeably surprised by meeting the escort, which they expected. It consisted of one hundred and fifty horsemen, with drums and trumpets. Their leader, with his attendants, advanced to Clapperton in full gallop, and bade him welcome to the country in the name of his master, the sultan, who, he said, was rejoiced to hear he was so near, and had sent him to conduct the travellers to his capital.

They continued to travel with the utmost speed, but the people soon began to fag, and the lady of the Fellata chief, who rode not far from Clapperton, began to complain of fatigue. In the evening they halted at the wells of Kamoon, all extremely fatigued, and on the following morning, they discovered that all their camels had strayed away in quest of food; they were, however, recovered by the exertions of the escort, to the commander of which Clapperton made a handsome present, consisting of some European articles, and to his officers a present of minor value.

On the following day, Clapperton left the wells of Kamoon, followed by his escort and a numerous retinue, and a loud flourish of horns and trumpets. Of course, this extraordinary respect was

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paid to him as the servant of the king of England, as he was styled in the sheik of Bornou's letter. To impress them still farther with his official importance, Clapperton arrayed himself in his lieutenant's coat, trimmed with gold lace, white trousers, and silk stockings, and to complete his finery, he wore Turkish slippers and a turban. Although his limbs pained him extremely, in consequence of their recent forced march, he constrained himself to assume the utmost serenity of countenance, in order to meet, with befitting dignity, the honours they lavished on him as the humble representative of his country.

From the top of the second hill after leaving Kamoon, they at length saw Sockatoo. A messenger from the sultan met them here to bid the travellers welcome, and to acquaint them that the sultan was at a neighbouring town, on his return from a ghrazzie or expedition, but intended to be in Sockatoo in the evening. At noon they arrived at Sockatoo, where a great number of people were assembled to look at the European traveller, and he entered the city amid the hearty welcomes of young and old. He was immediately conducted to the house of the gadado or vizier, where apartments were provided for him and his servants. The gadado, an elderly man named Simnon Bona Lima, arrived near midnight, and came instantly to see him. He was excessively polite, but would on no account drink tea with Clapperton, as he said, he was a stranger in their land, and had not yet eaten of his bread. He told Clapperton that the sultan wished to see him in the morning, and repeatedly assured him of experiencing the most cordial reception. He spoke Arabic extremely well, which he said he learned solely from the Koran.

After breakfast on the following morning, the sultan sent for Clapperton, his residence being at no great distance. In front of it there is a large quadrangle, into which several of the principal streets of the city lead. They passed through three coozees, or guardhouses, without the least detention, and were immediately ushered into the presence of Bello, the second sultan of the Fellatas. He was seated on a small carpet, between two pillars supporting the roof of a thatched house, not unlike one of our cottages. The walls and pillars were painted blue and white, in the moorish taste

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and on the back wall was sketched a fire screen, ornamented with a coarse painting of a flower-pot. An arm-chair with an iron lamp standing on it, was placed on each side of the screen. The sultan bade Clapperton many hearty welcomes, and asked him if he were not much tired with his journey from Burderewa. Clapperton told him it was the most severe travelling he had experienced between Tripoli and Sockatoo, and thanked him for the guard, the conduct of which he did not fail to commend in the strongest terms.

The sultan asked him a great many questions about Europe, and our religious distinctions. He was acquainted with the names of some of the more ancient sects, and asked whether we were Nestorians or Socinians. To extricate himself from the embarrassment occasioned by this question, Clapperton bluntly replied, we were called Protestants. "What are Protestants?" said he. Clapperton attempted to explain to him, as well as he was able, that having protested more than two centuries and a half ago, against the superstition, absurdities, and abuses practised in those days, we had ever since professed to follow simply what was written "in the book of our Lord Jesus," as they call the New Testament, and thence received the name of Protestants. He continued to ask several other theological questions, until Clapperton was obliged to confess himself not sufficiently versed in religious subtilties, to resolve these knotty points, having always left that task to others more learned than himself.

The sultan was a noble-looking man, forty-four years of age, although much younger in appearance, five feet ten inches high, portly in person, with a short curling black beard, a small mouth, a fine forehead, a grecian nose, and large black eyes. He was dressed in a light blue cotton tobe, with a white muslin turban, the shawl of which he wore over the nose and mouth, in the Tuarick fashion.

In the afternoon Clapperton repeated his visit, accompanied by the Gedado, Mahomed El Wordee, and Mahomed Gomsoo, the principal Arab of the city, to whom he had a letter of introduction from Hat Salah, at Kano. The sultan was sitting in the same apartment in which he received him in the morning, and Clapperton laid before him the presents, in the name of his majesty the king of

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England. Amongst these presents, the compass and spy glass excited the greatest interest, and the sultan seemed highly gratified when Clapperton pointed out, that by means of the former he could at any time find out the east, to address himself in his daily prayers. He said "every thing is wonderful, but you are the greatest curiosity of all," and then added, "what can I give that is most acceptable to the king of England?" Clapperton replied, "the most acceptable service you can render to the king of England, is to cooperate with his majesty, in putting a stop to the slave trade on the coast, as the king of England sends every year large ships to cruise there, for the sole purpose of seizing all vessels engaged in this trade, whose crews are thrown into prison, and of liberating the unfortunate slaves, on whom lands and houses are conferred, at one of our settlements in Africa."

"What!" said the sultan, "have you no slaves in England."

"No," replied Clapperton, "whenever a slave sets his foot on England, he is from that moment free."

"What do you do then for servants?" asked the sultan.

"We hire them for a stated period," replied Clapperton, "and give them regular wages; nor is any person in England allowed to strike another, and the very soldiers are fed, clothed, and paid by government."

"God is great!" exclaimed the sultan, "you are a beautiful people."

Clapperton now presented the sheik of Bornou's letter. On perusing it, the sultan assured Clapperton that he should see all that was to be seen within his dominions, as well as in Youri and Nyffee, both of which Clapperton informed him, he was most anxious to visit. This interview terminated very satisfactory to Clapperton, as through the influence and power of the sultan, he hoped to be able to accomplish his design of penetrating further into the country, but the sequel will show, that the knowledge which Clapperton had as yet entertained of the African character, was very limited and superficial.

In describing the events which took place during the residence of Clapperton at Sockatoo, we shall be obliged in several instances to be very circumstantial, as they have all a reference proximate or

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remote to the affairs which took place, when he visited the place at a future period, in company with Richard Lander, in whose papers some highly interesting information is contained, respecting the conduct of the sultan and the natives, both prior and subsequent to the death of Clapperton, and from which in some degree resulted the death of that amiable and highly spirited officer.

On the morning of the 19th March, Clapperton was sent for by the sultan, and desired to bring with him "the looking glass of the sun," the name which they gave to the sextant. He was on this occasion conducted further into the interior of his residence, than on his two former visits. Clapperton first exhibited a planisphere of the heavenly bodies. The sultan knew all the signs of the zodiac, some of the constellations, and many of the stars by their Arabic names. The looking glass of the sun was then brought forward, and occasioned much surprise. Clapperton had to explain all its appendages. The inverting telescope was an object of intense astonishment, and Clapperton had to stand at some little distance, to let the sultan look at him through it, for his people were all afraid of placing themselves within its magical influence. He had next to show him how to take an observation of the sun. The case of the artificial horizon, of which Clapperton had lost the key, was sometimes very difficult to open, as happened on this occasion, and he asked one of the people near him for a knife to press up the lid. The person handed him one much too small, and he quite inadvertently asked for a dagger for the same purpose. The sultan was instantly thrown into a fright; he seized his sword, and half drawing it from the scabbard, placed it before him, trembling all the time like an aspen leaf. Clapperton did not deem it prudent to take the least notice of this alarm, although it was himself who had in reality the greatest cause of fear. On receiving the dagger, Clapperton calmly opened the case, and returned the weapon to its owner with apparent unconcern. When the artificial horizon was arranged, the sultan and all his attendants had a peep at the sun, and the breach of etiquette which Clapperton had committed, seemed to be entirely forgotten. In the evening the sultan sent him two sheep, a camel load of wheat and rice, and some of the finest figs which Clapperton had ever tasted in Africa.

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On the following day, Clapperton returned the visit of Mahomed Gomsoo, the chief of the Arabs, of whose excessive greediness he had been warned at Kano, but at the same time recommended to make him a handsome present, and to endeavour by all means to keep him in good humour, on account of his great influence. On receiving the presents, Gomsoo promised to give Clapperton a letter to the sultan of Youri, who was his particular friend, and with whom he had lived many years. From this person Clapperton obtained the following information respecting the death of Mr. Park, and which confirmed the previous reports which had been obtained respecting him. Gomsoo said he was at Youri when the English came down in a boat from Timbuctoo, and were lost, which circumstance he related in the following manner:—They had arrived off a town called Boosa, and having sent a gun and some other articles as presents to the sultan of Youri, they sent to purchase a supply of onions in the market. The sultan apprised them of his intention to pay them a visit, and offered to send people to guide them through the ledges of rock, which run quite across the channel of the river a little below the town, where the banks rise into high hills on both sides. Instead of waiting for the sultan, they set off at night, and by daybreak next morning, a horseman arrived at Youri, to inform the sultan that the boat had struck upon the rocks. The people on both sides of the river then began to assail them with arrows, upon which they threw overboard all their effects, and *two white men*, arm and arm, jumped into the water, two slaves only remaining in the boat, with some books and papers, and several guns. One of the books was covered with wax-cloth, and still remained in the hands of the sultan of Youri. Gomsoo also told Clapperton, and his account was confirmed by others, that the sultan of Youri was a native of Sockna, in the regency of Tripoli, and prided himself extremely on his birth, but that he was such a drunkard, whenever any person of consequence came to visit him, that nothing proved so acceptable a present as a bottle of rum.

On Clapperton's return home from Gomsoo's, he found a message had been left for him to wait upon the sultan, which he complied with immediately after breakfast. He received him in an inner apartment, attended only by a few slaves. After asking

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Clapperton how he did, and several other chit chat questions, he was not a little surprised, without a single question being put to him on the subject, to hear, that if he wished to go to Nyffee, there were two roads leading to it, the one direct, but beset by enemies; the other safer, but more circuitous; that by either route he would be detained during the rains, in a country at present in a state of rebellion, and therefore that he ought to think seriously of these difficulties. Clapperton assured the sultan that he had already taken the matter into consideration, and that he was neither afraid of the dangers of the roads nor of the rains. "Think of it with prudence," the sultan replied, and they parted.

From the tone and manner in which the sultan pronounced the latter sentence, Clapperton felt a foreboding that his intended visit to Youri and Nyffee was at an end. He could not help suspecting the intrigues of the Arabs to be the cause, as they knew well, if the native Africans were once acquainted with English commerce by the way of the sea, their own lucrative inland trade would from that moment cease. He was much perplexed during the whole of this day, to know how to act, and went after sunset to consult Mahomed Gomsoo. Clapperton met him at the door of his house, on his way to the sultan, and stopped him to mention what had passed, and how unaccountably strange it appeared to him, that the sultan, after having repeatedly assured him of being at liberty to visit every part of his dominions, should now, for the first time, seem inclined to withdraw that permission, adding, that before he came to Sockna, he never heard of a king making a promise one day and breaking it the next. All this, he knew, would find its way to the sultan. Gomsoo told Clapperton that he was quite mistaken; for that the sultan, the gadado, and all the principal people, entertained the highest opinion of him, and wished for nothing so much as to cultivate the friendship of the English nation. But, said Clapperton, on leaving him, it is necessary for me to visit those places, or else how can the English get here? As Clapperton anticipated, Gomsoo repeated to the sultan every word he had said, for he was no sooner at home, than he was sent for by the sultan, whom he found seated with Gomsoo and two others. He was received with great kindness, and Gomsoo said he had made the sultan acquainted with

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their conversation. Clapperton thanked him, and expressed his earnest hope, that he had neither done not said any thing to offend him. The sultan assured him that his conduct had always met with his approbation, and although he was freely disposed to show him all the country, still he wished to do so with safety to him. An army, he added, was at this moment ravaging the country, through which he had to pass, and until he heard from it, it would be unsafe to go, he expected, however, further information in three or four days. He drew on the sand the course of the river Quarra, which he informed Clapperton entered the sea at Fundah. By his account the river ran parallel to the sea coast for several days' journey, being in some places only a few hours, in others a day's journey distant from it. After questioning Clapperton on some points connected with the English trade, the sultan said, "I will give the king of England a place on the coast to build a town, only I wish a road to be cut to Rakah, if vessels should not be able to navigate the river." Clapperton asked him, if the country which he had promised, belonged to him. "Yes," said he, "God has given me all the lands of the infidels." This was an answer that admitted of no contradiction.

The sultan informed Clapperton, that some timbers of Park's boat, fastened together with nails, remained a long time on the rocks of the river, and that a double-barrelled gun, taken in the boat, was once in his possession, but it had lately burst. His cousin, Abderachman, however, had a small printed book, taken out of the boat; but he was now absent on an expedition to Nyffee. The other books were in the hands of the sultan of Youri, who was tributary to him. Clapperton told the sultan, if he could procure these articles for the king of England, they would prove a most acceptable present, and he promised to make every exertion in his power.

The direct road to Youri is only five days' journey; but on account of the rebellious state of the country, it was necessary to take a circuitous route of twelve days. Numbers of the principal people of Sockatoo came to Clapperton, to advise him to give up the idea of going, all alleging that the rains had already commenced at Youri, and that the road was in the hands of their enemies. They

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repeated the same tales to the servants who were to accompany him, and threw them all into a panic at the prospect of so dangerous a journey. Clapperton discovered also, that the Arabs were tampering with his servants, and some of them absolutely refused to go, from some information that was given to them, that, if they met with no disasters on the route to Youri, the sultan there would assuredly sell them, and that they would never be allowed to return.

The journey to Youri now appeared to engross the whole of Clapperton's attention, and the sultan sent for him, to consult with him about the guide, who was to accompany him to that place. One man had already refused, and he had to tempt another with a promise of forty thousand kowries unknown to the sultan, who kindly took much pains to impress upon Clapperton the necessity of his return within twenty-six days, on account of the capricious character of the people of the place.

Clapperton now began to see that no chance existed of his prosecuting his journey to Youri; but it must be admitted, that some of the suspicions which he entertained were groundless, for the state of the country was afterwards found to be, if possible, worse than had been described; and the ravages of the Fellatas so terrible, that any one coming from amongst them was likely to experience a very disagreeable reception. Indeed it may be suspected, that the sultan must have been a good deal embarrassed by the simplicity with which his guest listened to his pompous boasting as to the extent of his empire, and by the earnestness with which he entreated him to name one of his seaports, where the English might land, when it was certain that he had not a town which was not some hundred miles distant from the coast. To prevent the disclosure of this fact, which must have taken place, had Clapperton proceeded in that direction, might be an additional motive for refusing his sanction. In short, it was finally announced to Clapperton, that no escort could be found to accompany him on so rash an enterprise, and that he could return to England only by retracing his steps.

One morning, Clapperton was surprised at a visit from Ateeko, the brother of the sultan, to whom he had sent a present of a scarlet jacket, breeches, and bornouse. When he was seated, and the

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usual compliments were over, Clapperton apologized, on the score of ill health, for not having already paid him a visit. He now told him he had a few things belonging to the Englishman who was at Musfeia with the late Boo Khaloom, but as no person knew what they were, he would gladly sell them to him, ordering his servant, at the same time, to produce a bundle he held under his arm. The servant took from the bundle a shirt, two pair of trousers, and two pieces of parchment used for sketching by Major Denham. The only other articles, Ateeko said, were a trunk, a broken sextant, and a watch; the latter had been destroyed, as he alleged, in their ignorant eagerness to examine its structure. He then invited Clapperton to visit him on the following morning, when they might fix the price of what he wished to buy, to which Clapperton assented; but on reconsidering the matter, he thought it prudent first to consult the gadado, particularly as the sultan had gone on an expedition, and was not expected to return for five days. Clapperton began to fear lest a bad construction might be put upon his visit to this mean prince, who, on the death of his father, Bello the First, had aspired to the throne, and even had himself proclaimed sultan in Sockatoo; from the mere circumstance of his brother Bello, the present sultan, having expressed the intention, during his father's lifetime, of resigning the splendour of royalty for the tranquillity of a holy and learned life. Ateeko had even the audacity to enter his brother's house, preceded by drums and trumpets; and when Bello inquired the cause of the tumult, he received the first intimation of his brother's perfidy in the answer, "The sultan Ateeko is come." Bello, nowise disconcerted, immediately ordered the usurper into his presence, when Ateeko pleaded, in vindication of his conduct, his brother's proposed disinclination to reign; to which the sultan only deigned to reply, "Go and take off these trappings, or I will take off your head." Ateeko, with characteristic abjectness of spirit, began to wring his hands, as if washing them in water, and called God and the prophet to witness that his motives were innocent and upright, since which time he has remained in the utmost obscurity. According, however, to another authority, Bello confined him to the house for twelve months, and then a reconciliation took place between them. We are apt to speak of the sovereigns

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of barbarous and uncivilized nations as deficient in those virtues for which civilized sovereigns are or ought to be distinguished; but we suspect that few of the latter would have acted towards the usurper of his throne with the same magnanimity as was displayed by the Fellata sovereign.

On visiting the gadado, he told Clapperton by no means to go to Ateeko whilst the sultan was absent, as his visit at this juncture might be regarded with a very jealous eye by the people, who would not hesitate to charge him with a plot to place Ateeko on the throne, by the assistance of England. The gadado undisguisedly expressed his contempt at Ateeko's conduct, and assured him that it was entirely without the sanction of the sultan.

On the return of the sultan from the army, permission was given to Clapperton to purchase from Ateeko the sorry remains of Major Denham's baggage; accompanied, therefore, by El Wordee, he went to the prince's house, and after waiting for some time in the porch of a square tower, they were introduced into an inner coozee, hung round with blue and yellow silk, in sharp-pointed festoons, not unlike gothic arches. Ateeko soon made his appearance, and after a few compliments, they proceeded to business. He brought out a damaged leathern trunk, with two or three shirts, and other articles of dress, much the worse for wear, and the sextant and parchment already mentioned. The former was completely demolished, the whole of the glasses being taken out, or, where they could not unscrew them, broken off the frame, which remained a mere skeleton. Ateeko seemed to fancy that the sextant was gold, in which Clapperton soon undeceived him; and selecting it, with the parchment and one or two flannel waistcoats and towels, likely to be useful to Major Denham, he offered the prince five thousand kowries, at which he appeared much surprised and mortified. El Wordee whispered into Clapperton's ear, "Remember he is a prince, and not a merchant." But Clapperton said, loud enough for his highness to hear, "Remember, that when a prince turns merchant, he must expect no more than another man; and as that is the value of the articles, it is a matter of indifference to me whether I buy them or not." Ateeko frequently repeated his be-

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lief of the sextant being gold; but at length the bargain seemed to be concluded, and Clapperton requested the prince to send a slave to his house with the articles he had picked out, to whom also he would pay the money. The slave, however, was recalled before he got half-way, and his suspicious master took back the sextant-frame, in dread of being overreached by the purchaser in its value, which Clapperton did not fail to deduct from the price agreed on.

The prince stated, that he kept two hundred civet cats, two of which he showed Clapperton. These animals were extremely savage, and were confined in separate wooden cages. They were about four feet long from the nose to the tip of the tail, and, with the exception of a greater length of body and a longer tail, they very much resembled diminutive hyenas. They are fed with pounded guinea corn and dried fish made into balls. The civet is scraped off with a kind of muscle shell every other morning, the animal being forced into a corner of the cage, and its head held down with a stick during the operation. The prince offered to sell any number of them which Clapperton might wish to have; but he did not look upon them as very desirable travelling companions. Ateeko was a little spare man, with a full face, of monkey-like expression. He spoke in a slow and subdued tone of voice, and the Felhatas acknowledge him to be extremely brave, but at the same time avaricious and cruel. "Were he sultan," say they, "heads would fly about in Soudan."

One evening, on paying the gadado a visit, Clapperton found him alone, reading an Arabic book, one of a small collection he possessed. "Abdallah," said he, "I had a dream last night, and am perusing this book to find out what it meant. Do you believe in such things?"

"No, my lord gadado. I consider books of dreams to be full of idle conceits. God gives a man wisdom to guide his conduct, while dreams are occasioned by the accidental circumstances of sleeping with the head low, excess of food, or uneasiness of mind."

"Abdallah," he replied, smiling, "this book tells me differently." He then mentioned, that, in a few days, the sultan was going on another expedition, and wished him to join it; but that he

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preferred remaining, in order to have a mosque, which was then building, finished before the Rhamadan, lest the workmen should idle away their time in his absence.

Previously to the sultan's departure, he sent Clapperton a present of two large baskets of wheat, who now began to think seriously of retracing his steps to Kano. He was sitting in the shade before his door, with Sidi Sheik, the sultan's fighi, when an ill-looking wretch, with a fiend-like grin on his countenance, came and placed himself directly before Clapperton, who immediately asked Sidi Sheik who he was. He immediately answered, "The executioner." Clapperton instantly ordered his servants to turn him out. "Be patient," said Sidi Sheik, laying his hand upon that of Clapperton; "he visits the first people in Sockatoo, and they never allow him to go away without giving him a few goora nuts, or money to buy them." In compliance with this hint, Clapperton requested forty kowries to be given to the fellow, with strict orders never again to cross his threshold. Sidi Sheik now related a professional anecdote of Clapperton's uninvited visitor. Being brother of the executioner of Yacoba, of which place he was a native, he applied to the governor for his brother's situation, boasting of superior adroitness in the family vocation. The governor coolly remarked, "We will try; go and fetch your brother's head." He instantly went in quest of his brother, and finding him seated at the door of his house, without noise or warning, he struck off his head with a sword at one blow; then carrying the bleeding head to the governor, and claiming the reward of such transcendant atrocity, he was appointed to the vacant office. The sultan being afterwards in want of an expert headsman, sent for him to Sockatoo, where, a short time after his arrival, he had to officiate at the execution of two thousand Tuaricks, who, in conjunction with the rebels at Goober, had attempted to plunder the country, but were all made prisoners. It may be added, that the capital punishments inflicted in Soudan are beheading, impaling, and crucifixion; the first being reserved for Mahometans, and the other two practised on pagans. Clapperton was told, that wretches on the cross generally linger three days before death puts an end to their sufferings.

Clapperton was for some time delayed in completing his ar-

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rangements for his departure from Sockatoo, on account of the fast of the Rhamadan, which the Fellatas keep with extreme rigour. The chief people never leave their houses, except in the evening to prayer; and the women frequently pour cold water over their backs and necks. Under the idea, that the greater the thirst they appear to endure, the better entitled they become to paradise; though Clapperton was inclined to believe that they made a parade of these privations, in a great measure, to obtain the reputation of extraordinary sanctity.

On the 2nd May, Clapperton sent for the steward of the gadado's household, and all the female slaves, who had daily performed the duty of bringing him provisions from the time of his arrival. These provisions were about a gallon of new milk every morning, in a large bowl, for himself, and two gallons of sour milk and siccory for his servants at noon, in return for which he always gave fifty kowries; at three o'clock three roast fowls, with doura or nutta sauce, for which he sent fifty kowries; again after sunset two bowls of bozeen were brought by two female slaves, to whom he gave one hundred kowries; and about two quarts of new milk afterwards, for which he gave fifty kowries more. As an acknowledgment for their attention during his residence in Sockatoo, he now presented the steward of the household with ten thousand kowries, and the slaves with two thousand each. The poor creatures were extremely grateful for his bounty, and many of them even shed tears. In the afternoon he waited upon the sultan, who told him that he had appointed the same escort which he had before, under the command of the gadado's brother, to conduct him through the provinces of Goober and Zamfra, and that an officer of the gadado, after the escort left him, should accompany him to Zirmee, Kashna, Kano, and Katagun; the governor of which would receive orders to furnish him with a strong escort through the Bedite territory, and to deliver him safely into the hands of the sheik of Bornou. He also mentioned that the letter for the king of England would be ready the next day.

On the following day, Clapperton was visited by all the principal people of Sockatoo, to bid him farewell, and in the evening he went to take his leave of the sultan. He was, however, at the

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mosque, and he had to wait about two hours before he came out. Clapperton followed him at a little distance to the door of his residence, where an old female slave took Clapperton by the hand and led him through a number of dark passages, in which, at the bidding of his conductress, he had often to stoop, or at times to tread with great caution, as they approached flights of steps, whilst a faint glimmering light twinkled from a distant room. He could not imagine where the old woman was conducting him, who, on her part, was highly diverted at his importunate inquiries. After much turning and winding, he was at last brought into the presence of Bello, who was sitting alone, and immediately delivered into his hands a letter for the king of England. He had previously sent to Clapperton to know what were his majesty's name, style, and title. He again expressed with much earnestness of manner, his anxiety to enter into permanent relations of trade and friendship with England, and reminded Clapperton to apprise him by letter, at what time the English expedition would be upon the coast. After repeating the fatah, and praying for his safe arrival in England, and speedy return to Sockatoo, he affectionately bade him farewell.

Clapperton went next to take his leave of his good old friend the gadado, for whom he felt the same regard, as if he had been one of his oldest friends in England, and he was certain it was equally sincere on his side. The poor old man prayed very devoutly for his safety, and gave strict charge to his brother, who was to accompany Clapperton, to take especial care of him in their journey through the disturbed provinces.

The town of Sockatoo lies in latitude 13° 4′ 52″ north, and longitude 6° 12′ east, and is situated near the junction of an inconsiderable stream, with the same river which flows past Zirmee, and which taking its rise between Kashna and Kano, is said to fall into the Quarra four days' journey to the west. The name in their language signifies, a halting place, the city being built by the Fellatas, after the conquest of Goober and Zamfra, as near as Clapperton could learn about the year 1805. It occupies a long ridge, which slopes gently towards the north, and appeared to Clapperton the most populous town he had visited in the interior of Africa, for unlike most other towns in Houssa, where the houses

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are thinly scattered, it is laid out in regular well-built streets. The houses approach close to the walls, which were built by the present sultan in 1818, after the death of his father; the old walls being too confined for the increasing population. This wall is between twenty and thirty feet high, and has twelve gates, which are regularly closed at sunset. There are two large mosques, including the new one which was then building by the gadado, besides several other places for prayer. There is a spacious market-place in the centre of the city, and another large square in front of the sultan's residence. The inhabitants are principally Fellatas, possessing numerous slaves. Such of the latter as are not employed in domestic duties, reside in houses by themselves, where they follow various trades; the master of course reaping the profit. Their usual employments are weaving, house-building, shoemaking, and iron work, many bring firewood to the market for sale. Those employed in raising grain and tending cattle, of which the Fellatas have immense herds, reside in villages without the city. It is customary for private individuals to emancipate a number of slaves every year, according to their means, during the great feast after the Rhamadan. The enfranchised seldom return to their native country, but continue to reside near their old masters, still acknowledging them as their superiors, but presenting them yearly with a portion of their earnings. The trade at Sockatoo is at present inconsiderable, owing to the disturbed state of the surrounding country. The necessaries of life are very cheap, butchers' meat is in great plenty and very good. The exports are principally civet, and blue check tobes called sharie, which are manufactured by the slaves from Nyffee, of whom the men are considered the most expert weavers in Soudan, and the women the best spinners. The common imports are goora nuts, brought from the borders of Ashantee, and coarse calico and woollen cloth in small quantities, with brass and pewter dishes, and some few spices from Nyffee. The Arabs from Tripoli and Ghadamis bring unwrought silk, attar of roses, spices and beads; slaves are both exported and imported. A great quantity of guinea corn is taken every year by the Tuaricks, in exchange for salt. The market is extremely well supplied, and is held daily from sunrise to sunset.

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After encountering several difficulties, and experiencing some very hair-breadth escapes, Clapperton arrived at Zirmee the capital of Zamfra, a kind of outlawed city, the inhabitants of which are esteemed the greatest rogues in Houssa, and where all the runaway slaves find protection. He passed also through Kashna or Cassina, the metropolis of a kingdom, which, till the rise of the Fellata power, ruled over all Africa from Bornou to the Niger. In its present subject and fallen state, the inhabited part does not cover a tenth of the wide circuit enclosed by its walls, yet a considerable trade is still carried on with the Tuaricks, or with caravans coming across the desert by the route of Ghadamis and Suat. Here Clapperton met with much kindness from Hadgi Ahmet, a powerful and wealthy Arab chief, who even took him into his seraglio, and desired him, out of fifty black damsels to make his choice, a complaisance, nothing resembling which had ever before been shown by a Mussulman. The Arab was so importunate, and appeared so determined that Clapperton should have one of his ladies, that to satisfy him, he at length selected the oldest of the groupe, who made him an excellent nurse in his illness.

Lieutenant Clapperton rejoined Major Denham at Kouka, whence they set out, and crossed the desert in the latter part of 1824. They reached Tripoli in January 1825, and soon after embarked for Leghorn, but being detained by contrary winds and quarantine regulations, did not reach London until the following June.

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CHAPTER XXV.

HAVING now completed our preparatory analysis of the principal travels for the exploration of the interior of Africa, we proceed to enter upon those in which Richard Lander was remotely or closely connected, as the coadjutor or the principal, and to whose perseverance and undaunted courage, we are indebted for some of the most important information respecting the interior of Africa, particularly in the solution of the great geographical problem of the termination of the Niger. At the time when Lander was ransomed by Captain Laing, of the Maria of London, belonging to Messrs. Forster and Smith, the papers, which he had with him respecting the travels which he had performed, as the servant of Captain Clapperton, who had been promoted on his return from his first expedition, were not very voluminous. In our personal intercourse with him, however, he unreservedly dictated to us many interesting particulars respecting his travels, whilst in the service of Captain Clapperton, which are not to be found in his published narrative, and particularly of the occurrences which took place at Whidah, in the kingdom of Dahomey, on their passage through that territory, in fulfilment of the object of their mission to sultan Bello of Sockatoo.

Although the second expedition of Clapperton is ostensibly published under his name, yet it is generally known, that but for the information given by Lander on his return, after the death of Captain Clapperton, very little would have transpired relative to

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any discoveries which had been made, or towards an elucidation of those geographical and statistical objects, for which the expedition was undertaken. We are therefore more disposed to award the merit where it is most particularly due, for although in accordance with the received notion, that whatever was accomplished in the second expedition, is to be attributed to Clapperton, yet, from our private resources, we are enabled not only to supply many deficiencies in the published accounts of Clapperton's second expedition, gathered from the oral communication of Lander himself, but also to give a description of many interesting scenes, which throw a distinct light upon the character of the natives, their progress towards civilisation, and the extent of their commercial relations.

It may be remembered that when Clapperton took his leave of the sultan at Sockatoo, he delivered into his hands a letter for the king of England, in consequence of several conversations that had passed between him and Clapperton, touching the establishment of some commercial relations between England and the central kingdoms of Africa. In that letter the sultan proposed three things:—the establishment of a friendly intercourse between the two nations by means of a consul, who was to reside at the *seaport* of Raka; the delivery of certain presents described, at the port of Fundah, supposed to be somewhere near Whidah, and the prohibition of the exportation of slaves, by any of the Houssa merchants, to Atagher, Dahomy, or Ashantee.

No doubt whatever rested on the mind of Lander, that Clapperton was in some respects made the dupe of the pride, pomposity, and deception of the African sultan. It may be remembered that the sultan offered him land on the sea coast, on which to form a settlement, when it was subsequently discovered, that he was not in possession of an inch of territory within several hundred miles of the sea; the *seaport* of Raka was nearly similar to Sancho Panza's Island Barrataria, it was not to be found in any existing map, and it will be seen in the sequel, that the people resident on the sea coast knew as little of sultan Bello of Sockatoo, as he knew of them, although, according to his own report, the greater part of the sea coast belonged to him.

On the arrival of Clapperton in England, Lord Bathurst, then

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secretary of state for the colonies, conceived the proposals contained in the sultan's letter, to afford a fair opportunity for endeavouring to carry into effect objects of such considerable importance, and Clapperton immediately volunteered his services for the occasion. He had arranged with sultan Bello, that his messengers should about a certain time be at Whidah, to conduct the presents and the bearers to Sockatoo. Clapperton was allowed to take with him on this novel and hazardous enterprise two associates, one of whom was Captain Pearce of the navy, an excellent draughtsman, and the other Dr. Morrison, a surgeon in the navy, well versed in various branches of natural history; and at his particular request, a fellow countryman of the name of Dickson, who had served as a surgeon in the West Indies, was added to the list; Richard Lander accompanying Captain Clapperton in the capacity of a servant.

The travellers embarked on board his majesty's ship Brazen, on the 25th August 1825, and arrived off Whidah on the 26th of the following November. Mr. Dickson landed at Whidah, for reasons which do not appear in the narrative of Clapperton's expedition, but which have been fully stated to us by Lander, to whom we are indebted for the information which we now lay before our readers of the kingdom of Dahomy, its natives, customs, natural productions, and commercial advantages.

Mr. Dickson, accompanied with a Portuguese of the name of De Sousa, proceeded from Whidah to Dahomy, where the latter had resided for some time. Here he was well received, and sent forward with a suitable escort to a place called Shar, seventeen days' journey from Dahomy, where he also arrived in safety, and thence proceeded with another escort towards Youri, but has not since been heard of.

It was in consequence of the inquiries that were set on foot relative to Mr. Dickson, that Lander obtained the following highly interesting information relative to a part of Africa, which was at one time, the emporium of the slave trade on the sea-coast, but the interior of which was but very little known.

Whidah was once an independent kingdom, but in the year 1727 was conquered by Guadja Trudo, the king of Dahomy. Grigwee, the present capital, lies a few miles up from the sea coast, and may

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contain about twenty thousand inhabitants. Dahomy, including the subjugated districts, extends at least a hundred and fifty miles into the interior, the principal town of which is Abomey, lying in about 3° east longitude.

Dahomy produces in perfection all the immense variety of fine fruits found within the torrid zone, and amongst others one of a most singular quality. It is not unlike a ripe coffee berry, and does not at first appear to have a superior degree of sweetness, but it leaves in the mouth so much of that impression, that a glass of vinegar tastes like sweet wine, and the sourest lemon like a sweet orange; sugar is quite an unnecessary article in tea or coffee; in fact, the most nauseous drug seems sweet to whomever chews this fruit, and its effect is not worn away until after several meals. It is generally called the miraculous berry, and whoever eats of it in the morning, must be content at least for that day to forego the flavour of every kind of food, whether animal or vegetable, for all will be alike saccharine to the palate, and the most ridiculous effect is often produced by playing tricks upon those, who are not aware of its peculiar property. Lander himself was one of the dupes, and he relates, that the first time he partook of one of these berries, he thought himself under the influence of witchcraft—the fowl of which he partook at dinner seemed to him as if it had been soaked in a solution of sugar—the lime juice appeared to him as if it were mixed with some saccharine matter—his biscuit tasted like a bun —and although he was convinced that he had not put any sugar into his grog, it seemed to him as if it had been sweetened by the first maker of punch in his native country.

The beasts of prey are numerous and dangerous, and often commit great havock amongst the sheep, and other live stock, notwithstanding every precaution to put them in a place of security at night. The tigers and leopards are not contented with what they actually carry off, but they leave nothing alive which comes within the reach of their talons. During the residence of Lander in the country, a good mode of astonishing a tiger was practised with success. A loaded musket was firmly fixed in a horizontal position, about the height of his head, to a couple of stakes driven into the ground, and the piece being cocked, a string from the trigger, first

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leading a little towards the butt, and then turning through a small ring forwards, was attached to a shoulder of mutton, stuck on the muzzle of the musket, the act of dragging off which, drew the trigger, and the piece loaded with two balls, discharged itself into the plunderer's mouth, killing him on the spot.

Elephants are common in Dahomy, but are not tamed and used by the natives, as in India, for the purposes of war or burthen, being merely taken for the sake of their ivory and their flesh, which is, on particular occasions, eaten.

An animal of the hyena tribe, called by the natives tweetwee, is likewise extremely troublesome; herds of these join together, and scrape up the earth of newly-made graves, in order to get at the bodies, which are not buried here in coffins. These resurrection men, as Lander termed them, make, during the night, a most dismal howling, and often change their note to one very much resembling the shriek of a woman in some situation of danger or distress.

Snakes of the boa species are here found of a most enormous size, many being from thirty to thirty-six feet in length, and of proportional girth. They attack alike wild and domestic beasts, and often human kind. They kill their prey by encircling it in their folds, and squeezing it to death, and afterwards swallow it entire; this they are enabled to do by a faculty of very extraordinary expansion in their muscles, without at the same time impairing the muscular action or power. The bulk of the animals which these serpents are capable of gorging would stagger belief, were the fact not so fully attested as to place it beyond doubt. The state of torpor in which they are sometimes found in the woods, after a *stuffing* meal of this kind, affords the negroes an opportunity of killing them. Lander informed us, that there is not in nature a more appalling sight than one of these monsters in full motion. It has a chilling and overpowering effect on the human frame, and it seems to inspire with the same horror every other animal, even the strongest and most ferocious; for all are equally certain of becoming victims, should the snake once fasten itself upon them.

The religion of this country is paganism. They believe in two beings, equal in power; the one doing good, the other evil; and

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they pray to the demon to allow them to remain unmolested by the magicians, who are constantly endeavouring to injure them.

In Whidah, for some unaccountable reason, they worship their divinity under the form of a particular species of snake called daboa, which is not sufficiently large to be terrible to man, and is otherwise tameable and inoffensive. These daboas are taken care of in the most pious manner, and well fed on rats, mice, or birds, in their fetish houses or temples, where the people attend to pay their adoration, and where those also who are sick or lame apply for assistance.

The tiger is also an object of religious regard in Dahomy Proper; but they deem it the safest mode of worship to perform their acts of devotion to his skin only after death, which is stuffed for that purpose.

The people of Whidah occasionally imagine themselves inspired by the divinity, or, as they term it, are seized by the fetish; and in such cases, it becomes necessary, from the frantic manner in which they run about, to secure and place them under the charge of the fetisheers, or priests, until this fit of inspiration be over, and they become themselves again.

The political management of Whidah is entrusted to a viceroy, who is called the Yavougah, or captain of the white men. This officer, at the time of Lander's visit to the country, was a man of majestic stature, and possessed an uncommon share of dignity, mingled with complacency of manner. His dress was generally a large hat, somewhat resembling that of a Spanish grandee, tastefully decorated, and a piece of damask silk, usually red, thrown over one shoulder, like a Scotch plaid, with a pair of drawers; but his arms and legs were bare, except the bracelets of silver, which encircled the arm above the elbow, with manillas of the same sort, and rows of coral round the wrist.

When he had any message to deliver from the king, or other public affairs to transact with the Europeans, it was done with much ceremony and state; his guards, musicians, and umbrella-bearers, and a numerous retinue, always attending him. The most polished courtier of Europe could not have deported himself more gracefully on public occasions than this man, or have carried on a conference with greater ease and affability. He was master, be-

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sides his own, of the English, French, and Portuguese languages, having resided from his birth chiefly in the vicinity of the European forts, and in his younger days had been much connected with them, officially as a linguist.

Although, therefore, he understood perfectly what was said to him by the Europeans, who accompanied Lander, yet it was etiquette for the viceroy to be spoken to through an interpreter, and it was often amusing to see the bungling efforts of the latter in the performance of a task, which the yavougah himself so much better understood, and which he good humouredly, and in an under tone, assisted him to complete. After the business of ceremony was finished, he laid aside all formality, and conversed in a familiar manner upon general subjects, the whole party joining convivially in a collation, or repast, which was always served up on such occasions.

The government of Dahomy is, in the fullest sense of the word, despotism. It is a monarchy the most unlimited and uncontrolled on the face of the earth, there being no law but the king's will, who may chop off as many heads as he pleases, when he is "i' the vein," and dispose of his subjects' property as he thinks fit, without being accountable to any human tribunal for his conduct. He has from three to four thousand wives, a proportion of whom, trained to arms, under female officers, constitute his body-guards. As may naturally be supposed, but a few of these wives engage his particular attention.

The successor to the throne is not announced during the king's lifetime; but the moment his decease is known, the proclamation is made with all possible despatch by the proper officers; for all is murder, anarchy, and confusion in the palace until it takes place; the wives of the late king not only breaking the furniture and ornaments, but killing each other, in order to have the honour of attending their husband to the grave.

The choice usually falls on the eldest son of the late sovereign's greatest favourite, provided there exists no particular reason for setting him aside. There seem to be no rank nor privileges annexed to any branches of the royal family; the king, in his own person, absorbing the undivided respect of the people. Those of

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his relations whom his majesty may deign to patronise, will, of course, be more noticed by their fellow-slaves; but are all alike the slaves of the king.

His palace at Abomey is walled round, and consists, according to the report of Lander and others, who had an opportunity of visiting its interior, of numerous courts connected with each other, occupying, in the whole, a space full as large as St. James' Park.

The first minister is called the *tamegan*, and he is the only man in the country whose head the king cannot cut off at pleasure. By some ancient regulation, he who attains this rank has that very essential part of his person secured to him, perhaps that he may honestly speak his mind to the king, without fear of consequences. The second, or mahou, is the master of the ceremonies, whose office it is to receive and introduce all strangers, whether black or white, and also to take care of them during their stay at court, and to see that they are well fed and lodged, with all their attendants. The third officer in the state is the yavougah of Whidah; and the fourth is the jahou, or master of the horse, who is likewise the chief executioner, and has the duty of superintending the numerous decapitations, which occur in various ways.

There are entertained about the court a number of king's messengers, called half-heads, because one side of their head is always shaved, whilst the hair on the other is allowed to grow to its full length. They are men, who have distinguished themselves in battle, and wear, as the badge of their office, strings of the teeth of those enemies they have actually killed with their own hands, slung round their necks, like the collar of an order.

These extraordinary-looking couriers, when sent on any mission, are never permitted to walk, but run at full speed, and are relieved at certain distances on the road by relays of others, who push on in the same manner, on receiving their orders, which they transfer from one to the other with the greatest exactness. The general officers in the Dahomian army are distinguished by large umbrellas, and when any of that class are killed in action, they say figuratively, that, on such an occasion, we lost so many umbrellas.

In delivering what is termed the king's word, the messenger, as well as all those around him, fall prostrate on the ground, and cover

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their heads with dust, or with mud, if it rains; so that they often display very hideous figures, with their black bodies and the wool of their heads thus bedaubed with red puddle.

The ministers of state, in communicating with the king, approach within a certain distance of him, crawling on their hands and knees, at last they prostrate themselves, kiss the ground, cover their heads with dust, then make their speech, and receive his reply. His majesty usually sits on public occasions, as he is represented in our engraving, under a rich canopy, on a finely carved stool or throne, surrounded by his women, some with whisks driving away the flies, one with a handkerchief to wipe his mouth, and another on her knees, holding a gold cup to spit in, as he smokes.

Their marriages, like those of most barbarous nations, are settled by the bridegroom paying a certain sum for the woman, which is calculated at the rate of one or more slaves, or moveable property in shells, cloth, or other articles, to the amount of the specified number of slaves. Polygamy is allowed to any extent, and it is generally carried as far as the means of the gentlemen will admit, as, after a short period, or honeymoon, the women are employed in the fields and plantations, and usually are no better situated than the common servants of their husbands.

Adultery is punished by slavery, or the value of a slave, by the offender, and the lady likewise subjects herself to be sold, but it is remarked that this measure is seldom resorted to, and it sometimes happens that a handsome wife is repeatedly turned to advantage by her husband, in alluring the unwary into heavy damages.

The state of women is upon the whole very abject in Dahomy. Wives approach their husbands with every mark of the humblest submission. In presenting him even with a calabash containing his food, after she has cooked it, she kneels and offers it with an averted look, it being deemed too bold to stare him full in the face. By their constantly practising genuflexion upon the bare ground, their knees become in time almost as hard as their heels.

A mutinous wife or a vixen, sometimes the treasure and delight of an Englishman; the enlivener of his fireside, and his safeguard from ennui, is a phenomenon utterly unknown in Dahomy—that

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THE HOUSE OF DAHOMEY'S LEVEE

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noble spirit, which animates the happier dames in lands of liberty, being here, alas! extinguished and destroyed.

In most nations a numerous progeny is considered a blessing, as being likely to prop the declining years of their parents, but in Dahomy, children are taken from their mothers at an early age, and distributed in villages remote from the places of their nativity, where they remain with but little chance of being ever seen, or at least recognized by their parents afterwards. The motive for this is, that there may be no family connexion nor combinations; no associations that might prove injurious to the king's unlimited power. Hence each individual is detached and unconnected, and having no relative for whom he is interested, is solicitous only for his own safety, which he consults by the most abject submission. Paternal affection, and filial love, therefore, can scarcely be said to exist. Mothers, instead of cherishing, endeavour to suppress those attachments for their offspring, which they know will be violated, as soon as their children are able to undergo the fatigue of being removed from them.

At a particular period of the year, generally in April or May, a grand annual festival is held, which may with much propriety be termed a *carnival*. On this occasion the chief magistrates or caboceers of the different towns and districts, the governors of the English, French, and Portuguese settlements, are expected to attend at the capital, with their respective retinues; and the captains of ships, and factors trading at Whidah, usually take this opportunity of paying their respects to the king. A great part of the population, in fact, repair to Abomey, which resembles some great fair, from the number of booths and tents erected in it for various purposes.

It is at this time also that the revenue is collected; all the people either bringing or sending their respective quotas to the royal treasury. White men are received there with every mark of respect, and even saluted by the discharge of cannon. There appears to be an extraordinary mixture of ferocity and politeness in the character of these people; though terrible and remorseless to their enemies, nothing can exceed their urbanity and kindness to strangers.

Should any white person be taken ill at Abomey, the king sends

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the mayhou, or some other great officer, to make daily inquiries about the state of his malady, and desiring to know in what way he can assist or promote his recovery.

Notwithstanding the king exacts from his own subjects the most humiliating and abject prostrations, on approaching his person, yet he admits Europeans to his presence without the least scruple, requiring only from them those marks of respect which they may think fit to perform, in the style of salutation they have been accustomed to in their own countries. They are allowed to be seated in his company, and he personally pays them great attention. Cooks are procured, who understand the mode of preparing European dishes; even table cloths, with knives and forks, although never used by themselves, are furnished, and in short every thing which can contribute to their comfort, is provided with eastern hospitality.

They are likewise entertained with feasts, music, public dances, processions of the king's women, and the exhibition of sports and games.

But amidst this general enjoyment of festivity and mirth, deeds are done from which the civilized mind recoils with horror, and which it cannot contemplate without feeling an ardent desire, to see mankind raised from that state of savage ignorance and superstition, which leads to acts so monstrous and unnatural.

In order to *water* with their blood the graves of the king's ancestors, and to supply them with servants of various descriptions in the other world, a number of human victims are annually sacrificed in solemn form, and this carnival is the period at which these shocking rites are publicly performed.

Scaffolds are erected outside the palace wall, and a large space fenced in round them. On these the king, with the white strangers who think proper to attend, are seated, and the ministers of state are also present in the space beneath. Into this field of blood the victims are brought in succession, with their arms pinioned, and a fetisheer, laying his hand on the devoted head, pronounces a few mystical words, when another man, standing behind, with a large scymitar severs the sufferer's head from his body, generally at a single blow, and each repetition of this savage act is proclaimed by

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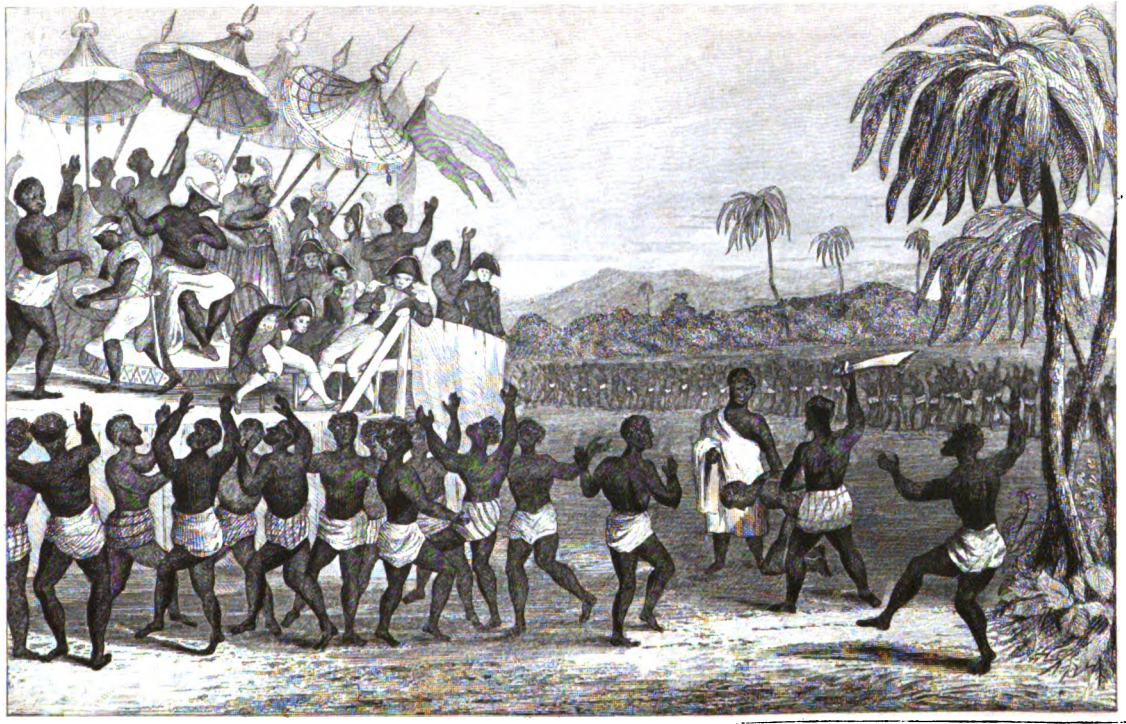

F Mansell

SACRIFICE OF VICTIMS AT DAHOMY.

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loud shouts of applause from the surrounding multitude, who affect to be highly delighted with the power and magnificence of their sovereign.

His bards, or laureats, join also at this time in bawling out his strong names, (their term for titles of honour,) and sing songs in his praise. These scenes are likewise enlivened by a number of people engaged in a savage dance round the scaffolds; should the foot of one of these performers slip, it is considered an ill omen; the unfortunate figurante is taken out of the ring, and his head instantly struck off, whilst the dance continues without interruption, as if nothing unusual had occurred.

The people thus sacrificed are generally prisoners of war, whom the king often puts aside for this purpose, several months previously to the celebration of his horrid festival; should there be any lack of these, the number is made up from the most convenient of his own subjects. The number of these victims sometimes amount to several hundred, but about seventy are the average number.

Their bodies are either thrown out into the fields, to be devoured by vultures and wild beasts, or hung by the heels in a mutilated state upon the surrounding trees, a practice exceedingly offensive in so hot a climate. The heads are piled up in a heap for the time, and afterwards disposed of in decorating the walls of the royal *simbonies*, or palaces, some of which are two miles in circumference, and often require a renewal and repair of these ornaments.

An anecdote is related of king Adahoouza, who, on a successful attack upon Badagry, having a great number of victims to sacrifice, ordered their heads to be applied to the above purpose. The person to whom the management of this business was committed, having neglected to make a proper calculation of his materials, had proceeded too far with his work, when he found that there would not be a sufficient number of skulls to adorn the whole palace; he therefore requested permission to begin the work, as the lawyers would say, *de novo*, in order that he might, by placing them farther apart, complete the design in a regular manner; but the king would by no means give his consent to this proposal, observing that he would soon find a sufficient number of Badagry heads to render the plan perfectly uniform, and learning that a hundred and twenty-

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seven were required to complete this extraordinary embellishment, he ordered that number of captives to be brought forth and slaughtered in cold blood.

On visiting the bed-chamber of Bossa Ahadee, the passage leading to it was found to be paved with human skulls. They were those of his more distinguished adversaries, captured at different times, and placed in that situation that he might nightly enjoy the savage gratification of trampling on the heads of his enemies. The top of the little wall, which surrounded this detached apartment, was adorned likewise with their jaw-bones. In some more civilized minds there is an instinctive dread on viewing the remains of a human being; but it cannot be laid to the charge of these savages, that the fear of ghosts and hobgoblins forms any part of their character.

The immolation of victims is, however, not confined to this particular period; for at any time, should it be necessary to send an account to his forefathers of any remarkable event, the king despatches a courier to the shades, by delivering his message to whomsoever may happen to be near him, and then ordering his head to be chopped off immediately; and it has not unfrequently happened, that as something new has occurred to the king's mind, another messenger, as Mr. Canning very justly observed of the postscript of a letter, has instantly followed on the same errand, perhaps in itself of the most trivial kind.

It is considered a high honour where his majesty personally condescends to become the executioner in these feats of decapitation, an office in which the king, at the time of the visit of Lander to Abomey, considered himself as a most expert proficient. The Europeans were present on one occasion, when a poor fellow, whose fear of death outweighing the sense of the honour conferred on him, on being desired by the king to carry some message to his father, who was in the shades below, humbly declared on his knees that he was ignorant of the way, on which the tyrant vociferated, "I'll show you the way," and with one blow made his head fly many yards from his body, highly indignant that there should have been the least expression of reluctance.

The performance of the annual sacrifice is considered a duty so

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sacred, that no allurement in the way of gain, no additional price which the white traders can offer for slaves, will induce the king to spare even a single victim of the established number; and he is equally inexorable with respect to the chiefs of his enemies, who are never, on any account, permitted to live if they fall into his hands.

In illustration of the above, the following narrative is highly characteristic, and serves at once to a clear exposition of the savage and relentless feelings of the uncivilized negro. In a warlike excursion towards the Mahee or Ashantee borders, an enemy's town was surprised, and a great number of the inhabitants were either killed or made prisoners; but especial care was taken that the head of the prince of that district should be sent to Abomey, and that every branch of his family should, if possible, be exterminated, for it was one which had often given the Dahomian forces a great deal of trouble. A merciless massacre, therefore, of these individuals took place, in obedience to strict injunctions to that effect; and it was believed that not one of the breed was left alive.

A youth, however, about seventeen years of age, one of the sons of the obnoxious prince, had managed to conceal his real quality, and not being pointed out, succeeded in passing among the crowd of prisoners to the Dahomian capital, where, after selecting that portion thought necessary for the ensuing sacrifices, the captors sent the remainder to Grigwee, to be sold at the factories. This young man happened to be purchased by Mr. M'Leod, and he lived thenceforth in the fort, as a sort of general rendezvous, or trunk, as it is called, for those belonging to that department.

In a short time after this transaction, it some how transpired at Abomey that there yet lived the remnant of the enemy's family, and in order to trace him out, the king fell upon a scheme, which strongly displays that species of cunning and artifice so often observed among savages.

Some of his half-heads, who may very appropriately be termed his mortal messengers, in contradistinction to the immortals sent to the shades, arrived at the fort, and, with the Coke, a stern and hard-hearted villain, who, in the absence of the yavougah, was the next caboceer, demanded admittance in the king's name, prostrating

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themselves as usual, and covering their heads with dust. On entering, they proceeded immediately to that quarter where the slaves were, and repeated the ceremony of kissing the ground before they spoke the *king's word*, that is to say, delivered his message. The Coke then made a long harangue, the purport of which was to signify the king's regret that animosity should have so long existed between him and the chief of that country which he had just despoiled, and to express his sorrow for the fate of a family, which had suffered from his displeasure, through false accounts and misrepresentations. For this reason, he was now most anxious to make every reparation in his power to a son yet remaining of that prince, and would readily re-establish him in the rank and possessions of his father, could he only find him out. Completely duped by this wile, the unsuspecting lad exultingly exclaimed, "I am the son of the prince!"—"Then," replied the Coke, with a hellish joy at having succeeded in his object, "you are just the person we want." Upon which these half-heads seized him, and began to bind his hands. Finding by this time the real state of the case, which at first it was impossible to comprehend, Mr. M'Leod strongly protested against their seizing a slave whom he had regularly purchased, and complained loudly of the insult offered to the company's fort; but all in vain. He then earnestly entreated them to offer the king his own price, or selection of goods, and to beg as a favour from Mr. M'Leod, that he might be spared, strongly urging the plea also, that, when once embarked, he would be as free from every apprehension, respecting him, as if he had killed him.

The Coke coolly replied, that Mr. M'Leod need not give himself any further trouble to make any proposals, for he dared not repeat one of them to the king; and, after an ineffectual struggle, Mr. M'Leod was at last compelled to witness, with the most painful emotion, this ill-fated youth dragged off in a state of the gloomiest despair, a despair rendered more dismal from the fallacious glimpse of returning happiness, by which he had been so cruelly entrapped.

The party not being able to obtain the slightest information respecting Mr. Dickson, retraced their steps, and rejoined Captain Clapperton in the river Benin, where they met with an English

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merchant, of the name of Houston, who advised them by no means to think of proceeding by that river, a circuitous track, and covered with pestilential swamps; and more particularly as the king bore a particular hatred to the English for their exertions in putting an end to the slave-trade, nor did he, Mr. Houston, know how far, or in what direction, that river might lead them. He recommended Badagry as the most convenient point on the coast to start from, and he offered to accompany them across the mountains to Katunga, the capital of Youriba. His offer was accepted, and Landers' journal commences with their starting from Badagry, on the 7th December. They were also attended by a Houssa black, of the name of Pascoe, who had been sent from one of the king's ships to accompany the late enterprizing traveller Belzoni, as interpreter, in his last and fatal journey.

It appears, that during their stay at Whidah, every inquiry was made after Bello and his messengers, but without the slightest success, and equally so as to Funda and Raka, names never heard of on that part of the coast. It is now known that these places are nearly two hundred miles inland, and that Raka is not even on the banks of any river, and that neither of them was then under the dominion of Bello.

Badagry, the capital of a small territory, is situated at the mouth of the Lagos river, in latitude 6° 20′, and is much frequented by the Portuguese slave-merchants, who have five factories there. Canoes being obtained, the party proceeded slowly up a branch of this river, as far as the mouth of the Gazie creek, which comes from the north-west, running through part of the kingdom of Dahomy, having its rise in the country called Keeto. They ascended this creek for about a mile and a half, and then landed on the western bank, at a place called Bawie, where a market is held for the people of Badagry and the adjacent towns. The very first night, they were guilty of a fatal imprudence. The banks of both these streams are low and covered with reeds; the soil a red clay mixed with sand; and the surrounding country is covered with forests of high trees and jungle. Not a hum of a single mosquito was to be heard. Every circumstance combined to create an atmosphere fatal to animal life, and the consequence of the unaccountable diregard of all precau-

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tion on the part of the travellers was too soon apparent. The seeds of those diseases were here sown, in the very first night of their journey, which speedily proved fatal to two of the party, and had nearly carried off the whole. How an old naval surgeon and two experienced naval officers could commit such an imprudence, in such a climate, is to us most surprising, when most dreadful consequences are well known to have almost invariably resulted from such a practice in tropical climates.

On the 9th of December, they again slept in the open air, in the market-place of Dagmoo, a large town, where they might have had as many houses as they wanted. This reckless indifference to the preservation of their health can only be accounted for on the principle, that on an expedition attended by so many difficulties and privations, it was deemed justifiable to attempt to inure the constitution to the noxious influences of the climate, and to look down with contempt upon any act which had the least tendency to effeminacy, or a scrupulous attention to personal comfort. The constitution of Clapperton was well known to have been of an iron nature; it had already withstood the pestilential climate of some parts of Soudan, in his previous travels, and, with that impression upon his mind, he regarded, perhaps, with indifference, or more likely with inattention, any effect which might arise from the marshy and swampy country through which the party travelled in the commencement of their journey. The disastrous sequel will, however, soon manifest itself.

One morning, Captain Clapperton walked forward with Mr. Houston to the town of Puka, the first place in the Youriba territory, where they were civilly received, and they were visited by one of the Eyeo war-chiefs, who came in state. He was mounted on a small horse, as were two of his attendants; the rest of the cavalcade were on foot. His dress was most grotesque, consisting of a ragged red coat, with yellow facings, and a military cap and feather, apparently Portuguese. He came curvetting and leaping his horse, until within the distance of a hundred yards, when he dismounted, and, approaching the travellers, seated himself down on the ground. Captain Clapperton, by the hand of Lander, sent him his umbrella, as a token that he wished him well, on the re-

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ceipt of which the drums were beaten, and hands were clapped and fingers cracked at a great rate. It must be observed, that the latter motion is the method of salutation practised by the natives of Dahomy and Eyeo. The chief now came up to them, capering and dancing the whole of the way, and shook them by the hand, a few of his attendants accompanying him. Lander informed us that he was not on this occasion honoured by the salute of the Eyeo chief, and he attributed it to the nigh notion which the chief entertained of his own dignity and importance, and that it would be in him an act of great condescension to notice an individual who was evidently but a subordinate, and an attendant upon his superior. He, however, did not hesitate to steal a handkerchief belonging to Lander, which perhaps he considered to be also an act of condescension in him. Like other great men, who sometimes speak a great deal, without much meaning or sense being discoverable in their oration, the Eyeo chief began his speech by saying that he was very glad that he now saw a white man, and he doubted not that white man was equally glad to see him, and then, pointing to the various parts of his dress, he said, "This cloth is not made in my country; this cap is of white man's velvet; these trousers are of white man's nankeen; this is a white man's shawl; we get all good things from white man, and we must therefore be glad when white man come to visit our country." Although not cheered at the conclusion of his speech, like other great speakers, yet, on the other hand, like them in general, he appeared to be very well satisfied with himself; and Captain Clapperton, by his demeanour, fully gave him to understand that he fully approved of the sentiments which flowed from his lips, and that they were perfectly worthy of a chief of the Eyeo nation.

The two men, who appeared next in authority to himself, were stout good-looking men, natives of Bornou; they were dressed in the fashion of that country, with blue velvet caps on their heads. Being Mahometans, they could not be prevailed on to drink spirits, but the captain and his men drank two drams.

They paid a visit to the caboceer, or chief man of the town, whom they found seated in the midst of his elders and women. He was an ancient, tall, stupid-looking man, dressed in a long silk

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tobe, or long shirt; on his head was a cap, made of small glass beads of various colours, surrounded with tassels of small gold-coloured beads, and three large coral ones in front. The cap was the best part of the man, for it was very neat; in his hand he held a fly-flapper, the handle of which was covered with beads. After a number of compliments, they were presented with goroo nuts and water. They told him of their intention to proceed to Eyeo; that they were servants of the king of England; and that they wanted carriers for themselves and baggage.

The baggage, however, had not come up from the coast, and Captain Pearce had to return to the beach and see after it. They remained here for the night, and the old caboceer, their host, sent them a present of a sheep, a basket of yams, and some firewood. But when, the next morning, application was made to him for carriers, not a single man could be obtained. After a great deal of palavering, the Eyeo captain loaded his own people. They could not procure any bearers for the hammocks, but they nevertheless set off, having only one horse, which Captain Clapperton and Mr. Houston agreed to ride alternately. The former, however, who had almost crippled himself the preceding day, with a pair of new boots, and could only wear slippers, became so galled by riding without a saddle, that he was soon reduced to walk bare-foot, and whenever he crossed an ant path, his feet felt as if on fire, these insects drawing blood from them and his ankles.

After a most toilsome and distressing march, part of which wound through thick and dark woods, the morning proved raw, cold and hazy; the travellers had nothing to eat, and when at noon they reached the town of Humba, Captain Clapperton had a slight fit of ague. On the following day, bearers were with some difficulty procured, and he was carried forward in a hammock. At Bedgie, which they reached on the 12th, Dr. Morrison became very unwell with symptoms of fever. This place stands on the banks of a river about a quarter of a mile in width, full of low swampy islands and floating reeds. On the 14th, Captain Pearce and Richard Lander were taken ill.

They had by this time reached Laboo, a town situated on a rising ground, where the country begins to undulate in hill and dale. Its

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distance from the coast is not specified, but it can hardly be so much as fifty miles, as Lagos can be reached in one day by a messenger, yet the journey had occupied the travellers no fewer than seven days. The delay seems partly to have been occasioned by the heavy baggage and stores, and by the difficulty of obtaining bearers. The Eyeo people, as they were afterwards told, are unaccustomed to carry hammocks, and they ought to have proceeded on horseback, in fact, Lander did not hesitate to express himself in rather severe terms, in regard to the manner in which the early part of the expedition was conducted; for, had the plan been adopted of making use of horses for the conveyance of the baggage, and not have allowed themselves to be delayed by the difficulty of procuring human assistance; had the whole party pressed forward to Laboo, and there attempted to recruit their strength, it is highly probable that they would have altogether escaped the poisonous effects of the miasmata.

The country thus far appears to have been an almost perfect level; in some places swampy, for the most part covered with dense forests, but partially cultivated, and very populous. Towns and villages were numerous, and everywhere on the road they were met by numbers of people, chiefly women, bearing loads of produce on their heads, always cheerful and obliging, and delighted to see white men. At Humba, the inhabitants kept up singing and dancing all night, in the true negro style, round the house allotted to the white men. Their songs were in chorus, and, as Lander expressed himself, "not unlike some church-music that I have heard."

On leaving Laboo, they were attended for some distance by the caboceer of the town, at the head of the whole population, the women singing in chorus, and holding up both hands as they passed, while groupes of people were seen kneeling down, and apparently wishing them a good journey. The road now lay over an undulating country, through plantations of millet, yams, and maize, and at three hours from Laboo, led to Jannah, which was once a walled town, but the gate and fosse are all that remain of the fortifications. It is situated on a gentle declivity, commanding an extensive prospect to the westward; to the eastward the view is interrupted by

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thick woods. The inhabitants may amount to from eight hundred to a thousand souls. The account which Lander gave us of the natives of this district was highly favourable. He had only to complain of the eternal loquacity of the women, by which he was exceedingly annoyed; in addition to which, they appeared sometimes to be highly offended because, as he was ignorant of their language, he very often committed the most extraordinary blunders, in the answers which he gave by signs, and which were wholly opposite to what they had every reason to expect, from the significant language which they made use of. The women here are, however, not much better treated than in more central Africa; not only the domestic duties are performed by them, but in all matters of industry the labour appears to be imposed upon them, whilst their husbands or owners are loitering away their time, telling unaccountable stories to each other, or sleeping under the shade of some of the beautiful trees which adorn this part of the country.

Very differently is it constituted with the canine species; for here the dog is treated with respect, and made the companion of man; here he has collars round his neck, of various colours, and ornamented with kowries; he sits by his master, and follows him in all his journeys and visits. The great man is never without one and it appeared to Lander that a boy was appointed to take care of him. In no other country in Africa is this faithful animal treated with common humanity.

The general character of the people of Eyeo appears to be good and amiable, and, as a proof of their honesty, to which all the travellers bore ample testimony, they had now travelled sixty miles in eight days, with a numerous and heavy baggage, and about ten different relays of carriers, without losing so much as the value of a shilling, public or private; a circumstance evincing not only somewhat more than common honesty in the inhabitants, but a degree of subordination and regular government, which could not have been supposed to exist among a people hitherto considered as barbarous. It appears, however, that the Eyeo captain, Adamooli, had not quite so high an opinion of their spontaneous honesty; for he told the travellers, at Puka, to keep a good look-out after their things, as the people there were great thieves.

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In some branches of the arts they possess an extraordinary skill. They are great carvers; their doors, drums, and every thing of wood being carved. In the weaving of cloth and linen they also evinced considerable skill. Eight or ten looms were seen at work in one house; in fact it was a regular manufactory. Captain Clapperton visited several cloth manufactories, and three dye-houses, with upwards of twenty vats in each, all in full work. The indigo is of excellent quality, and the cloth of a good texture; some of it very fine. The women are the dyers, the boys the weavers, the men, in general, lookers on. The loom and shuttles are on the same principle as the common English loom, but the warp is only four inches wide. They also manufacture earthen-ware, but prefer that of Europe, which they obtain from Badagry. In walking through the town, the strangers were followed by an immense crowd, but met with not a word nor a look of disrespect. The men took off their caps as they passed, and the women remained kneeling. The market was well supplied with raw cotton, cloths, oranges, limes, plantains, bananas, onions, pepper, and gums for soup, boiled yams, and acassous, a paste made of maize and wrapped in leaves.

A country finely cleared, and diversified with hill and dale, extends from Jannah to Tshow, distant two short stages. The route then again entered upon a thickly-wooded tract, with only patches of corn land, and the roads were dreadfully bad, being partially flooded by heavy rains. Captain Clapperton here caught a fresh cold, and all the patients became worse. Dr. Morrison, after being carried in a hammock as far as Tshow, finding himself grow no better, was left behind, under the charge of Mr. Houston, who was to see him safe back to the coast. He, however, expired at Jannah on the 27th. On the same day, at a town called Engwa, Captain Pearce breathed his last. On this occasion, Captain Clapperton says, "The death of Captain Pearce has caused me much concern; for, independently of his amiable qualities as a friend and companion, he was eminently fitted by his talents, perseverance, and fortitude, to be of singular service to the expedition, and on these accounts I deplore his loss, as the greatest I could have

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sustained, both as regards my private feelings and the public service.'

On the following morning, the remains of this lamented officer were interred, in the presence of all the principal people of the town. The grave was staked round by the inhabitants, and a shed built over it. An inscription was carved on a board, and placed at the head of the grave by Lander, Captain Clapperton being unable to sit up, or to assist in any manner in the mournful ceremony. Thus did Captain Clapperton see himself bereft of his comrades, and left to pursue his journey in very painful and distressing circumstances, with only Richard Lander as his servant, who stood by him in all his fortunes, and Pascoe, not a very trusty African, whom he had hired at Badagry. Two days after the interment of Captain Pearce, Mr. Houston joined Captain Clapperton from Jannah, bearing the intelligence of the death of Dr. Morrison.

These unfortunate officers had been conveyed thus far, about seventy miles, in hammocks, by the people of the country, every where experiencing the kindest attention, lodged in the best houses, and supplied with every thing that the country afforded. The fear, however, that continually preyed upon the mind of Lander was excessive; for the general appearance of Captain Clapperton indicated that he would soon join his comrades in the grave; he was able occasionally to ride on horseback, and sometimes to walk, but he was greatly debilitated, and subject to a high degree of fever. By anticipation, Lander saw himself a solitary wanderer in the interior of Africa, bereft of all those resources with which Clapperton was liberally supplied, and his only hope of deliverance resting on his being able to accomplish his return to Badagry, literally as a christian mendicant. Lander describes the country between Badagry and Jannah, the frontier town of the kingdom of Youriba, as abounding in population, well cultivated with plantations of Indian corn, different kinds of millet, yams, plantains, wherever the surface was open and free from the noxious influence of dense and unwholesome forests.

The old caboceer of Jannah was, according to the report of Lander, a merry, jocose kind of companion. On one occasion,

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when he was surrounded by a whole crowd of the natives, and was informed that the English had only one wife, they all broke out into a loud laugh, in which the women in particular joined immoderately. The vanity of this old negro almost exceeded belief; during the ceremony of the reception of Captain Clapperton and Mr. Houston, he changed his dress three different times, each time, as he thought, increasing the splendour of his appearance.

The whole court in which they were received, although very large, was filled, crowded, and crammed with people, except a place in front, where the august strangers sat, into which his highness led Captain Clapperton and Mr. Houston, in each hand, followed by Lander, who, ever and anon, first to the right, and then to the left, felt a twitch at the tail of his coat, and on looking to ascertain the cause, found it to have proceeded from the *fair* hands of a bewitching negress, who, casting upon him a look of irresistible fascination, accompanied by a smile from a pair of huge pouting lips, between which appeared a row of teeth, for which one of the toothless grannies at Almack's would have given half her dowry, seemed to be anxious of trying the experiment of how far the heart of an Englishman was susceptible of the tender passion, especially when excited by objects of such superlative beauty. It may be supposed that neither Clapperton nor Houston had as yet taken any lessons in the art and mystery of African dancing, and as to waltzing, neither of them felt any great inclination to be encircled in the arms of a negress, who, although she might be young and graceful in her attitudes, had a scent about her of stinking rancid oil, which was not very agreeable to the olfactory nerves of the delicate Europeans. However, it was the etiquette of the court, —and every court, from the Cape of Good Hope to the country of Boothia, that is, if a court were ever held in the latter place,—is cursed with the ridiculous forms of ceremony and etiquette; it must be repeated, that at the court which his highness the caboceer of Jannah, in the plenitude of his official importance, held at that place, it was a rule of etiquette, that every stranger, of whatever rank or nation, should choose for himself a partner, wherewith to dance an African fandango or bolero; and it may be easily supposed that, when the Europeans looked around them, and saw the African

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beauties squatting on their haunches, or reclining, in graceful negligence, on banks of mud, a great difficulty existed as to whom they should select to be their partners in the African quadrille. We have ourselves been in a ball-room where the beating of the female heart was almost audible, when the object of its secret attachment approached to lead out the youthful beauty to the dancing circle; and although it cannot be supposed, that, on so short an acquaintance, the heart of any beautiful negress palpitated at the approach of Captain Clapperton, Mr. Houston, or the more timid and bashful Lander, yet it was evident that the negresses, who were selected as their partners, testified their unqualified delight at the honour conferred upon them by a grin, which in a civilized country would be called a smile, but which happened to be of that extent, as if nature had furnished them with a mouth extending from ear to ear, similar to the opening of the jaws of a dogger codfish. The Taglionis and Elsters of the court were present; and although a latitude of a few degrees to the northward of the line is not exactly suitable for pirouetting and tourbillons, which, in a negress in a state of almost complete nudity, could not fail to attract the doting eyes even of the bishop of London, or of Sir Andrew Agnew, particularly on the Sabbath; yet, on this occasion, the beauties of the court attempted to outvie each other in the gracefulness of their attitudes, and the extraordinary height of their saltations. There is very little doubt but that the *tout ensemble* would have formed an excellent subject for a Cruickshanks, and particularly to take a sketch of the old black caboceer, sailing majestically around in his damask robe, with a train-bearer behind him, and every now and then turning up his old withered face, first to one of his visitors, and then to the other; then whisking round on one foot, and treading without ceremony on the shoeless foot of his perspiring partner, then marching slow, with solemn gait, like the autocrat of all the Russias in a polonnaise, then, not exactly leading gracefully down the middle, but twining the hands of his visitors in his, which had very much the appearance of a piebald affair, showing at the same time an extraordinary inflation of pride, that a white man should dance with him. But the fate of Lander was the most to be commiserated; for although it might be the etiquette of his country, that

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master and servant should not be quadrilling at the same time, yet as no such distinction existed in the court of the old caboceer of Jannah as far as the sentiments of the female beauties were concerned, poor Lander led the very devil of a life of it. He certainly, as it would have been highly unbecoming in him, did not solicit the hand of any of the expectant beauties, and therefore, giving him all due credit for his extreme bashfulness and insuperable modesty, they were determined to solicit his; he was first twirled round by one beauty, then by another; at one moment he found himself in a state of juxta position with the old caboceer; at another, his animated partner was nearly driving him into a state of positive collision with his own master; in fact he was, like Tom at Almack's, putting the whole of the dancers into confusion, from his ignorance of the intricacies of the African dance, and his total inability to compete with his partner in her gymnastic evolutions. One of the most graceful movements, according to the opinion of the natives, consists in a particular part of the body, situated, as the metaphysicians would term it, *a posteriori*, coming into contact with a similar part of the body of the partner, with as much violence as the physical strength of the female dancer can effect; and if on any of these occasions the equilibrium should be lost, and the weaker individual laid prostrate upon the ground, the laugh then sounds throughout the whole assembly, and the beauty is highly extolled, who by her prowess could have so well effected the prostration of her partner. Now it is very possible, that when a person knows of an evil coming over him, he will be so upon his guard as to prevent any disastrous consequences arising from it; but Lander not being aware that any accident could befall him from any movement of the lady who had selected him, much against his will, as her partner, was footing it away very composedly and becomingly, when a tremendous blow was inflicted on a certain part of the hinder portion of his body, which being as irresistible as if it had come from a battering-ram of the Romans, laid him prostrate on the floor, to the infinite delight of all the fashionables of the court, particularly the female part, who testified their joy by the utterance of the loudest laughs and clapping their hands in an extacy of mirth. In fact, the travellers entered into all the humours of the day, and

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thus, as Captain Clapperton expressed himself, "cheered we our old friend, and he was cheered."

The country between Tshow and Engwa, where the ground has been cleared, is described by Lander as excessively beautiful, diversified by hills and dales, a small stream running through each valley. All the towns, however, are situated in the bosom of an inaccessible wood. The approach is generally through an avenue, defended by three stockades, with narrow wicker gates, and only one entrance. Beyond Engwa, the state of the atmosphere becomes much improved, the country being clear and gradually rising, and on the high grounds, large blocks of grey granite cropped out, indicated their approach to a range of primitive mountains. The plains were covered with the female cocoa nut, and with long high grass. Walled towns occur at the end of short stages, each containing from five to ten thousand inhabitants. Those at which the travellers halted were called Afoura, Assula, Assonda, and Chocho. At Afoura, the granite formation began to show itself. Assula is surrounded with a wall and a ditch, and contains about six thousand inhabitants. At these places, the travellers were abundantly supplied with provisions, and regaled with dancing and singing the whole night, by the apparently happy natives.

On leaving the town of Chocho, the road wound through beautiful valleys, planted in many places with cotton, corn, yams, and bananas, and on the tops and hollows of the hills were perched the houses and villages of the proprietors of these plantations. At this very time, however, "a slaving war," was being carried on at only a few hours ride from the route taken by the travellers; such is the withering curse that hangs over the fairest regions of this devoted country.

The next stage from Bendekka to Duffoo, lay through mountain scenery of a still wilder character. Rugged and gigantic blocks of grey granite rose to the height of between six and seven hundred feet above the valleys, which now contracted to defiles scarcely a hundred yards in breadth, then widened to half a mile, and in one part the route crossed a wide table land. The soil is rich, but shallow, except along the fine streams of water which run through the valleys, where large tall trees were growing. The sides of

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the mountains are bare, but stunted trees and shrubs fill all the crevices. The valleys are well cultivated with cotton, corn, and yams. This cluster of hills is said to rise in the province of Borgoo, behind Ashantee, and to run through Jaboo to Benin, in a direction from W. N. W. to E. S. E. The width of the range is about eighty miles.

From a summit overlooking the town of Duffoo, a grand and beautiful view was obtained of mountains, precipices, and valleys in every direction. The top of the hill was covered with women grinding corn. This mount might be almost called a large corn mill. Here and in every other place, the king of Eyeo's wives were found trading for his majesty, and like women of the common class, carrying large loads on their heads from town to town. The town of Daffoo is said to contain a population of 15,000 souls. On leaving it the road wound between two hills, descending over rugged rocks, beneath impending masses of granite, which seemed ready to start from their base, to the destruction of all below. It continued to ascend and descend as far as the town of Woza, which stands on the edge of a table-land, gently descending, well cultivated, and watered by several streams. The stage terminated at another fortified town called Chradoo, containing upwards of seven thousand inhabitants.

On leaving this town on the following morning, they were attended by the worthy caboceer, and an immense train of men, women, and children; the women singing in chorus, whilst drums, horns, and gongs, formed a barbarous and discordant accompaniment to their agreeable voices. A difficult and dangerous road over broken rocks, and through rugged passes, where the natives were perched in groups to see the travellers pass, led in five hours to the large and populous town of Erawa. Here they were received with drums, the people as usual curious beyond measure, but very kind. The next day a mountain pass led through a thickly populous tract, to a town called Washoo, beyond which place they entered a second range of mountains, more elevated and of a more savage character, than any they had hitherto passed; they appeared as if some great convulsion of nature had thrown the immense masses of granite in wild and terrific confusion. The road through

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this mountain pass, according to the information of Lander, was grand and imposing, sometimes rising almost perpendicularly, then descending in the midst of rocks into deep dells; then winding beautifully round the side of a steep hill, the rocks above overhanging them in fearful uncertainty. In every cleft of the hills, wherever there appeared the least soil, were cottages, surrounded with small plantations of millet, yams, and plantains, giving a beautiful variety to the rude scenery. The road continued rising, hill above hill, for at least two miles, until their arrival at the large and populous town of Chaki, situated on the top of the very highest hill. On every hand, on the hills, on the rocks, and crowding on the road, the inhabitants were assembled in thousands, the women welcoming them with holding up their hands, and chanting choral songs, and the men with the usual salutations, and every demonstration of joy. The caboceer was seated on the outside of his house, surrounded by his ladies, his singing men, and singing women, his drums, fifes, and gong-gongs. He was a good-looking man, about fifty years of age, with a pleasing countenance. His house was all ready for the reception of the strangers, and he immediately procured for them a large supply of goats, sheep, and yams, pressing them strongly to stay a day or two with them. He appeared to consider them as messengers of peace, come with blessings to his king and country. Indeed a belief was very prevalent, and seems to have gone before them all the way, that they were charged with a commission to make peace wherever there was war, and to do good to every country through which they passed. The caboceer of this town indeed told them so, and said he hoped that they would be enabled to settle the war with the Nyffee people and the Fellatas, and the rebellion of the Houssa slaves, who had risen against the king of Yariba. When Lander shook hands with him, he passed his hand over the heads of his chiefs, as confirming on them a white man's blessing. He was more inquisitive and more communicative than any one whom they had yet seen. He sat until nearly midnight, talking and inquiring about England. On asking, if he would send one of his sons to see England, he rose up with alacrity, and said, he would go himself. He inquired how many wives an Englishman had.

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On being told only one, he seemed much astonished, and laughed greatly, as did all his people. "What does he do," said he, "when one of his wives has a child? our caboceer has two thousand!!"

On leaving Chaka, the caboceer escorted them several miles, attended by upwards of two hundred of his wives, *one* of whom was young and handsome. The country was now extremely beautiful, clear of wood, and partly cultivated; and a number of Fellata villages were passed, the inhabitants of which live here as they do in most other parts of Soudan, a quiet and inoffensive pastoral life, unmolested by the black natives, and not interfering with their customs.

The next stage led to Koosoo, the largest town they had yet seen, surrounded with a double wall, and containing at least twenty thousand people. This place appears to stand at the north-western termination of the granite range, the outer wall extending from some rugged hills on the S. E., to a great distance in the plain. Here the same favourable impression respecting the whites was found to prevail as at Chaki. The walls were crowded with people, and the caboceer, with his wives and head men, came forth to welcome the strangers. He was glad, he said, to see white men coming to his country, and going to see his king, adding that he never expected to see this day, and that now all the wars and bad palavers would be settled. He presented to them yams, eggs, a goat, a sheep, a fine fat turkey, and milk, and a large pig was sent by the caboceer of a neighbouring town. The country was described as being on every side full of large towns. Its aspect continued through the next stage very beautiful, and well cultivated. The route lay in a parallel line with the hills as far as the town of Yaboo, and then entered a fine plain, studded with Fellata villages, extending to Ensookosoo. At Sadooli, half an hour further, the range of hills was seen bearing from E. by S. to S. The well cultivated country continued as far as Aggidiba, but a considerable change then took place in its general aspect. The road led through a wood of low, stunted, scrubby trees, on a soil of gravel and sand, and the destructive ravages of the Fellatas now became apparent, in the half deserted towns and ruined villages. Akkibosa, the next town, was large, and surrounded inside the

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walls with an impenetrable wood. It was here that Lander again had the melancholy prospect of seeing himself a lonely wanderer in the wilds of Africa, for Captain Clapperton became worse than he had been since leaving Badagry. The pain in his side was relieved by rubbing the part with a piece of cord, after some Mallegeta pepper chewed had been applied to it. But the caboceer of Adja gave our traveller some medicine, which was far more efficacious. It tasted like lime juice and pepper, and produced nausea to such a degree, that Clapperton was unable to stand for half an hour after; he then suddenly got well, both as to the pain in his side, and a severe diarrhœa, which had troubled him for some time. The worthy caboceer, who had shown himself such an adept in practical pathology, was of the same opinion with others of his species, that a preventive is better than a remedy; but were this principle to be acted upon by the medical caboceers of the metropolis of England, we should not see them driving in their carriages from 10 A. M. to 4 P. M. to convince a set of dupes, that a few latinized words and hieroglyphics scrawled on a scrap of paper, which is to produce for them a nauseous compound of aperient drugs, are to save them from the jaws of death. Captain Clapperton was in reality ill, and therefore the application of the prescription of the scientific caboceer of Adja, was perhaps advisable, on the ground that if it did not cure it would kill, but the case was differently situated with Lander, for although his health had sustained some severe shocks, yet it was good in comparison to that of his master; but the prudent caboceer considered that although he was not then actually ill, yet the possibility, and even the probability existed that he might become so, and therefore it was determined that the same medicine should be administered to Lander, as had been done to his master. Lander, however, protested that he did not stand in need of so potent a medicine, on the other hand, the caboceer protested that he was a great fool to entertain any such an opinion, and following the practice of the celebrated Dr. Sangrado, Lander was obliged to undergo the purgatory of the caboceer's medicine, and he was ready to admit that he did not feel himself the worse for it after its effects had subsided.

The town of Adja is remarkable for an avenue of trees, with a

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creeping briar-like plant ascending to the very tops, and hanging down so as to form an impenetrable defence against every thing but a snake, and it is impossible to burn it. Leaving their medical friend, the caboceer of Adja, they proceeded to Loko, which is also a considerable walled town; and on proceeding about four miles further, they came to a groupe of three towns, one walled and two without walls, all bearing the name of Soloo.

The approach to the town of Tshow was through a beautiful valley, planted with large shady trees and bananas, having green plots and sheets of water running through the centre, where the dingy beauties of Tshow were washing their well-formed limbs, while the sheep and goats were grazing around on their verdant banks. This state of repose is stated, however, to be frequently disturbed by inroads from the neighbouring kingdom of Borgho, the natives of which are described as thieves and plunderers, and as the travellers were now close on its borders, they thought it necessary to brush up their arms.

In the evening, however, a caboceer arrived with a large escort of horse and foot from Katunga, the capital of Youriba, and having shaken hands with the travellers, immediately rubbed his whole body, that the blessing of their touch might be spread all over him. The escort was so numerous, that they ate up all the provisions of the town. Every corner was filled with them, and they kept drumming, blowing, dancing, and singing during the whole of the night.

On leaving this place, the road through which they passed was wide, though woody, and covered by men on horseback and bowmen on foot; the horsemen, armed with two or three long spears, hurrying on as fast as they could get the travellers to proceed; horns and country drums blowing and beating before and behind; some of the horsemen dressed in the most grotesque manner; others covered all over with charms. The bowmen had also their natty little hats and feathers, with the jebus, or leathern pouch, hanging by their side. These men always appeared to Captain Clapperton to be the best troops in this country and that of Soudan, on account of their lightness and activity. The horsemen, however, are but ill mounted, the animals are small and badly

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dressed; their saddles so ill secured, and the rider sits so clumsily in his seat, that any Englishman who ever rode a horse with an English saddle, would upset one of them the first charge with a long stick. The party were also attended by a great number of traders. After passing over a granite ridge, commanding a beautiful view of fine wooded valleys to the eastward, the road again crossed the Moussa, running to the Quorra, which is only three days distant.

From the brow of a hill the great capital of Eyeo opened to the view, on the opposite side of a vast plain bordered by a ridge of granite hills, and surrounded by a brilliant belt of verdure. The approach to Katunga is thus described by Clapperton: "Between us and it lay a finely cultivated valley, extending as far as the eye could reach to the westward, our view to the eastward intercepted by a high rock, broken into large blocks, with a singular top, the city lying below us, surrounded and studded with green, shady trees, forming a belt round the base of a rocky mountain of granite, about three miles in length, presenting as beautiful a view as I ever saw."

They entered the city by the north gate, accompanied by a band of music, and followed by an immense multitude of men, women, and children. After proceeding about five miles through the city, they reached the residence of the king, who received them seated under a verandah; the insignia of his state being two red and blue cloth umbrellas, supported by large poles held by slaves. He was dressed in a white tobe over another of blue; round his neck was a collar of large beads of blue stone, and on his head the imitation of a European crown in pasteboard, covered with blue cotton. The king's people had some difficulty in clearing the way for the strangers through the crowd, and sticks and whips were freely used, though generally in a good-natured manner. When they had at last got as far as the umbrellas, the space was all clear. The chiefs were observed to be holding a parley with the king, which Clapperton conjectured to relate to his being desired to perform the usual ceremony of prostration. On this, Captain Clapperton told them, that the only ceremony he would submit to was that of an English salute; that he would take off his hat, make a bow, and shake hands

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with his majesty, if he pleased. The ceremony of prostration is required from all. The chiefs, who come to pay their court, cover themselves with dust, and then fall flat on their bellies, having first practised the ceremony, in order to be perfect, before a large fat eunuch. It is also the court etiquette to appear in a loose cloth, tied under one arm; no tobes, no beads, no coral, nor grandeur of any kind, must appear, but on the king alone. In many points of the ceremonial, in the umbrellas, the prostrations, the sticks and whips so good-naturedly inflicted on the crowd, and the extraordinary politeness practised by these people to each other, we have a singular approximation to the customs of the celestial empire. The theatrical entertainments, too, which are acted before the king, are quite as amusing, and almost as refined, as any which his celestial majesty can command to be exhibited before a foreign ambassador. The king of Youriba made a point of the travellers staying to witness one of these theatrical entertainments. It was exhibited in the king's park, in a square place, surrounded by clumps of trees. The first performance was that of a number of men dancing and tumbling about in sacks, having their heads fantastically decorated with strips of rags, damask silk, and cotton of variegated colours, and they performed to admiration. The second exhibition was hunting the boa snake by the men in the sacks. The huge snake, it seems, went through the motions of this kind of reptile in a very natural manner, though it appeared to be rather full in the belly, opening and shutting its mouth in the most natural manner imaginable. A running fight ensued, which lasted some time, till at length the chief of the bagmen contrived to scotch its tail with a tremendous sword, when he gasped, twisted up, and seemed in great torture, endeavouring to bite his assailants, who hoisted him on their shoulders, and bore him off in triumph. The festivities of the day concluded with the exhibition of the *white devil*, which had the appearance of a human figure in white wax, looking miserably thin, and as if starved with cold, taking snuff, rubbing its hands, treading the ground as if tender-footed, and evidently meant to burlesque and ridicule a white man, while his sable majesty frequently appealed to Clapperton, whether it was not well performed. After this, the

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king's women sang in chorus, and were accompanied by the whole crowd.

The method of salutation is very singular. The king, for instance, on saluting Captain Clapperton, lifted up his hands three times, repeating, "Ako! ako!" (How do you do?) the women behind him standing up and cheering them, and the men on the outside joined. It was impossible to count the number of his ladies, they were so densely packed, and so very numerous.

In a private visit subsequently paid to the travellers, the king assured them that they were truly welcome; that he had frequently heard of white men; but that neither himself nor his father, nor any of his ancestors, had ever seen one. He was glad that white men had come at this time, and now, he trusted, his country would be put right, his enemies brought to submission, and he would be enabled to build up his father's house, which the war had destroyed.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

THE city of Eyeo, in Houssa language, Katungu, the capital of Youriba, is situated in latitude 8° 59′ N., longitude 6° 12 E. It is built on the sloping side and round the base of a small range of granite hills, which, as it were, forms the citadel of the town. They are formed of stupendous blocks of grey granite of the softest kind, some of which are seen hanging from the summits in the most frightful manner, while others, resting on very small bases, appear as if the least touch would send them down into the valley beneath. The soil on which the town is built is formed of clay and gravel, mixed with sand, which has obviously been produced from the crumbling granite. The appearance of these hills is that of a mass of rocks left bare by the tide. A belt of thick wood runs round the walls, which are built of clay, and about twenty feet high, and surrounded by a dry ditch. There are ten gates in the walls, which are about fifteen miles in circumference, of an oval shape, about four miles in diameter one way, and six miles the other; the south end leaning against the rocky hills, and forming an inaccessible barrier in that quarter. The king's houses, and those of his women, occupy about a square mile, and are on the south side of the hills, having two large parks, one in front and another facing the north; they are all built of clay, and have thatched roofs, similar to those nearer the coast. The posts supporting the verandahs and the doors of the king's or caboceer's houses are ge-

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nerally carved in bas relief, with figures representing the boa killing an antelope or a hog, or with processions of warriors attended by drummers. The latter are by no means meanly executed, conveying the expression and attitude of the principal man in the groupe with a lofty air, and the drummer well pleased with his own music, or rather deafening noise. There are seven different markets, which are held every evening, being generally opened about three or four o'clock. The chief articles exposed for sale are yams, corn, calavances, plantains and bananas, vegetable butter, seeds of the colocynth, which form a great article of food, sweetmeats, goats, sheep, and lambs, also cloth of the manufacture of the country, and their various instruments of agriculture. The price of a small goat is from 1,500 to 2,000 kowries; 2,000 kowries being equal to a Spanish dollar; a large sheep, 3,000 to 5,000; a cow, from 20,000 to 30,000; a horse, 80,000 to 100,000; a prime human being, as a slave, 40,000 to 60,000, about half the price of a horse!

The kingdom of Youriba extends from Puka, within five miles of the coast to about the parallel of 10° N., being bounded by Dahomy on the north-west, Ketto and the Maha countries on the north, Borgoo on the north-east, the Quorra to the east, Accoura, a province of Benin, to the south-east, and Jaboo to the south-west. These are the positions of the neighbouring countries, as given by Lander, although it is difficult to reconcile them with the map; Borgoo seems rather to be north-east, Dahomy west and south-west, Jaboo and Benin south-east. If Badagry be included in Youriba, the southern boundary will be the Bight of Benin.

Dahomy, Alladah, Maha, and Badagry were claimed as tributaries; and the king of Benin was referred to as an ally. The government is an hereditary despotism, every subject being the slave of the king; but its administration appears to have been for a long period mild and humane. When the king was asked, whether the customs of Youriba involved the same human sacrifices as those of Dahomy, his majesty shook his head, shrugged up his shoulders, and exclaimed, "No, no! no king of Youriba could sacrifice human beings." He added, but probably without sufficient grounds for the vaunt, that, if he so commanded, the king of Dahomy must also desist from the practice; that he must obey him. It is, how-

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ever, stated, on the authority of Lander, that when a king of Youriba dies, the ca oceer of Jannah, three other head caboceers, four women, and a great many favourite slaves and women, are obliged to swallow poison, given by fetish men in a parrot's egg; should this not take effect, the person is provided with a rope to hang himself in his own house. No public sacrifices are used, at least no human sacrifices, and no one was allowed to die at the death of the last king, as he did not die a natural death, having been murdered by one of his own sons, though the religion of the people of Youriba, as far as it could be comprehended by the travellers, consisted in the worship of one God, to whom they also sacrifice horses, cows, goats, sheep, and fowls. At the yearly feast, all these animals are sacrificed at the fetish-house, in which a little of the blood is spilled on the ground. The whole of them are then cooked and the king and all the people, men and women attending, partake of the meat, drinking copiously of pitto (the country ale). It is stated, moreover, that it depends on the will of the fetish-man, or priest, whether a human being or a cow or other animal is to be sacrificed. If a human being, it is always a criminal, and only one. The usual spot where the feast takes place is a large open field before the king's houses, under wide-spreading trees, where there are two or three fetish houses.

The usual mode of burying the dead in this country is, to dig a deep narrow hole, in which the corpse is deposited in a sitting posture, the elbows between the knees. A poor person is interred without any ceremony; in honour of a rich man, guns are fired, and rum is drunk over his grave, and afterwards in the house by his friends and retainers. At the celebration of a marriage, pitto is circulated freely amongst the guests. Wives are bought, and according to the circumstances of the bridegroom, so is the price. The first question asked by every caboceer and great man was, how many wives the king of England had, being prepared, it should seem, to measure his greatness by that standard; but when they were told that he had only one, (and, if they had felt disposed, they might have extended their information, by telling the inquirers that she was too much for him,) they gave themselves up to a long and ungovernable fit of laughter, followed by expressions of pity

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and wonder how he could possibly exist in that destitute condition. The king of Youriba's boast was, that his wives, linked hand-in-hand, would reach entirely across the kingdom. Queens, however, in Africa, are applied to various uses, although in some countries at some distance to the northward, it is a difficult question to solve, whether they be of any use at all, except for the purpose of entailing an extraordinary expense upon the people, who have to labour hard for the support of the royal appendage, which is generally imported from a neighbouring country, where pride, pauperism, and pomposity are particularly conspicuous. It would be well for an admirer of queenship to take a trip to Eyeo, to see to what uses queens can be applied; for there they are formed into a body-guard, and their majesties were observed, in every part of the kingdom, acting as porters, and bearing on their heads enormous burdens, in which they again differ from the queens of the more northern countries, where, fortunately for the natives of it, they never *bear* at all. The queens of Eyeo are, to all intents and purposes, slaves, and so are also other queens; but then they are slaves to foolish and ridiculous customs, to stiff starched etiquette, and to ceremonies degrading to a rational being.

The Eyeos, like other nations purely negro, are wholly unacquainted with letters, or any form of writing; these are known only to the Arabs or Fellatahs, who penetrate thither in small numbers; yet they have a great deal of popular poetry. Every great man has bands of singers of both sexes, who constantly attend him, and loudly celebrate his achievements in extemporary poems. The convivial meetings of the people, even their labours and journeys, are cheered by songs composed for the occasion, and chanted often with considerable taste.

The military force of the kingdom consists of the caboceers and their immediate retainers, which upon an average may be about one hundred and fifty each, a force formidable enough when called out upon any predatory excursion, but which would seem to be inadequate to the defence of the territory, against the encroachments or inroads of the Fellatahs, and other more warlike tribes. It was supposed by Captain Clapperton that the army may be as numerous as that of any of the kingdoms of Africa. No conjecture

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was offered as to the total population, but nearly fifty towns occurred in the line of route, each containing from six to seven thousand, and some fifteen to twenty thousand souls, and from the crowds on the roads, the population must be very considerable.

The Youribanies struck the travellers as having less of the characteristic features of the negro, than any other African race which they had seen. Their lips are less thick, and their noses more inclined to the aquiline shape than negroes in general. The men are well made, and have an independent carriage. The women are almost invariably of a more ordinary appearance than the men, owing to their being more exposed to the sun, and to the drudgery they are obliged to undergo, all the labours of the land devolving upon them. The cotton plant and indigo are cultivated to a considerable extent, and they manufacture the wool of their sheep into good cloth, which is bartered with the people of the coast for rum, tobacco, European cloth, and other articles. The medium of exchange throughout the interior is the kowry shell, the estimated value of which has been already given. Slaves, however, form the chief article of commerce with the coast. A prime slave at Jannah is worth, sterling money, from three to four pounds, according to the value set on the articles of barter. Domestic slaves are never sold, except for misconduct. His majesty was much astonished at learning that there are no slaves in England. Upon the whole, the Youribanies appeared to be a gentle and a kind people, affectionate to their wives and children, and to one another, and under a mild, although a despotic government.

Among the domestic animals of this country, there are horses of a very small breed, but these are scarce. The horned cattle are also small near the coast, but on approaching the capital, they are seen as large as those in England; many of them have humps on their shoulders, like those of Abyssinia. They have also sheep, both of the common species, and of the African kind; hogs, muscovy ducks, fowls, pigeons, and a few turkeys. "The people of Youriba," says Lander, "are not very delicate in the choice of their food; they eat frogs, monkeys, dogs, cats, rats, mice, and various other kinds of vermin. A fat dog will always fetch a better price than a goat. Locusts and black ants, just as they are able to take

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wing, are a great luxury. Caterpillars are also held in very high estimation, they are stewed and eaten with yams and *tuah*. Ants and locusts are fried in butter." This statement of Lander, as far as regards the dog, is somewhat at variance with the compliment paid to the Youribanies, for their treatment of that faithful animal.

The hyena and the leopard are said to be very common, and the lion is found in some parts, but monkeys were the only wild animals seen by the travellers.

Although Clapperton and Lander remained at Katunga from January 23rd to March 7th, and the mysterious Quorra was not more than thirty miles distant to the eastward, he was not able to prevail upon the king to allow him to visit it, but was always put off with some frivolous excuse, and in these excuses, the old gentleman appears to have been as cunning and as cautious as a Chinese mandarin; observing at one time that the road was not safe; at another, that the Fellatas had possession of the country, and what would the king of England say if any thing should happen to his guest. The greatest difficulty was experienced in getting away from Katunga, for his majesty could not or would not comprehend why he should be in any hurry to depart, and by way of an inducement, but which secretly might have a very opposite effect to that which was intended, Clapperton and Lander were both offered any wife they chose to select from his stock, and if one were not sufficient, five or six might be selected; for himself he had plenty, although he could not exactly tell their number, but if Clapperton would stop, the experiment should be tried, of how far they would reach hand to hand; even this gracious offer appeared to have no influence upon the obstinate disposition of Clapperton, he was determined to leave Katunga and reach Bornou before the rains set in, but the king was equally determined that he should not carry his project into execution, for, like all the other African princes, he seemed disposed to make a monopoly of the strangers who entered his territory. His majesty hinted that one journey was well and fully employed in seeing the kingdom of Youriba, and paying the required homage to its potent monarch.

It is curious how etiquette forms a part of every court, from a latitude of 52° north, to one almost immediately under the equator,

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and it must be admitted that if a school of instruction were established at the former one, wherein the debutants might perfect themselves in their various gestures and attitudes, we should not behold such a number of awkward louts, and johnny raw's, as exhibit themselves at the levee room of the king of the Guelphs. In the capital of Eyeo, it is the custom of the court, for the monarch to hold a levee twice a day, at six in the morning, and two in the afternoon; rather hot work for the courtiers, perspiring in a temperature of about 120°. The son of a Highland clansman, or of an Irish bogtrotter, is ushered into the presence of his sovereign with very little preliminary instruction; not so however with the more refined and polished court of Katunga. There, before the legitimate or illegitimate sons of royalty and nobility, or even of the plebeians are introduced to the king, they are required to wait upon the chief eunuch, a kind of African lord chamberlain, and before whom they are required to practise their prostrations and genuflexions, so as not to commit themselves in the presence of their august monarch. The finished courtier at the court of the Guelphs, is known by the grace with which he seizes the hand of royalty, to imprint upon it a slobbering kiss; and the caboceer at the court of Katunga, is known by the grace with which he covers himself with dust, and the intensity of his homage is estimated according to the quantity of the article which he throws over himself. It must have been a delectable treat for the Europeans to have been present at one of these academies of court etiquette, where the old and young were practising their prostrations before the ugly antiquated eunuch, and who hesitated not to give his pupils a kick, when any of them evinced an extraordinary awkwardness in their attitudes. During the whole of the time that the prostrations were practising, the attendants were dancing in a circle, with now and then the interlude of a minuet by one of the performers, in the course of which he would frequently throw a somerset, as expert as old Grimaldi, and all this under a burning tropical sun. These caboceers were dressed in robes of leopard skin, hung round with tassels and chains, and in a short time afterwards about twenty of them, in all their dirt and debasement, stretched at full length before the king, stripped to the

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waist, and vying with each other, which should have the most dust, and kiss the ground with the greatest fervour. When any one speaks to the king, it must be addressed to him through the eunuch, who is prostrated by the side of his master.

On the 7th March, the travellers resumed their journey into the interior, and retracing their steps to Tshow, reached at noon the next day, the town of Algi, which was just rising from its ruins after the Fellata, inroad of the preceding year. All the intermediate villages had shared the same fate. Algi, according to the information received, no longer belonged to Youriba, but to the sultan of Kiama. It comprised three small villages, and before it was burnt down had been of considerable size. These marauders have a singular mode of setting fire to walled towns, by fastening combustibles to the tails of pigeons, which, on being loosed, fly to the tops of the thatched houses, while the assailants keep up a sharp fire of arrows, to prevent the inhabitants from extinguishing the flames.

On the 11th, the travellers once more crossed the Moussa, which formerly divided the kingdoms of Youriba and Borgoo. It was now dry in a great many places, with a very rocky bed; when full, it is about thirty yards in breadth, and flows with a very strong current. On the other side, the road to Kiama lay through a flat country, thickly wooded with fine trees, and inhabited by large antelopes. These creatures are the most lively, graceful, and beautifully proportioned of the brute creation. Wherever known, they have attracted the attention and admiration of mankind from the earliest ages, and the beauty of their dark and lustrous eyes affords a frequent theme to the poetical imaginings of the eastern poets. The antelopes seen by Lander are by the Dutch called springbok, and inhabit the great plains of central Africa, and assemble in vast flocks during their migratory movements. These migrations, which are said to take place in their most numerous form only at the intervals of several years, appear to come from the north-east, and in masses of many thousands, devouring, like locusts, every green herb. The lion has been seen to migrate, and walk in the midst of the compressed phalanx, with only as much space between him and his victims as the fears of those immediately round could pro-

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cure by pressing outwards. The foremost of these vast columns are fat, and the rear exceedingly lean, while the direction continues one way; but with the change of the monsoon, when they return towards the north, the rear become the leaders, fattening in their turn, and leaving the others to starve, and to be devoured by the numerous rapacious animals, who follow their march. At all times, when impelled by fear, either of the hunter or beasts of prey darting amongst the flocks, but principally when the herds are assembled in countless multitudes, so that an alarm cannot spread rapidly and open the means of flight, they are pressed against each other, and their anxiety to escape compels them to bound up in the air, showing at the same time the white spot on the croup, dilated by the effort, and closing again in their descent, and producing that beautiful effect from which they have obtained the name of the springer or springbok.

Early on the 13th, the travellers were met by an escort from the chief of Kiama, the capital of a district of the same name, and containing thirty thousand inhabitants. Kiama, Wawa, Niki, and Boussa are provinces composing the kingdom of Borgoo, all subject, in a certain sense, to the sovereign of Boussa; but the different cities plunder and make war on each other, without the slightest regard to the supreme authority. The people of Kiama and of Borgoo in general have the reputation of being the greatest thieves and robbers in all Africa, a character which nothing in their actual conduct appeared to confirm. The escort were mounted on beautiful horses, and forming as fine and wild a looking troop as the travellers had ever seen.

By sultan Yarro himself the travellers were well received. He was found seated at the porch of his door, dressed in a white tobe, with a red moorish cap on his head, attended by a mob of people, all lying prostrate, and talking to him in that posture. He shook hands with Captain Clapperton, and after telling him who he was, and where he wished to go, he said, "Very well; I have assigned a house for you; you had better go and rest from the fatigues of your journey; a proper supply of provisions shall be sent you." The travellers took their leave, and repaired to the house prepared for them, which consisted of three large huts inside a square; they

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had not been long there, when a present arrived from Yarro, consisting of milk, eggs, bananas, fried cheese, curds, and foofoo. The latter is the common food of both rich and poor in Youriba, and is of two kinds, white and black. The former is merely a paste made of boiled yams, formed into balls of about one pound each. The black is a more elaborate preparation from the flour of yams. In the evening, Yarro paid the travellers a visit. He came mounted on a beautiful red roan, attended by a number of armed men on horseback and on foot, and six young female slaves, naked as they were born, except a fillet of narrow white cloth tied round their heads, about six inches of the ends flying out behind, each carrying a light spear in the right hand. He was dressed in a red silk damask tobe, and booted. He dismounted and came into the house, attended by the six girls, who laid down their spears, and put a blue cloth round their waists, before they entered the door. After a short conference, in which he promised the travellers all the assistance they solicited, sultan Yarro mounted his horse; the young spear-women resumed their spears, laying aside the incumbrance of their aprons, and away they went, the most extraordinary cavalcade, which the travellers had ever witnessed. Their light form, the vivacity of their eyes, and the ease with which they appeared to fly over the ground, made these female pages appear something more than mortal, as they flew alongside of his horse, when he was galloping, and making his horse curvet and bound. A man with an immense bundle of spears remained behind, at a little distance, apparently to serve as a magazine for the girls to be supplied from, when their master had expended those they carried in their hands.

Here, as in other large towns, there were music and dancing the whole of the night. Men's wives and maidens all join in the song and dance, Mahommedans as well as pagans; female chastity was very little regarded.

Kiama is a straggling, ill-built town, of circular thatched huts, built, as well as the town-wall, of clay. It stands in latitude 9° 37′ 33″ N., longitude 5° 22′ 56″, and is one of the towns through which the Houssa and Bornou caravan passes in its way to Gonga, on the borders of Ashantee. Both the city and provinces are, as frequently happens in Africa, called after the chief Yarro, whose

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name signifies the boy. The inhabitants are pagans of an easy faith, never praying but when they are sick or in want of something, and cursing their object of worship as fancy serves. The Houssa slaves among them are Mahommedans, and are allowed to worship in their own way. It is enough to call a man a native of Borgoo, to designate him as a thief and a murderer.

Sultan Yarro was a most accommodating personage, he sent his principal queen to visit Captain Clapperton, but she had lost both her youth and her charms. Yarro then inquired of Captain Clapperton, if he would take his daughter for a wife; to which Clapperton answered in the affirmative, thanking the sultan at the same time for his most gracious present. On this, the old woman went out, and Clapperton followed with the king's head-man, Abubecker, to the house of the daughter, which consisted of several coozies, separate from those of the father, and was shown into a very clean one; a mat was spread, he sat down, and the lady coming in and kneeling down, Clapperton asked her, if she would live in his house, or if he should come and live with her; she answered, whatever way he wished. "Very well," replied Clapperton, "as you have the best house, I will come and live with you." The bargain was concluded, and the daughter of the sultan was, *pro tempore*, the wife of the gallant captain.

On the 18th, the travellers took their leave of sultan Yarro and his capital, and the fourth day reached Wawa, another territorial capital, built in the form of a square, and containing from eighteen to twenty thousand inhabitants. It is surrounded with a good high clay wall and dry ditch, and is one of the neatest, most compact, and best walled towns that had yet been seen. The streets are spacious and dry; the houses are of the coozie form, consisting of circular huts connected by a wall, opening into an interior area. The governor's house is surrounded with a clay wall, about thirty feet high, having large coozies, shady trees, and square towers inside. Unlike their neighbours of Kiama, they bear a good character for honesty, though not for sobriety or chastity, virtues wholly unknown at Wawa; but they are merry, good natured, and hospitable. They profess to be descended from the people of Nyffee

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and Houssa, but their language is a dialect of the Youribanee; their religion is a mongrel mahommedism grafted upon paganism. Their women are much better looking than those of Youriba, and the men are well made, but have a debauched look; in fact, Lander says, he never was in a place where drunkenness was so general. They appeared to have plenty of the necessaries of life, and a great many luxuries. Their fruits are limes, plantains, bananas, and several wild fruits; their vegetables, yams and *calalow*, a plant, the leaves of which are used in soup as cabbage; and their grain are dhourra and maize. Fish they procure in great quantities from the Quorra and its tributaries, chiefly a sort of cat-fish. Oxen are in great plenty, principally in the hands of the Fellatas, also sheep and goats, poultry, honey, and wax. Ivory and ostrich feathers, they said, were to be procured in great plenty, but there was no market for them.

It was at this place that Clapperton had nearly, though innocently, got into a scrape with the old governor by coquetting with a young and buxom widow, and, in fact, Lander himself experienced some difficulty in withstanding the amorous attack of this African beauty; for she acted upon the principle, that, as she could not succeed with the master, there was no obstacle existing that she knew of, to prevent her directing the battery of her fine black sparkling eyes against the servant.

"I had a visit," says Clapperton, "amongst the number, from the daughter of an Arab, who was very fair, called herself a white woman, was a rich widow, and wanted a white husband. She was said to be the richest person in Wawa, having the best house in the town, and a thousand slaves." She showed a particular regard for Richard Lander, who was younger and better-looking than Clapperton; but she had passed her twentieth year, was fat, and a perfect Turkish beauty, just like a huge walking water-butt. All her arts were, however, unavailing on the heart of Lander; she could not induce him to visit her at her house, although he had the permission of his master.

This gay widow appeared by no means disposed to waste any time by making regular approaches, like those by which widow

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Wadman undermined the outworks, and then the citadel of the unsuspecting uncle Toby, but she was determined at once to carry the object of her attack by storm.

The widow Zuma attempted in the first place to ingratiate herself with the Europeans, by sending them hot provisions every day in abundance, during their stay at Wawa. She calculated very justly, that gratitude is the parent of love, and therefore imagined that as the Europeans could not be otherwise than grateful to her, for the delicacies, with which she so liberally supplied them, it would soon follow as a natural consequence, that their hearts would overflow with love; at all events it was not to be supposed, that both master and man could remain callous to the potency of her corporeal charms. Finding, however, that the hearts of the Europeans were much like the rocks of her native land, perfectly impenetrable, she had recourse to another stratagem, which is generally attended with success. In the enlightened and civilized country of Europe, or at least in that part of it called England, it is by no means an obsolete custom, for an individual, who wishes to ingratiate himself with the object of his affections, to bestow a valuable present on the waiting woman or abigail, who is a great deal about her person, and the eulogiums which she then passes upon the absent lover, are great and exuberant in proportion to the extent of the bribe. A female, whoever she may be, whether a Middlesex virgin, or a Wawa widow, delights not only to have some one to whom she can speak of the object of her attachment, but who will be continually speaking to her of him, and as it appears that the female character is very nearly the same in the interior of Africa, as in the latitude of London, it is by no means a matter of surprise, that the amorous widow enlisted Pascoe, the black servant of Clapperton, in her cause, by offering him in the way of a bribe, a handsome female slave as a wife, if he would manage to bring about an interview at her own house, between either Clapperton or Lander, expressing herself at the same time not to be very particular as to which of the two this interview was obtained with. Clapperton it appears had greater confidence in himself than Lander could boast of, and the former considering himself proof against all the arts and fascinations of the widow,

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and wishing at the same time to see the interior arrangement of her house, he determined to pay her a visit. He found her house large, and full of male and female slaves, the males lying about the outer huts, the females more in the interior. In the centre of the huts was a square one, of large dimensions, surrounded by a verandah, with screens of matting all round, except in one place, where there was hung a tanned bullock's hide; to this spot he was led up, and on its being drawn on one side, he saw the lady sitting cross-legged on a small Turkey carpet, like one of our hearth-rugs, a large leathern cushion under her left knee; her goora pot, which was an old-fashioned pewter mug, by her side, and a calabash of water to wash her mouth out, as she alternately kept eating goora and chewing tobacco snuff, the custom with all ranks, male and female, who can procure them; on her right side lay a whip. At a little distance, squatted on the ground, sat a dwarfish, humpbacked female slave, with a wide mouth, but good eyes. She had no clothing on, with the exception of a profusion of strings of beads and coral round her neck and waist. This dwarfish personage served the purpose of a bell in our country, and what, it may be supposed, would in old times have been called a page. The lady herself was dressed in a white coarse muslin turban, her neck profusely decorated with necklaces of coral and gold chains, amongst which was one of rubies and gold beads; her eyebrows and eyelashes were blackened, her hair dyed with indigo, and her hands and feet with henna; around her body she had a fine striped silk and cotton country cloth, which came as high as her tremendous bosom, and reached as low as her ankles; in her right hand she held a fan made of stained grass, and of a square form. She desired Clapperton to sit down on the carpet beside her, an invitation which he accepted, and in an alluring manner she began to fan him, at the same time sending humpback to bring out her finery for him to look at, which consisted of four gold bracelets, two large paper dressing-cases with looking-glasses, and several strings of coral, silver rings, and bracelets, with a number of other trifling articles. After a number of compliments, and giving her favoured visiter an account of all her wealth, he was led through one apartment into another, cool, clean, and ornamented with pewter dishes and

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bright brass pans. She now entered into the history of her private life, commencing with bewailing the death of her husband, who had now been dead ten years, during all of which time she had mourned after him excessively. She had one son, the issue of her marriage, but he was much darker than herself. With a frankness perfectly commendable in an African widow, and wholly at variance with the hypocritical and counterfeit bashfulness of the English one, the widow Zuma at once exposed the situation of her heart, by declaring that she sincerely loved white men, and as her visiter belonged to that species, he saw himself at once the object of her affections, and the envy of all the aspiring young bachelors of the town, who had been for some time directing a vigorous attack against the widow's heart. The denouement of an English courtship is frequently distinguished by an elopement; but although it was the last of Clapperton's thoughts to run away with such an unwieldy mass of human flesh, yet she very delicately proposed to him, that she would send for a malem, or man of learning, who should read the fetah to them, or, in other words, that no time whatever should be lost in endowing the widow Zuma with all claim, right, title, and privilege to be introduced at the court of Wawa, or any other court in Africa, or even at that time at the virtuous and formal court of queen Charlotte of England, as the spouse of Captain Clapperton, of the royal navy of Great Britain.

Clapperton was now convinced that the widow was beginning to carry the joke a little too far, for she assured him, that she should commence immediately to pack up all her property, and accompany him to his native country, assuring him, at the same time, that she felt within herself every requisite qualification to make him a good, *active*, and affectionate wife. Clapperton, however, was by no means disposed to enter so suddenly into a matrimonial speculation, and he began to look rather serious at the offer which was so unexpectedly, but so lovingly made to him. This being observed by the widow, she sent for her looking-glass, and after having taken a full examination of herself, in every position which the glass would allow her, she offered it to Clapperton, observing, that certainly she was a little older than he was, but that circumstance,

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in her opinion, should not operate as a bar to their matrimonial union. This was rather too much for Clapperton to endure, and, taking the first opportunity, he made his retreat with all possible expedition, determining never to come to such close quarters again with the amorous widow.

On his arrival at his residence, Clapperton could not refrain from laughing at his adventure with the African widow, and informed Lander, that he had now an opportunity of establishing himself for life; for although he had rejected the matrimonial advances of the widow, there was little doubt, that, rather than not obtain a husband, she would not hesitate to make the offer of her hand to any other white man, who might present himself. Lander, however, was still more averse from matrimony than his master, at least with the African beauty; and although a frequent invitation was sent to him, yet he very politely declined the acceptance of it, and therefore, as far as the Europeans were concerned, the widow remained without a husband.

Lander gives us no very flattering account of the character of the inhabitants. In the town of Wawa, which is supposed to contain 20,000 inhabitants, he does not believe the virtue of chastity to exist. Even the widow Zuma let out her female slaves for hire, like the rest of the people of the town. Drinking is the prevailing vice amongst all classes, nor is it confined to the male sex, for Clapperton was for three or four days pestered by the governor's daughter, who used to come several times during the day, painted and bedizened in the highest style of Wawa fasion, but she was always half tipsy. This lady, like the widow, had also a design upon the hearts of the Europeans. On some of these occasions, she expressed her extreme readiness to prolong her visit during the whole of the night, but Clapperton informed her, that at night he was employed in prayer, and looking at the stars, an occupation which she could not comprehend; and further he told her, that he never drank any thing stronger than *wa-in-safir*, a name which they give to tea, literally, however, being hot water. Not being able to soften the obdurate heart of Clapperton, nor to wean him from the unsociable habit of looking at the stars at night, she always left him with a flood of tears.

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In this part of Borgoo, as well as in the neighbourhood of Algi, and in all the countries between them and the sea, that Lander passed through, he met with tribes of Fellatas, nearly white, who are not moslem, but pagan. "They are certainly," he says, "the same people, as they speak the same language, and have the same features and colour, except those who have crossed with the negro. They are as fair as the lower class of Portuguese or Spaniards, lead a pastoral life, shifting from place to place as they find grass for their horned cattle, and live in temporary huts of reeds or long grass."

From Wawa there are two roads leading to the Fellata country; one by Youri, the other through Nyffee. The former was reported to be unsafe, the sultan of the country being out, fighting the Fellatas. The latter crosses the Quorra at Comie, and runs direct to Koolfu, in Nyffee. It was necessary, however, for Clapperton to proceed in the first instance to Boussa, to visit its sultan, to whom all this part of Borgoo is nominally subject. They were also particularly anxious to see the spot where Park and his companions perished, and, if possible, to recover their papers.

Leaving Wawa at daybreak on the 30th March, the travellers passed over a woody country, and at length entered a range of low rocky hills, composed of pudding stone. At the end of an opening in the range was a beautiful sugar loaf mountain, overlooking all the rest, and bearing from the village half a mile E. S. E. The name of Mount George was given to it by Clapperton. The valleys were cultivated with yams, corn, and maize; and on the same day the travellers arrived at Ingum, the first village belonging to Boussa, situated on the north-eastern side of the hills. At four hours from Ingum, they halted at a village of the Cumbrie or Cambrie, an aboriginal race of kaffirs, inhabiting the woods on both sides of the river. About an hour further, they arrived at the ferry over the Menai, where it falls into another branch of the Quorra, and in about a quarter of an hour's ride from the opposite bank, they entered the western gate of Boussa. The walls, which appeared very extensive, were undergoing repair. Bands of male and female slaves, singing in chorus, accompanied by a band of drums and flutes, were passing to and from

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the river, to mix the clay they were building with. Every great man had his own part of the wall to build, like the Jews when they built the walls of Jerusalem, every one opposite to his own house.

The city of Boussa is situated on an island formed by the Quorra, in latitude 10° 14′ N. longitude 6° 1′′ E. It stands nearest the westernmost branch of the Menai, which is about twenty yards in breadth, and runs with a slow and sluggish current. The place pointed out to Lander as the spot where Park perished, is in the eastern channel. A low flat island about a quarter of a mile in breadth, lies between the town of Boussa and the fatal spot, which is in a line from the sultan's house with a double trunked tree, with white bark, standing singly on the low flat island. The bank, at the time of Lander's visit, was only ten feet above the level of the stream, which here breaks over a great slate rock, extending quite across to the eastern shore, which rises into gentle hills of grey slate, thinly scattered with trees.

The following statement of the circumstances attending the lamented fate of Mr. Park, was given to the travellers by an eye-witness, and together with all the information which they could collect, tallies with the story, disbelieved at the time, which Isaaco brought back from Amadi Fatooma. The informant stated, "that when the boat came down the river, it happened unfortunately just at the time that the Fellatas had risen in arms, and were ravaging Goober and Zamfra; that the sultan of Boussa, on hearing that the persons in the boat were white men, and that it was different from any that had ever been seen before, as she had a house at one end, called his people together from the neighbouring towns, attacked and killed them, not doubting they were the advanced guard of the Fellata army, then ravaging Soudan, under the command of Malem Danfodio, the father of sultan Bello. That one of the white men was a tall man, with long hair; that they fought for three days before they were all killed, that the people in the neighbourhood were very much alarmed, and great numbers fled to Nyffee, and other countries, thinking that the Fellatas were certainly coming amongst them; that the number of persons in the boat were only four, two white men and two black; that they found great treasure in the boat, but that the

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people had all died, who ate of the meat that was found on board."

This meat according to another native informant, was believed on that account to be human flesh, for they knew, it was added, that we white men eat human flesh. Lander afterwards received the following additional information from a mallam or priest, whom he met with at Wawa, and who tendered it spontaneously. "The sultan of Youri advised your countrymen to proceed the remainder of the way on land, as the passage by water was rendered dangerous by numerous sunken rocks in the Niger, and a cruel race of people inhabiting the towns on its banks. They refused, however, to accede to this, observing that they were bound to proceed down the Niger to the salt water. The old mallam further observed, that as soon as the sultan of Youri heard of their death, he was much affected, but it was out of his power to punish the people, who had driven them into the water. A pestilence reached Boussa at the time, swept off the king and most of the i habitants, particularly those who were concerned in the transaction. The remainder fancying it was a judgment of the white man's God, placed everything belonging to the Christians in a hut, and set it on fire. It is not a little remarkable, that it is now a common saying, all through the interior of Africa, "Do not hurt a Christian, for if you do, you will die like the people of Boussa."

On Clapperton waiting on the sultan of Boussa, he was as usual very kindly received; his first inquiry was concerning some white men, who were lost in the river. some twenty years ago, near this place.

The sultan appeared rather uneasy at these inquiries, and it was observed that he stammered in his speech. He assured both Clapperton and Lander, that he had not any thing in his possession belonging to the white men, and that he was a little boy when the event happened. Clapperton told him that he wanted nothing but the books and papers, and to learn from him a correct account of the manner of their death; and, with the sultan's permission, he would go and visit the place where they were lost. To this request the sultan gave a decided refusal, alleging that it was a very bad

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place. Clapperton, however, having heard that part of the boat remained, inquired if such were really the case; to which the sultan replied, that there was no truth whatever in the report; that she did remain on the rocks for some time after, but had gone to pieces and floated down the river long ago. Clapperton told the sultan, that, if he would give him the books and papers, it would be the greatest favour he could possibly confer on him. The sultan again assured him, that nothing remained with him; every thing of books or papers having gone into the hands of the learned men; but that, if any were in existence, he would procure them, and give them to him. Clapperton then asked him, if he would allow him to inquire of the old people in the town the particulars of the affair, as some of them must have witnessed the transaction. The sultan appeared very uneasy, and as he did not return any answer, Clapperton did not press him further at that time upon the subject.

Some unpleasant suspicions floating on the mind of Clapperton, he took the first opportunity of returning to the subject, and on again inquiring about the papers of his unfortunate countryman, the sultan said, that the late iman, a Fellata, had had possession of all the books and papers, and that he had fled from Boussa some time since. This, therefore, was a death-blow to all future inquiries in that quarter, and the whole of the information concerning the affair of the boat, her crew, and cargo, was indefinite and unsatisfactory. Every one, in fact, appeared uneasy when any information was required; and they always stifled any further inquiry by vaguely answering, that it happened before their remembrance, or they had forgotten it, or they had not seen it. They, however, pointed out the place where the boat struck and the unfortunate crew perished. Even this, however, was done with caution, and as if by stealth, although in every thing unconnected with that affair, they were most ready to give the travellers whatever information they required, and in no part of Africa were they treated with greater hospitality and kindness.

The place where the vessel was sunk is in the eastern channel, where the river breaks over a grey slate rock extending quite across it. A little lower down, the river had a fall of three or four feet.

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Here, and still further down, the whole united streams of the Quorra were not above three-fourths the breadth of the Thames at Somerset-house.

On returning to the ferry, Clapperton found a messenger from the king of Youri, who had sent him a present of a camel.

The messenger stated, that the king, before he left Youri, had shown him two books, very large and printed, that had belonged to the white men, who were lost in the boat at Boussa; that he had been offered one hundred and seventy mitgalls of gold for them, by a merchant from Bornou, who had been sent by a Christian on purpose for them. Clapperton advised him to tell the king that he ought to have sold them, for that he would not give five mitgalls for them; but that, if he would send them, he would give him an additional present, and that he would be doing an acceptable thing to the king of England by sending them, and that he would not act like a king, if he did not. Clapperton gave the messenger, for his master, one of the mock gold chains, a common sword, and ten yards of silk, adding that he would give him a handsome gun and some more silk, if he would send the books. On asking the messenger, if there were any books like his journal, which he showed him, he said there was one, but that his master had given it to an Arab merchant ten years ago; the merchant, however, was killed by the Fellatas, on his way to Kano, and what had become of that book afterwards, he did not know.

Upon this, Clapperton sent a person with a letter to Youri. Mohammed, the Fezzaner, whom he had hired at Tabra, and whom he had sent to the chief of Youri for the books and papers of the late Mungo Park, returned, bringing him a letter from that person, which contained the following account of the death of that unfortunate traveller. That not the least injury was done to him at Youri, or by the people of that country; that the people of Boussa had killed them, and taken all their riches; that the books in his possession were given him by the iman of Boussa; that they were lying on the top of the goods in the boat when she was taken; that not a soul was left alive belonging to the boat; that the bodies of two black men were found in the boat, chained together; that the white men jumped overboard; that the boat was made of two ca-

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noes joined fast together, with an awning or roof behind; that he, the sultan, had a gun, double barrelled, and a sword, and two books, that had belonged to those in the boat; that he would give the books whenever Clapperton went himself to Youri for them, but not until then.

This is, however, not exactly what the sultan says, in his letter, of which the following is a translation :—

"This is issued from the prince or lord of Yaoury to Abdallah, the English captain—salutation and esteem. Hence your messenger has arrived, and brought us your letter, and we understand what you write; you inquire about a thing that has no trace with us. The prince or lord of Boossy is older (or greater) than us, because he is our grandfather. Why did you not inquire of him about what you wish for? You were at Boossy, and did not inquire of the inhabitants what was the cause of the destruction of the ship and your friends, nor what happened between them of evil; but you do now inquire of one who is far off, and knows nothing of the cause of their (the Christians') destruction.

"As to the book, which is in our hand, it is true, and we did not give it to your messenger; but we will deliver it to you, if you come and show us a letter from your lord. You shall then see and have it, if God be pleased; and much esteem and salam be to you, and prayer and peace unto the last of the apostles!

"MAHOMMED."

This may be considered as the conclusion of the information which was obtained respecting the fate of Park; although Clapperton expresses it to be his opinion, but founded on very slender grounds, that the journal of Park is yet to be recovered.

On leaving Boussa, Clapperton retraced his steps to the Cumbrie villages, and then turned to the south-south-west to another of their villages, named Songa, situated on the banks of the Quorra. About two hours above Songa, there is a formidable cataract, "where," Lander observes, "if Park had passed Boussa in safety, he would have been in danger of perishing, unheard and unseen." An hour and a half below Songa, the Quorra rushes with great force through

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a natural gap, such it seems to be, between porphyritic rocks rising on each side of the channel. Between Songa and this place, the river is full of rocky islets and rapids, and these occur occasionally all the way down to Wonjerque, or the king's ferry at the village of Comie, where it is all in one stream, about a quarter of a mile in width, and ten or twelve feet deep in the middle. This is the great ferry of all the caravans to and from Nyffee, Houssa, and is only a few hours from Wawa.

On reaching this ferry, Clapperton was told, that, so far from his baggage having been sent on to Koolfu, it had been stopped at Wawa, by order of the governor; but this extraordinary proceeding was in some degree accounted for, as it appeared that although neither Clapperton nor Lander would have any thing to do with the corpulent widow Zuma, she was determined not to let them off so easily, and, to their great surprise, the travellers heard that she was at a neighbouring village, from which she sent them a present of some boiled rice and a fowl, giving them, at the same time, a pressing invitation to come and stop at her house. The governor's son informed Clapperton, that his baggage would not be allowed to leave Wawa till the widow Zuma was sent back. "What the d——l have I to do with the widow?" asked Clapperton.—"You have," he replied; "and you must come back with me and take her." Clapperton, however, refused, in the most positive terms, to have any thing to do with or to say to her. At this moment Lander returned from Boussa, whither he had followed his master, to acquaint him with the detention of his baggage; all of which was owing to the widow having left Wawa about half an hour after he did, with drums beating before her, and a train after her, first calling at his lodgings, before she waited on the governor. It was also ascertained that she had given old Pascoe a female slave for a wife, without having previously asked the governor's permission. The widow had also intimated her intention to follow the travellers to Kano, whence she would return to make war on the governor, as she had done once before. "This," said Clapperton, "let me into their politics with a vengeance; it would indeed have been a fine end to my journey, if I had deposed old Mahommed, and set up for myself, with a walking tun-butt for a queen." Clapperton,

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however, determined to go back to Wawa, to release his baggage; and scarcely had he got there, when the arrival of the buxom widow was announced, her appearance and escort being as grand as she could make it, hoping thereby to make an impression upon the flinty hearts of the Europeans. The following is the description of her dress and escort:—Preceding her marched a drummer, beating the instrument with all his power, his cap being profusely decked with ostrich feathers. A bowman walked on foot, at the head of her horse, a long train following, consisting of tall, strong men, armed with spears, bows, and swords. She rode on a fine horse, whose trappings were of the first order for this semi-civilized country; the head of the horse was ornamented with brass-plates, the neck with brass bells, and charms sewed in various coloured leather, such as red, green, and yellow; a scarlet breast-piece, with a brass plate in the centre; scarlet saddle-cloth, trimmed with lace. She was dressed in red silk trousers and morocco boots; on her head a white turban, and over her shoulders a mantle of silk and gold. For the purpose of properly balancing her ponderous frame on the horse, she rode in the style of the men, a-straddle; and perhaps a more unwieldy mass never pressed upon the loins of an animal; had she, however, been somewhat younger, and less corpulent, there might have been some temptation to head her party, for she certainly had been a very handsome woman, and such as would have been thought a beauty in any country in Europe.

The widow was summoned before the governor; went on her knees, and, after a lecture on disobedience and vanity, was dismissed; but on turning her back, she shook the dust off her feet with great indignation and contempt; "and," says Clapperton, "I went home, determined never to be caught in such a foolish affair in future."

The travellers, having secured their baggage, returned to the ferry, and crossed the Quorra. They were now on the high-road to Koolfu, the emporium of Nyffee. In the course of the first two stages, they came to two villages full of blacksmiths' shops, with several forges in each. They got their iron ore from the hills, which they smelt, where they dig it. In every village they saw a fetish house in good repair, adorned with painted figures of hu-

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man beings, as also the boa, the alligator, and the tortoise. The country is well cultivated with corn, yams, and cotton; but the ant-hills were the highest the travellers had ever seen, being from fifteen to twenty feet high, and resembling so many gothic cathedrals in miniature.

In the afternoon of the third day, they crossed a stream called the May Yarrow, opposite the town of Tabra, by a long narrow wooden bridge of rough branches covered with earth, the first that they had seen in Africa; it will not, however, bear a man and horse, nor can two horses pass at once. Tabra, which is divided by the river into two quarters, was at this time the residence of the queen-mother of Nyffee, who was governor *ad interim* during the absence of her son. It may contain from eighteen to twenty thousand inhabitants, who, with a few exceptions, are pagans, and they all, men and women, have the reputation of being great drunkards. There are only a few blacksmiths here, but a great number of weavers. The Houssa caravans pass close to the north side of the town, but seldom enter it. Before the civil war began, the Benin people came here to trade. The war, which was still raging, originated in a dispute for the succession, between Mohammed El Majia, the son of the queen-mother, who was a moslem, and Edrisi, who was represented to be a pagan. The former was supported by the Fellatas, whom the people of Nyffee cannot endure; the other had the best right and the people on his side, but there was little doubt of his being obliged to succumb.

Clapperton, accompanied by Lander, repaired to the camp, to pay his respects to El Majia. He was found mounted on a good bay horse, the saddle ornamented with pieces of silver and brass; the breastplate with large silver plates hanging down from it, like what is represented in the prints of Roman and eastern emperors on horseback. He was a tall man, with a stupid expression of countenance, a large mouth, and snagged teeth, which showed horribly, when he attempted a smile. His dress consisted of a black velvet cap, with flaps over the ears, and trimmed with red silk; a blue and white striped tobe, and ragged red boots, part leather and part cloth; in his hand he bore a black staff with a

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silver head, and a coast-made umbrella and sword were carried by his slaves. Altogether his appearance was far from being either kingly or soldier-like, and he displayed the most mean degree of rapacity. He was the ruin of his country by his unnatural ambition, and by calling in the Fellatas, who would remove him out of the way the moment he is of no more use to them. Even then, he dared not move without their permission. It was reported, and generally believed, that he put to death his brother and two of his sons. Through him the greater part of the industrious population of Nyffee had either been killed, sold as slaves, or had fled from their native country. Lander considered that it would have been an act of charity to have removed him altogether.

The *sanson*, or camp, was a large collection of bee-hive-shaped huts, arranged in streets, and thatched with straw. But for the number of horses feeding, and some picketed near the huts, the men being all seen armed, and the drums beating, it might have been taken for a populous and peaceful village. Here were to be seen weavers, tailors, women spinning cotton, others reeling it off; some selling *foofoo* and *accassons*, others crying yams and paste; little markets at every green tree; holy men counting their beads, and dissolute slaves drinking *wabum*, palm wine. The king, when the travellers went to take leave of him, was found in his hut, surrounded by Fellatas, one of whom was reading the Koran aloud for the benefit of the whole, the meaning of which not one of them understood, not even the reader. It is by no means an uncommon occurrence, both in Bornou and Houssa, for a man to be able to read the Koran fluently, who does not understand a word in it but *Allah*, and who is unable to read any other book.

On the 2nd of May the travellers left Tabra, and journeying along the banks of the May Yarrow, crossed a stream running into it from the north, and soon after entered the great market town of Koolfu. Captain Clapperton, it would appear, was doomed to be brought into contact with the rich widows of the country, for in this town he took up his abode with the widow Laddie, huge, fat, and deaf, but reputed to be very rich. She was a general dealer, selling salt, natron, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera; but she

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was more particularly famous for her *booza* and *wabum*. The former is made from a mixture of dourra, honey, chili-pepper, the root of a coarse grass on which the cattle feed, and a proportion of water; these are allowed to ferment in large earthen jars, placed near a slow fire for four or five days, when the booza is drawn off into other jars, and is fit to drink. It is very fiery and intoxicating, but is drunk freely both by moslem and pagans. Every night, a large outer hut belonging to the widow, was filled with the topers of Koolfu, who kept it up generally till dawn, with music and drink. The former consisted of the erhab or Arab guitar, the drum, the Nyffee harp, and the voice. Their songs were mostly extempore, and alluded to the company present.

On the night of the travellers' arrival, the new moon was seen, which put an end to the fast of Rhamadan. It was welcomed both by moslems and kaffirs with a cry of joy, and the next day, the town exhibited a scene of general festivity. Every one was dressed in his best, paying and receiving visits, giving and receiving presents, parading the streets with horns, guitars, and flutes, whilst groupes of men and women were seen seated under the shade at their doors, or under trees, drinking *wabum* or *booza*.

The women were dressed and painted to the height of Nyffee fashion, and the young and the modest on this day would come up and salute the men, as if old acquaintance, and bid them joy on the day; with the wool on their heads dressed, plaited, and dyed with indigo; their eyebrows painted with indigo, the eyelashes with khol, the lips stained yellow, the teeth red, and their feet and hands stained with henna; their finest and gayest clothes on; all their finest beads on their necks; their arms and legs adorned with bracelets of glass, brass, and silver; their fingers with rings of brass, pewter, silver, and copper; some had spanish dollars soldered on the back of the rings; they too drank of the booza and wabum as freely as the men, joining in their songs, whether good or bad. In the afternoon parties of men were seen dancing, free men and slaves, all were alike; not a clouded brow was to be seen in Koolfu. But at nine in the evening, the scene was changed from joy and gladness to terror and dismay: a tornado had just begun, and the hum of voices, and the din of the people putting their things

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under cover from the approaching storm, had ceased at once. All was silent as death, except the thunder and the wind. The cloudy sky appeared as if on fire, each cloud rolling onwards as a sea of flame, and only surpassed in grandeur and brightness by the forked lightning, which constantly seemed to ascend and descend from what was then evidently the town of Bali on fire, only a short distance outside the walls of Koolfu. When this was extinguished, a new scene began, if possible, worse than the first. The wind had increased to a hurricane. Houses were blown down; roofs of houses going along with the wind like chaff, the shady trees in the town bending and breaking; and in the intervals between the roaring of the thunder, nothing was heard but the war cry of the men and the screams of women and children, as no one knew but that an enemy was at hand, and that they should every instant share in the fate of Bali. At last the rain fell, the fire at Bali had ceased by the town being wholly burnt down, and all was quiet and silent, as if the angel of extermination had brandished his sword over the devoted country.

Koolfu or Koolfie stands on the northern bank of the May Garrow, and contains from twelve to fifteen thousand inhabitants, including slaves. It is built in the form of an oblong square, surrounded with a clay wall, about twenty feet high, with four gates. There are a great number of dyers, tailors, blacksmiths, and weavers, but all these, together with the rest of the townsfolk, are engaged in traffic. There are besides the daily market, general markets every Monday and Saturday, which are resorted to by traders from all quarters: Youriba, Borgoo, Soccatoo, Houssa, Nyffee, and Benin. The caravans from Bornou and Houssa, which halt at Koolfu a considerable time, bring horses, natron, unwrought silk, silk cord, beads, Maltese swords from Bengazi, remounted at Kano; clothes made up in the moorish fashion, Italian looking glasses, such as sell for one penny and upwards at Malta, tobes undyed, made in Bornou, khol for the eyelids, a small quantity of attar of roses, much adulterated, gums from Mecca, silks from Egypt, moorish caps, and slaves. The latter who are intended for sale, are confined in the house mostly in irons, and are seldom allowed to go out of it, except to the well or river every morning to wash. They

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are strictly guarded on a journey, and chained neck to neck, or else tied neck to neck by a long rope of raw hide, and carry loads on their heads, consisting of their master's goods or household stuff; these loads are generally from fifty to sixty pounds weight. A stranger may remain a long time in a town without seeing any of the slaves, except by accident or by making a particular inquiry.

Although professedly moslem, religion had not yet moulded the society of the Koolfuans into the usual gloomy monotony, nor had it succeeded in secluding or subjecting the female sex, who on the contrary, were the most active agents in every mercantile transaction. In the widow Laddie's house, no fewer than twenty-one of these female merchants were lodged at the same time that Clapperton and Lander took up their abode with her, and it may be easily supposed, that the Europeans led a most pleasant life of it. An African hut is by no means at any time an abode which an European would covet, but in addition to the suffocating heat, the mosquitoes, and many other nameless inconveniences, to be congregated with twenty or thirty females, not carrying about them the most delicious odour in the world, and making the welkin ring again with their discordant screams, there denominated singing, is a consummation by no means devoutly to be wished. In addition to other nuisances, the organ of amativeness, as the phrenologists would have it, was strongly developed in some of the skulls of the ladies, and displayed themselves in their actions towards the Europeans, who not being disposed to return their amorous advances, often made a precipitate retreat out of the hut, not being aware at the time that by avoiding Sylla, they ran a great risk of falling into Charybdis. The widow Laddie, although huge, fat, and deaf, was by no means of a cold, phlegmatic or saturnine disposition—many a wistful look she cast towards Lander, but he either would not or could not comprehend their meaning, and to punish him for his stupidity, she took care that he should not comprehend any of the significant glances, which were cast towards him by the more juvenile portion of the community. To protect him from this danger, the kind widow attended him whithersoever he went, to the great annoyance of Lander, who, in order to escape from such a living torment, betook himself to a more distant part of

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the town, or explored its vicinity, although very little presented itself to attract his immediate attention.

The following is the manner in which the good people of Koolfu fill up the twenty-four hours. At daylight, the whole household rise. The women begin to clean the house, the men to wash from head to foot; the women and children are then washed in water, in which has been boiled the leaf of a bush called *bambarnia*. When this is done, breakfast of cocoa is served out, every one having their separate dish, the women and children eating together. After breakfast, the women and children rub themselves over with the pounded red wood and a little grease, which lightens the darkness of the black skin. A score or patch of the red powder is put on some place, where it will show to the best advantage. The eyes are blacked with khol. The mistress and the better-looking females stain their teeth, and the inside of the lips, of a yellow colour, with goora, the flower of the tobacco plant, and the bark of a root; the outer parts of the lips, hair, and eyebrows are stained with *shuni*, or prepared indigo. Then the women, who attend the market, prepare their wares for sale, and when ready, set off, ten or twelve in a party, and following each at a stated distance. Many of these trains are seen, and their step is so regular, that if they had been drilled by a sergeant of the foot-guards in England, they could not perform their motions with greater exactitude. The elderly women prepare, clean, and spin cotton at home, and cook the victuals; the younger females are generally sent round the town, selling the small rice balls, fried beans, &c., and bringing back a supply of water for the day. The master of the house generally takes a walk to the market, or sits in the shade at the door of his hut, hearing the news, or speaking of the price of natron or other goods. The weavers are daily employed at their trade; some are sent to cut wood, and bring it to market; others to bring grass for the horses that may belong to the house, or to take to the market to sell. A number of people at the commencement of the rainy season, are employed in clearing the ground for sowing the maize and millet, some are sent on distant journeys to buy and sell for their master or mistress, and they very rarely betray their trust. About noon,

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they return home, when all have a mess of the pudding called *wakt*, or boiled beans. About two or three in the afternoon, they return to their different employments, on which they remain until near sunset, when they count their gains to their master or mistress, who receives it, and puts it carefully away in their strong room. They then have a meal of pudding, and a little fat or stew. The mistress of the house, when she goes to rest, has her feet put into a cold poultice of the pounded henna leaves. The young then go to dance and play, if it be moonlight, and the old to lounge and converse in the open square of the house, or in the outer *coosie*, where they remain until the cool of the night, or till the approach of morning drives them into shelter.

The majority of the inhabitants of Koolfu are professedly Mahommedans; the rest are pagans, who once a year, in common with the other people of Nyffee, repair to a high hill in one of the southern provinces, on which they sacrifice a black bull, a black sheep, and a black dog. On their fetish houses are sculptured, as in Youriba, the lizard, the crocodile, the tortoise, and the boa, with sometimes human figures. Their language is a dialect of the Youribanee, but the Houssa is that of the market. They are civil, but the truth is not in them; and to be detected in a lie is not the smallest disgrace; it only causes a laugh. The men drink very hard, even the Mahommedans and the women are not particularly celebrated for their chastity, although they succeeded in cheating both Clapperton and Lander; they were not, however, robbed of a single article, and they were uniformly treated with perfect respect. The people seem, indeed, by no means devoid of kindness of disposition. When the town of Bali was burned down, every person sent next day what they could spare of their goods, to assist the unfortunate inhabitants. In civilized England, when a fire takes place, thieving and robbery are the order of the day, but during the conflagration at Bali, not an article was stolen.

To their domestic slaves, they behave with the greatest humanity, looking upon them almost as children of the family. The males are often freed, and the females given in marriage to free men, or to other domestic slaves ' The food of the slave and the free is nearly the same. The greatest man or woman in the country is

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not ashamed, at times, to let the slaves eat of the same dish; but a woman is never allowed to eat with a man. With a people, who have neither established law nor government, it is surprising that they are so good and moral as they are; it is true, they will cheat if they can, but amongst the civilized nations, who have both laws and government, cheating is by no means a rare occurrence, and by those too, who are the loudest in the professions of their honesty and integrity.

The country round Koolfu is a level plain, well cultivated, and studded with little walled towns and villages along the banks of the May Yarrow, and of a little river running into it from the north. Between the walled towns of Bullabulla and Rajadawa, the route passed through plantations of grain, indigo, and cotton; the soil clay mixed with sand, with here and there large blocks of sandstone, containing nodules of iron and veins of iron-stone.

At five days from Koolfu, the route entered at the town of Wazo, or Wazawo, the district of Kotong Koro, formerly included in Kashna; and for another five days' journey through a rich and beautiful valley, and over woody hills, the travellers reached Womba, a large walled town, where the caravans both from the east and the west generally halt a day or two, and where, as at Wazo, a toll is levied on merchandise. The town stands on a rising ground, at the eastern head of a valley watered by a small stream, having three bare rocky hills of granite to the north, east, and south. The inhabitants may amount to between ten and twelve thousand souls. The travellers were here objects of much kindness; the principal people of the place sent presents, and the lower ranks sought to obtain a sight of them by mounting the trees which overlooked their residence. The Koran does not seem to have much embarrassed these people; their only mode of studying it was to have the characters written with a black substance on a piece of board, then to wash them off and drink the water; and when asked what spiritual benefit could be derived from the mere swallowing of dirty water, they indignantly retorted, "What! do you call the name of God dirty water?" This mode of imbibing sacred truth is indeed extensively pursued throughout the interior of the African continent.

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On the second day from Womba, the travellers passed through another large and populous town, called Akinjie, where also kafilas pay toll; beyond which, the route lay for two days over a very hilly country, for the most part covered with wood, and but little cultivated, till they approached Guari.

This town, the capital of a district of the same name, formerly included in Kashna, is built partly on a hill, and partly in a narrow valley, through which runs a muddy stream, that is dry in summer; this stream, the source of which is only a day's journey distant, divides in one part the states of Kotong Kora and Guari, and falls into the Kodonia in Nyffee. The district of Guari was conquered by the Fellatas, in a short time after their rising, together with the rest of Houssa. On the death of old Bello, the father of the then reigning sovereign, these districts, with the greater part of Kashna, joined in the towia, or confederacy, against the Fellatas. The chief of Zamfra was the first to shake the spear of rebellion, and he was soon joined by the natives of Goober, and the northern parts of Kashna, by Guari and Kotong Kora, and at length by the states of Youri, Cubbi, Doura, and the southern part of Zeg Zeg. The strength of Youri is said to lie in the bravery of its inhabitants, and the number of horse they can bring into the field, amounting to a thousand. Clapperton was, however, disposed to place their real strength in the hilly and woody nature of their country.

Futika, the frontier town of Zeg Zeg, was reached on the second day from Guari; and at Zaria, where the travellers arrived on the fourth, they found themselves in a city almost wholly peopled by Fellatas, who have mosques with minarets, and live in flat-roofed houses. The population is said to exceed that of Kano, and must contain above fifty thousand inhabitants. A great number of the inhabitants are from Foota Ronda and Foota Torra, the Foulahs and Fellatas being, in fact, the same people. The people from the west professed to be well acquainted with both the English and the French, and they rattled over the names of the towns between Sierra Leone and the Senegal and Timbuctoo. They were armed with French fusees, preferring the guns of the French and the powder of the English.

The old city of Zaria was taken by the Fellatas, within a month

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after they had made themselves masters of the provinces of Goober and Zamfra, about thirty years ago. It took a siege of two days, when it was evacuated by the sultan and the greater part of the inhabitants, who took refuge in hills south and west, where they still maintain their independence, though subject to the continual attacks of the Fellatas. The old city is now known only by its ruined walls, surrounding some high mounds, which were in the centre of the enclosed area. The new city, built by the Fellatas, to the south-east of the old, consists of a number of little villages and detached houses, scattered over an extensive area, surrounded with high clay walls. Near the centre of the wall stands the principal mosque, built of clay, with a minaret nearly fifty feet high. On entering one of the western gates, instead of finding houses, the travellers could but just see the tops of some of them over the growing grain, at about a quarter of a mile distance; all was walled fields full of dhourra, with here and there a horse tethered in the open space.

The province of Zeg Zeg is the most extensive in the kingdom of Houssa, and both Kashna and Kano were at one time tributary to its sovereigns. The name of the country appears to be also given to the capital, and is possibly derived from it. It must, however, be observed that Lander mentions Zaria only by the name of Zeg Zeg. Prior to the Fellata conquest, Islamism is said to have been unknown in Zeg Zeg, and the southern part is still in the possession of various pagan tribes, whose country is called Boushir or Boushi, that is, the infidel country, and is said to extend to the ocean.

The country in the vicinity of the capital, Zaria, is clear of wood, and is all either in pasture or under cultivation. Its appearance at this season resembled some of the finest counties in England at the latter end of April. It was beautifully variegated with hill and dale, like the most romantic parts of England; was covered with luxuriant crops and rich pastures, and produced the best rice grown in any part of that continent. Rows of tall trees, resembling gigantic avenues of poplar, extended from hill to hill. Zaria, like many other African cities, might be considered as a district of country surrounded with walls.

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After passing several towns at the distance of short stages, the travellers, on the fourth day from Zaria, entered, at the town of Dunchow, the province of Kano. A highly cultivated and populous country extends from this place to Baebaejie, the next stage. This town stands in an extensive plain, stretching towards the north till lost in the horizon. The two mounts inside the walls of Kano are just distinguishable above the horizontal line, bearing north-east by north. The hills of Nora are seen about ten miles east; to the south are the mountains of Surem, distant about twenty-five miles, while to the westward appear the tops of the hills of Aushin, in Zeg Zeg, over which the route had passed. Small towns and villages are scattered over the plain, and herds of fine white cattle were seen grazing on the fallow ground. The inhabitants of Baebaejie, amounting to about twenty or twenty-five thousand, are chiefly refugees from Bornou and Waday, and their descendants, all engaged in trade. They appeared cleanly, civil, and industrious. A broad and good road thronged with passengers and loaded animals, led in another day's journey to Kano.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

The travellers found the city of Kano in a state of dreadful agitation. There was war on every side. Hostilities had been declared between the king of Bornou and the Fellatas; the provinces of Zamfra and Goober were in open insurrection; the Tuaricks threatened an inroad; in short, there was not a quarter to which the merchants durst send a caravan. Kano being nearly mid-way between Bornou and Sockatoo, Clapperton left his baggage there, to be conveyed to the former place on his return, and set out for the capital of the sultan Bello, bearing only the presents destined for that prince. On his way he found numerous bands mustering to form an army for the attack of Coonia, the rebel metropolis of Ghoober. The appearance of these troops was very striking, as they passed along the borders of some beautiful little lakes, formed by the river Zirmie.

The appearance of the country at this season was very beautiful; all the acacia trees were in blossom, some with white flowers, others with yellow, forming a contrast with the small dusky leaves, like gold and silver tassels on a cloak of dark green velvet. Some of the troops were bathing; others watering their horses, bullocks, camels, and asses; the lake Gondamee as smooth as glass, and flowing around the roots of the trees. The sun, in its approach to the horizon, threw the shadows of the flowering acacias along its surface, like sheets of burnished gold and silver. The smoking fires on its banks, the sounding of horns, the beating of their gongs

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and drums, the blowing of their brass and tin trumpets; the rude huts of grass or branches of trees, rising as if by magic, everywhere the calls on the names Mahomed, Abdo, Mustafa, &c., with the neighing of horses, and the braying of asses, gave animation to the beautiful scenery of the lake, and its sloping, green, and woody banks. The only regulation that appears in these rude feudal armies is, that they take up their ground according to the situation of the provinces, east, west, north, or south; but all are otherwise huddled together, without the least regularity.

The sultan was himself encamped with the forces from Sockatoo, whither the travellers repaired to join him, and they arrived just in time to be eye-witnesses of a specimen of the military tactics and conduct of these much-dreaded Fellatas. This curious scene is thus described:—

After the mid-day prayers, all except the eunuchs, camel-drivers, and such other servants as were of use only to prevent theft, whether mounted or on foot, marched towards the object of attack, and soon arrived before the walls of the city. Clapperton accompanied them, and took up his station close to the gadado. The march had been the most disorderly that could be imagined; horse and foot intermingling in the greatest confusion, all rushing to get forward; sometimes the followers of one chief tumbling amongst those of another, when swords were half unsheathed, but all ended in making a face, or putting on a threatening aspect. They soon arrived before Coonia, the town not being above half a mile in diameter, nearly circular, and built on the banks of one of the branches of the river, or lakes. Each chief, as he came, took his station, which, it was supposed, had been previously assigned to him. The number of fighting men brought before the town could not be less than fifty or sixty thousand, horse and foot, of which the latter amounted to more than nine-tenths. For the depth of two hundred yards, all round the walls, was a dense circle of men and horses. The horse kept out of bow-shot, while the foot went up as they felt courage or inclination, and kept up a straggling fire with about thirty muskets and the shooting of arrows. In front of the sultan, the Zeg Zeg troops had one French fusee; the Kano forces had forty-one muskets. These fellows, whenever they fired their mus-

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kets, ran out of bow-shot to load; all of them were slaves; not a single Fellata had a musket. The enemy kept up a slow and sure fight, seldom throwing away their arrows, until they saw an opportunity of letting fly with effect. Now and then a single horseman would gallop up to the ditch, and brandish his spear, the rider taking care to cover himself with his large leathern shield, and return as fast as he went, generally calling out lustily, when he got amongst his own party, "Shields to the walls! You people of the gadado, (or atego, &c.) why do you not hasten to the wall?" To which some voices would call out, "Oh, you have a good large shield to cover you." The cry of "Shields to the wall!" was constantly heard from the several chiefs to their troops; but they disregarded the call, and neither chiefs nor vassals moved from the spot. At length the men in quilted armour went up "per order." They certainly cut not a bad figure at a distance, as their helmets were ornamented with black and white ostrich feathers, and the sides of the helmets with pieces of tin, which glittered in the sun; their long quilted cloaks of gaudy colours reaching over part of their horses' tails, and hanging over the flanks. On the neck, even the horses' armour was notched or vandyked, to look like a mane; on his forehead, and over his nose, was a brass or tin plate, also a semicircular piece on each side. The rider was armed with a large spear, and he had to be assisted to mount his horse, as his quilted cloak was too heavy; it required two men to lift him on. There were six of them belonged to each governor, and six to the sultan. It was at first supposed, that the foot would take advantage of going under cover of these unwieldy machines; but no, they went alone, as fast as the poor horses could bear them, which was but a slow pace. They had one musket in Coonia, and it did wonderful execution; for it brought down the van of the quilted men, who fell from his horse like a sack of corn thrown from a horse's back at a miller's door, but both horse and man were brought off by two or three footmen. He got two balls through his breast; one went through his body and both sides of the tobe; the other went through and lodged in the quilted armour opposite the shoulders.

The cry of "Allahu akber!" (God is great), the cry of the Fellatas, was resounded through the whole army every quarter of an

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hour; but neither this nor "Shields to the walls!" nor "Why do not the gadado's people go up?" had any effect, except to produce a scuffle amongst themselves, when the chiefs would have to ride up and part their followers, who, instead of fighting against the enemy, were more likely to fight with one another. At sunset, the besiegers drew off, and the harmless campaign terminated in a desertion on the part of the Zirmee troops, followed by a general retreat.

The flags of the Fellatas are white, like the French, and their staff is a palm branch. They are not borne by men of honour, but by their slaves. The sultan had six borne before him; each of the governors had two. They also dress in white tobes and trousers, as an emblem of their purity in faith and intention. The most useful personage in the army, and as brave as any of them, was an old female slave of the sultan's, a native of Zamfra, five of whose former governors, she said, she had nursed. She was of a dark copper colour, in dress and countenance very much like a female esquimaux. She was mounted on a long-backed bright bay horse, with a scraggy tail, crop-eared, and the mane, as if the rats had eaten part of it, nor was it very high in condition. She rode astraddle, had on a conical straw dish-cover for a hat, or to shade her face from the sun; a short, dirty, white bed-gown, a pair of dirty white loose and wide trousers, a pair of Houssa boots, which are wide, and come over the knee, fastened with a string round the waist. She had also a whip and spurs. At her saddle-bow hung about half a dozen gourds filled with water, and a brass basin to drink out of, and with this she supplied the wounded and the thirsty.

The army being disbanded, Clapperton obtained permission of the sultan to proceed to Sockatoo, where he found every thing ready for his reception, in the house, which he had occupied on his former visit. The traveller, however, found an entire change in the feelings of kindness and cordiality towards himself, which had been so remarkably displayed in the previous journey. Jealousy had began to fester in the breasts of the African princes. They dreaded some ambitious design in these repeated expeditions sent out by England, without any conceivable motive; for that men should undertake such long journeys, out of mere curiosity, they could

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never imagine. The sultan Bello had accordingly received a letter from the court of Bornou, warning him that by this very mode of sending embassies and presents, which the English were now following towards the states of central Africa, they had made themselves masters of India, and trampled on all its native princes. The writer therefore gave it as his opinion, that the European travellers should immediately be put to death. An alarm indeed had been spread through Sockatoo, that the English were coming to invade Houssa. The sultan irritated doubtless at the shameful result of his grand expedition against Coonia, felt also another and more pressing fear. War had just broken out between himself and the king of Bornou. Clapperton was on his way to visit that prince, and had left six muskets at Kano, supposed to be intended as presents to him; and six muskets in central Africa, where the whole Fellata empire could scarcely muster forty, were almost enough to turn the scale between those two great military powers. Under the impulse of these feelings, Bello proceeded to steps not exactly consistent with the character of a prince and a man of honour. He demanded a sight of the letter which Clapperton was conveying to the king of Bornou, and when this was, of course, refused, he seized it by violence. Lander was induced by false pretences to bring the baggage from Kano to Sockatoo, when forcible possession was taken of the muskets. Clapperton loudly exclaimed against these proceedings, declaring them to amount to the basest robbery, to a breach of all faith, and to be the worst actions, of which any man could be guilty. This was rather strong language to be used to a sovereign, especially to one, who could at any moment have cut off his head, and the prime ministers of the sultan dropped some unpleasant hints, as if matters might come to that issue, though in point of fact, the government did not proceed to any personal outrage. On the contrary, Bello discovered an honourable anxiety to explain his conduct, and to soothe the irritated feelings of the traveller. He even wrote to him the following letter, which it must be confessed, places the character of Bello in a very favourable light.

"In the name of God, and praise be to God, &c. &c. To Ab-

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dallah Clapperton, salutation and esteem. You are now our guest, and a guest is always welcomed by us; you are the messenger of a king, and a king's messenger is always honoured by us. You come to us under our honour as an ambassador, and an ambassador is always protected by us. There is no harm in the king's ministers sending you to the sheik Kanemi, of Bornou, nor do we see any harm in your coming, when thus sent. But when you formerly came to us from Bornou, peace was then between us and the sheik; whereas there is now war between him and ourselves; we cannot perceive any blame in our preventing warlike stores being sent to him. We continue to maintain our faith with you, and are ready to attend to all your wishes, because we consider you as a trusty friend, and one who enjoys a high degree of esteem with us. Do not encroach upon us, we will not encroach upon you; we have rights to maintain, and you have also rights to be respected. And Salam be to you."

(Signed as usual.)

It is difficult to conceive, why so reasonable and friendly a letter should have failed to subdue the irritation of the traveller; this cannot be accounted for only by his ill health, or by supposing that he was not exactly conversant with its contents. It appears, however, that the conduct of Bello had such an effect upon the spirits of Clapperton, that Lander reports, he never saw him smile afterwards. The strong constitution of Clapperton, had till this period enabled him to resist all the baneful influence of an African climate. He had recovered, though perhaps not completely, from the effects of the rash exposure which had proved fatal to his two companions, but subsequently when overcome with heat and fatigue he had lain down on a damp spot in the open air, he was soon after seized with dysentery, which continued to assume more alarming symptoms. Unable to rise from his bed, and deserted by all his African friends, who saw him no longer a favourite at court, he was watched with tender care by his faithful servant Lander, who devoted his whole time to attendance on his sick master. At length he called him to his bed-side, and said, "Richard, I shall shortly be no more; I feel myself dying." Almost choked with grief, Lander re-

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plied, "God forbid, my dear master—you will live many years yet." Clapperton replied, "don't be so much affected, my dear boy, I entreat you, it is the will of the Almighty, it cannot be helped. I should have wished to live to have been of further use to my country—and more, I should like to have died in my native land—but it is my duty to submit. "He then gave particular directions as to the disposal of his papers, and of all that remained of his property, to which the strictest attention was promised. "He then," says Lander, "took my hand within his, and looking me full in the face, while a tear stood glistening in his eye, said in a low but deeply affecting tone, 'My dear Richard, if you had not been with me, I should have died long ago. I can only thank you with my latest breath for your kindness and attachment to me, and if I could have lived to return with you, you should have been placed beyond the reach of want, but God will reward you.'" He survived some days, and appeared even to rally a little, but one morning, Lander was alarmed by a peculiar rattling sound in his throat, and hastening to the bed-side found him sitting up, and staring wildly around; some indistinct words quivered on his lips, he strove but ineffectually to give them utterance, and expired without a struggle or a sigh.

Bello seems to have repented in some degree of his harsh conduct, especially after the news arrived of a great victory gained by his troops over the sultan of Bornou. He allowed Lander to perform the funeral obsequies with every mark of respect, agreeably to the sultan's own directions at Jungavie, a small village on a rising ground, about five miles to the S. E. of Sockatoo. Lander performed the last sad office of reading the English service over the remains of his generous and intrepid master; a house was erected over his grave;

"And he was left alone in his glory."

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

LANDER may now be said to be in the interior of Africa, a solitary wanderer, dependent entirely on his own resources, at the same time that he received from sultan Bello, all the requisite means to enable him to return to his native country, allowing him to choose his own road, though advising him to prefer that which led through the great Desert, but Lander having already had many dealings with the Arabs, preferred the track through the negro countries.

On arriving at Kano, on his return route, Lander formed a spirited and highly laudable design, which proved him to be possessed of a mind much superior to his station, and this was nothing less than an attempt to resolve the great question, respecting the termination of the Niger, which he hoped to effect by proceeding to Funda, and thence to Benin by water. Striking off to the eastward of the route, on which, in company with his late master, he had reached Kano, he passed several walled towns, all inhabited by natives of Houssa, tributary to the Fellatas, and early on the third day from Bebajie, (as he spells it,) arrived at the foot of a high craggy mountain, called Almena, from a ruined town said to have been built by a queen of the Fantee nation, some five hundred years ago. Mahomet, Lander's servant, who had travelled far and near, and knew all the traditions of the country, gave the following story:—About five hundred years ago, a queen of the Fantee nation having quarrelled with her husband about a golden stool, in other words,

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we presume about the throne, probably after her husband's death, fled from her dominions with a great number of her subjects, and built a large town at the foot of this mountain, which she called Almena, from which it took its name. The town, according to Lander, was surrounded with a stone wall, as the ruins plainly attest. The M. S. account of Tukroor evidently alludes to the same personage. The first who ruled over them, that is the seven provinces of Houssa, was, as it is stated, Amenah, daughter of the prince of Zag Zag, (Zeg Zeg?) She conquered them by the force of her sword, and subjected them, including Kashna and Kano, to be her tributaries. She fought and took possession of the country of Bowsher, till she reached the coast of the ocean on the right hand, and west side. She died at Atagara.

The gigantic blocks of granite forming the mountain Almena, fearfully piled on each other, and seeming ready to fall, are described as resembling the rocks near the Logan stone in Cornwall, but on a scale infinitely larger. To the eastward, a range of high hills was seen stretching from north to south, as far as the eye could reach, and Lander was informed that they extended to the salt water. They were said to be inhabited by a savage race of people called Yamyams, that is cannibals, who had formerly carried on an extensive traffic with the Houssa men, bringing elephants' teeth, and taking in exchange red cloth, beads, &c., but five years before, they had murdered a whole kafila of merchants, and afterwards eaten them, since which time, the Houssa people had been reasonably shy of dealing with them.

Sultan Bello informed Lander that he had ocular proof of the fact, that these same people are in the practice of eating human flesh. The sultan said, that on the governor of Jacoba telling him of these people, he could scarcely believe it, but on a Tuarick being hanged for theft, he saw five of these people eat a part, with which he was so disgusted, that he sent them back to Jacoba soon after. He said, that whenever a person complained of sickness amongst these men, even though only a slight headache, he is killed instantly, for fear he should be lost by death, as they will not eat a person that has died by sickness; that the person falling sick is requested by some other family, and repaid when they had

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a sick relation; that universally, when they went to war, the dead and wounded were always eaten; that the hearts were claimed by the head men, and that on asking them, why they ate human flesh, they said, it was better than any other, that they had no want of food, and that excepting this bad custom, they were very cleanly, and otherwise not bad people, except that they were kaffirs.

As far as the route of Lander had hitherto extended, all the streams that were crossed had a north-westerly course, and on the fifth day, he reached a large river running in the same direction called Accra. On the following day proceeding S. W., he arrived at Nammalack, built immediately under a mountain, which, rising almost perpendicularly, forms a natural wall on the north-eastern side. It is thickly wooded and abounds with thousands of hyenas, tiger cats, jackals, and monkeys, who monopolize all the animal food in the neighbourhood, the poor inhabitants not being able to keep a single bullock, sheep, or goat.

For four hours beyond this town, Lander's route continued along the foot of this range of mountains, in a continued direction of S. W., it then turned eastward through an opening in the range, and after crossing one large and three small rivers, led to Fillindushie, the frontier town of Catica. Lander speaks of the Catica or Bowchee people as the same. This district must, therefore, belong to the Bowchee country, which forms part of Zeg Zeg, according to the M. S. account of Tackroor, apparently on the Boushy, that is infidel or kirdy country, bordering on Yacoba.

The inhabitants of Catica are described as a fine handsome people, with features not at all resembling those of the negro race, and very similar to the European, but below the negroes in civilization, without any clothing, filthy in person, disgusting in manners, and destitute of natural affection; the parent selling his child with no more remorse or repugnance than he would his chicken, yet at the same time, by way of contrast, artless and good humoured. Their appearance is extremely barbarous and repulsive. They rub red clay softened with oil over their heads and bodies, and invariably wear a large semicircular piece of blue glass in the upper and lower lip, with ear-pendents of red wood. They make fetishes like the natives of Yariba.

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Turning again to the S. W., the route now led over a fine and rich country, to a large river rolling to the N. W., called Coodoma (Kadoma,) which empties itself into the Quorra, near Funda. Lander reached the north-eastern bank on the tenth day, and on the morrow after three hours travelling reached Cuttup. Having heard on his route many different reports of the wealth, population and celebrated market of this place, he was surprised to find it to consist of nearly five hundred villages, almost joining each other, occupying a vast and beautiful plain, adorned with the finest trees. Amongst these, the plantain, the palm, and the cocoa-nut tree, were seen flourishing in great abundance, and the aspect of the country strikingly resembled some parts of Yariba. A considerable traffic is carried on here in slaves and bullocks, which are alike exposed in the daily market. The bullocks are bred by the Fellatas, who reside there for no other purpose.

The sultan of Cuttup being a very great man, that is, in his own estimation, Lander made him a suitable present of four yards of blue damask, the same quantity of scarlet, a print of George IV., one of the late duke of York, which, we have reason to suppose, was held in higher estimation than his whole-length colossal figure on the top of the pedestal in this country, which has the superlative honour of calling him one of the most meritorious, most puissant, and most honourable of the royal blood. Lander also made the sultan a present of *other trifling articles*, in return for which he received a sheep, the humps, or we should call it the rumps, of two bullocks, and stewed rice sufficient for fifty men, not being able at the time to form an accurate opinion of the extent of Lander's gourmandizing appetite, or most probably, as is generally the case in countries situated farther to the northward, judging of the appetite of others by his own. During the four days that Lander remained in these hospitable quarters, he was never in want of provisions, nor do we see how it was possible that he should be, when he had two rumps of beef, from which he could at any time cut a steak, which the most finished epicurean of Dolly's would not turn up his nose at, and stewed rice, as an entremet, sufficient for the gastronomic powers of fifty men. When it is also considered, that the sultan invariably receives as a tax the hump of every bullock that is

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slaughtered, weighing from twelve to fifteen pounds, and the choicest part of the animal, it is somewhat surprising that the country does not abound with *hump*-backed tyrants, similar to the notorious Richard of England ; at all events, Lander had to congratulate himself that the humps, or rumps, were sent to him daily by the king's wives, we will suppose, out of the pure spirit of charity and benevolence, on the same principle, perhaps, that the widow Zuma invited Lander to take up his abode in her house.

It was very proper that Lander should make a return to the sultan's wives for their rumps of beef, and, therefore, he presented them with one or two gilt buttons from his jacket, and they, imagining them to be pure gold, fastened them to their ears. Little, however, did the Birmingham manufacturer suppose, when he issued these buttons from his warehouse, that they were destined one day to glitter as pendents in the ears of the wives of the sultan of Cuttup, in the heart of Africa; truly may it be said with Shakespear,

"To what vile uses may we come at last!"

It is very possible, from some cause not worthy here of investigation, that one of the wives of the sultan had contrived to obtain a higher place in the estimation of Lander, than any of her other com peers; but, as a proof that great events from trivial causes flow, it happened that Lander set the whole court of Cuttup in a hubbub and confusion by a very simple act, to which no premeditated sin could be attached, and this act was no other, than presenting one of the wives of the sultan secretly, clandestinely, and covertly, with a most valuable article, in the shape of a large darning needle, which he carried about with him, for the purpose of repairing any sudden detriment, that might happen to any part of his habiliments. A female, whether European or African, generally takes a pride in displaying the presents that have been made her; and the favoured wife of the sultan no sooner displayed the present which she had received, than the spirit of jealousy and envy burst forth in the breast of all the remaining wives. It was a fire not easily to be quenched; it pervaded every part of the residence of the sultan; it penetrated into every hut, where one of the wives resided; discord, quarrels, and battles became the order of the day, and Lander was

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obliged to make a precipitate retreat from a place, where he had incautiously and innocently raised such a rebellion. On relating this anecdote to us, Lander declared, that, with a good supply of needles in his possession, he would not despair of obtaining every necessary article and accommodation throughout the whole of central Africa.

On leaving Cuttup, Lander proceeded south-south-west, over a hilly country, and on the following day, crossed the Rary, a large river flowing to the south-east. The next day, part of the route lay over steep and craggy precipices, some of them of the most awful height. From the summit of this pass, he obtained a very beautiful and extensive prospect, which would indicate the elevation to be indeed very considerable. Eight days' journey might plainly be seen before him. About half a day's journey to the east, stood a lofty hill, at the foot of which lay the large city of Jacoba. In the evening, he reached Dunrora, a town containing about four thousand inhabitants.

Lander had now reached the latitude of Funda, which, according to his information, lies about twelve days due west of Dunrora, and after seventeen perilous days' travelling from Kano, he seemed to be on the point of solving the great geographical problem respecting the termination of the supposed Niger, when, just as he was leaving Dunrora, four armed messengers from the sultan of Zeg Zeg rode up to him, bearing orders for his immediate return to the capital. Remonstrance was in vain; and, with a bad grace and a heavy heart, poor Lander complied with the mandate. He was led back to Cuttup by the same route that he had taken, and here, much against the inclination of his guards, he remained four days, suffering under an attack of dysentery. On his arrival at Zaria, he was introduced to the king; and having delivered his presents, that prince boasted of having conferred on him the greatest possible favour, since the people of Funda, being now at war with sultan Bello, would certainly have murdered any one, who had visited and carried gifts to that monarch. From this reasoning, sound or otherwise, Lander had no appeal, and was obliged to make his way back by his former path.

The subsequent part of his route was, however, rather more to

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the westward of his former track. The Koodoonia, where he crossed it, was much deeper, as well as broader, and much more rapid. On Lander refusing to cross the river till it had become more shallow, his guards left him in great wrath, threatening to report his conduct to their master, and they did not return for a fortnight, during which time, Lander remained at a Bowchee village, an hour distant, very ill, having nothing to eat but boiled corn, not much relishing *roasted dog*. The inhabitants, who came by hundreds every day to visit him, were destitute of any clothing. but behaved in a modest and becoming manner. The men did not appear to have any occupation or employment whatever. The women were generally engaged, the greater part of the day, in manufacturing oil from a black seed and the Guinea nut.

Not deeming it safe, according to the advice of the sultan of Zeg Zeg, to pursue his homeward way by the route of Funda, he chose the Youriba road; and, after serious delays, he reached Badagry on the 21st November 1827; but here he was nearly losing his life, owing to the vindictive jealousy of the Portuguese slave-merchants, who denounced him to the king as a spy sent by the English government. The consequence was, that it was resolved by the chief men to subject him to the ordeal of drinking a fetish. "If you come to do bad," they said, "it will kill you; but if not, it cannot hurt you." There was no alternative or escape. Poor Lander swallowed the contents of the bowl, and then walked hastily out of the hut through the armed men who surrounded it, to his own lodgings, where he lost no time in getting rid of the fetish drink by a powerful emetic. He afterwards learned, that it almost always proved fatal. When the king and his chiefs found, after five days, that Lander survived, they changed their minds, and became extremely kind, concluding that he was under the special protection of God. The Portuguese, however, he had reason to believe, would have taken the first opportunity to assassinate him. His life at this place was in continual danger, until, fortunately, Captain Laing, of the brig Maria of London, of which Fullerton was the chief mate, and afterwards commander, hearing that there was a white man about sixty miles up the

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country, who was in a most deplorable condition, and suspecting that he might be one of the travellers sent out on the expedition to explore the interior of Africa, despatched a messenger with instructions to bring him away. The parties who held him were, however, not disposed to part with him without a ransom, the amount of which was fixed at nearly £70, which was paid by Captain Laing in broadcloths, gunpowder, and other articles, and which was subsequently refunded by the African Society. Lander arrived in England on the 30th April 1828, on which occasion we were introduced to him by the late Captain Fullerton, from whose papers the following history of Landers' second journey is compiled.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

THE journeys of Denham and Clapperton made a great accession to our knowledge of interior Africa, they having completed a diagonal section from Tripoli to the gulf of Benin; they explored numerous kingdoms, either altogether unknown, or indicated only by the most imperfect rumour. New mountains, lakes, and rivers had been discovered and delineated, yet the course of the Niger remained wrapt in mystery nearly as deep as ever. Its stream had been traced very little lower than Boussa, which Park had reached, and where his career was brought to so fatal a termination. The unhappy issue of Clapperton's last attempt chilled for a time the zeal for African discovery; but that high spirit of adventure which animates Britons was soon found acting powerfully in a quarter, where there was least reason to expect it. Partaking of the character which animated his master, Lander endeavoured, in his return towards the coast, to follow a direction, which, but for unforeseen circumstances, would have led to the solution of the great problem. After reaching England, he still cherished the same spirit; in our frequent conversations with him, he expressed it to be his decided opinion, that the termination of the Niger would be found between the fifth and tenth degree of north latitude, and his subsequent discoveries proved his opinion to be correct. Undeterred by the recollection of so much peril and hardship, he tendered his services to the government to make one effort more, in

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order to reach the mouth of this mysterious river; his offer was accepted, but on terms which make it abundantly evident that the enterprise was not undertaken from any mercenary impulse. The manner in which he had acquitted himself of his trust, amidst the difficulties with which he had to contend after the death of Clapperton, bespoke him as being worthy to be sent out on such a mission, when scientific observations were not expected, and the result has proved the justness of the opinion, that was entertained of him. Descended from Cornish parents, having been born at Truro, and not gifted with any extraordinary talent, it was not his fortune to boast either the honour of high birth, or even to possess the advantages of a common-place education. His leading quality was a determined spirit of perseverance, which no obstacles could intimidate or subdue. In society, particularly in the company of those distinguished for their talents or literary attainments, his reserve and bashfulness were insuperable, and it was not until a degree of intimacy was established by frequent association, that he could be brought to communicate the sentiments of his mind, or to impress a belief upon the company, that he was possessed of any superior qualifications.

His younger brother, John Lander, who, influenced by a laudable desire to assist in the solution of the geographical problem, was of a very different turn of mind. He was brought up to the profession of a printer, and, as a compositor, had frequent opportunities of enriching his mind with various branches of knowledge, and in time became himself the author of several essays in prose and verse, by no means discreditable to his talents. Being naturally gifted with an exuberant imagination, his descriptions partake of the inflated and bombastic; but we have reason to know, that the information which he gives is deduced from authentic sources, without the usual exaggeration proverbially belonging to travellers.

The following were the instructions given by government to Richard Lander:—

"Downing-street, 31st December 1829.

"Sir,

"I am directed by secretary Sir George Murray to acquaint

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you, that he has deemed it expedient to accept the offer, which you have made, to proceed to Africa, accompanied by your brother, for the purpose of ascertaining the course of the great river, which was crossed by the late Captain Clapperton on his journey to Sockatoo; and a passage having been accordingly engaged for you and your brother, on board of the Alert, merchant vessel, which is proceeding to Cape Coast Castle, on the western coast of Africa, I am to desire that you will embark immediately on board that vessel.

"In the event of your falling in with any of his Majesty's ships of war on the coast of Africa, previously to your arrival at Cape Coast Castle, you will prevail on the master to use every endeavour to speak with such ship of war, and to deliver to the officer commanding her, the letter of which you are the bearer, and which is to require him to convey yourself and your brother to Badagry, to present you to the king, and to give you such assistance as may be required to enable you to set out on your journey.

"You should incur as little delay as possible at Badagry, in order that, by reaching the hilly country, you may be more secure from those fevers, which are known to be prevalent on the low lands of the sea-coast. You are to proceed by the same road as on a previous occasion, as far as Katunga, unless you shall be able to find, on the northern side of the mountains, a road which will lead to Funda, on the Quorra or Niger; in which case, you are to proceed direct to Funda. If, however, it should be necessary to go as far as Katunga, you are to use your endeavours to prevail on the chief of that country to assist you on your way to the Quorra, and with the means of tracing down, either by land or water, the course of that river as far as Funda.

"On your arrival at this place, you are to be very particular in your observations, so as to enable you to give a correct statement.

"1st, Whether any, and what rivers fall into the Quorra at or near that place; or whether the whole or any part of the Quorra turns to the eastward.

"2d, Whether there is at Funda, or in the neighbourhood, any lake or collection of waters or large swamps; in which case, you are to go round such lake or swamp, and be very particular in ex-

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amining whether any river flows *into* or *out* of it, and in what direction it takes its course.

"3d, If you should find that at Funda, the Quorra continues to flow to the southward, you are to follow it to the sea, where, in this case, it may be presumed to empty its waters; but if it should be found to turn off to the eastward, in which case it will most probably fall into the lake Tchad, you are to follow its course in that direction, as far as you conceive you can venture to do, with due regard to your personal safety, to Bornou; in which case it will be for you to determine, whether it may not be advisable to return home by the way of Fezzan and Tripoli: if, however, after proceeding in an easterly course for some distance, the river should be found to turn off towards the south, you are to follow it, as before, down to the sea. In short, after having once gained the banks of the Quorra, either from Katunga or lower down, you are to follow its course, if possible, to its termination, wherever that may be.

"Should you be of opinion that the sultan of Youri can safely be communicated with, you are at liberty to send your brother with a present to that chief, to ask, in the king's name, for certain books or papers, which he is supposed to have, that belonged to the late Mr. Park; but you are not necessarily yourself to wait for your brother's return, but to proceed in the execution of the main object of your mission, to ascertain the course and termination of the Niger.

"You are to take every opportunity of sending down to the coast a brief extract of your proceedings and observations, furnishing the bearer with a note, setting forth the reward he is to have for his trouble, and requesting any English person to whom it is presented to pay that reward, on the faith that it will be repaid him by the British government.

"For the performance of this service, you are furnished with all the articles which you have required for your personal convenience during your journey, together with a sum of two hundred dollars in coin; and in case, upon your arrival at Badagry, you should find it absolutely necessary to provide yourself with a further

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supply of dollars, you will be at liberty to draw upon this department for any sum not exceeding three hundred dollars.

"During the ensuing year, the sum of one hundred pounds will be paid to your wife in quarterly payments; and upon your return, a gratuity of one hundred pounds will be paid to yourself.

"All the papers and observations, which you shall bring back with you, are to be delivered by you at this office; and you will be entitled to receive any pecuniary consideration which may be obtained from the publication of the account of your journey.

"I am, Sir, &c. &c.

(Signed) "R. W. HAY."

"To Mr. Richard Lander."

In pursuance of these instructions, Richard Lander and his brother embarked at Portsmouth, on the 9th January 1830, in the brig Alert, for Cape Coast Castle, where they arrived on the 22d of the following month, after a boisterous and unpleasant passage. Here they were fortunate enough to engage old Pascoe and his wife, with Jowdie, who had been employed on the last expedition, with Ibrahim and Mina, two Bornou men, who were well acquainted with English manners, and could converse in the Houssa language. These individuals promised to be very useful on the expedition, more especially old Pascoe, whose merits as an interpreter were unquestionable.

After remaining at Cape Coast Castle eight days, they accompanied Mr. M'Lean, the president of the council at that place, on a visit to Mr. Hutchinson, commandant at Anamaboo, about nine miles distant from Cape Coast. Mr. Hutchinson lived in his castle, like an English baron in the feudal times, untinctured, however, by barbarism or ignorance; for the polished refinements of life have insinuated themselves into his dwelling, though it is entirely surrounded by savages, and though the charming sound of a lady's voice is seldom or never heard in his lonely hall. His silken banner, his turreted castle, his devoted vassals, his hospitality, and even his very solitariness, all conspired to recall to the mind the manners and way of life of an old English baron, in one of the most interesting periods of our history, whilst the highly chivalrous

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and romantic spirit of the gentleman alluded to, was strictly in unison with the impression. Mr. Hutchinson had resided a number of years on the coast, and was one of the few individuals, who had visited the capital of Ashantee, in which he resided eight months, and obtained a better acquaintance with the manners, customs, and pursuits of that warlike, enterprising, and original nation, than any other European whatever. In the Ashantee war he took a very active part, and rendered important and valuable services to the cause he so warmly espoused.

They resided at the fort till the 4th March, and then sailed in the Alert for Accra, where they expected to find a vessel to take them to Badagry, in the Bight of Benin, agreeably to their instructions.

In two days they arrived opposite the British fort at Accra, and, after staying there a week, they embarked on board the Clinker, Lieutenant Matson, commander; and having sailed direct for Badagry, they dropped anchor in the roadstead in the front of that town on the 19th. From the commander of the Clinker they received a young man of colour, named Antonio, son to the chief of Bonny, who eagerly embraced the opportunity of proceeding with them into the interior, being impressed with the notion that he should be enabled to reach his home and country by means of the Great River, or Niger.

In the earlier part of the afternoon of the 22d March, they sailed towards the beach in one of the brig's boats, and having been taken into a canoe that was waiting at the edge of the breakers to receive them, they were plyed over a tremendous surf, and flung with violence on the burning sands.

Wet and uncomfortable as this accident had rendered them, having no change of linen at hand, they walked to a small creek about the distance of a quarter of a mile from the sea shore, where they were taken into a native canoe, and conveyed safely through an extremely narrow channel, overhung with luxuriant vegetation, into the Badagry river, which is a branch of the Lagos. It is a beautiful body of water, resembling a lake in miniature; its surface is smooth and transparent as glass, and its picturesque banks are shaded by trees of a lively verdure. They were soon landed on

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the opposite side, when their road lay over a magnificent plain, on which deer, antelopes, and buffaloes were often observed to feed. Numbers of men, women, and children followed them to the town of Badagry, making the most terrific noises at their heels, but whether these were symptoms of satisfaction or displeasure, admiration or ridicule, they could not at first understand. They were soon, however, satisfied that the latter feeling was predominant, and indeed their clothing was sufficient to excite the laughter of any people, for it certainly was not African, nor had it any pretensions to be characterized as European. In the first place, the covering of the head consisted of a straw hat, larger than an umbrella, a scarlet mahommedan tobe or tunic and belt, with boots, and full Turkish trousers. So unusual a dress might well cause the people to laugh heartily; they were all evidently highly amused, but the more modest of the females, unwilling to give them any uneasiness, turned aside to conceal the titter, from which they were utterly unable to refrain.

On their way they observed various groupes of people seated under the spreading branches of superb trees, vending provisions and country cloth, and on their approach, many of them arose and bowed, whilst others fell on their knees before them in token of respect. They reached the dwelling, which had been prepared for them about three o'clock in the afternoon, but as the day was too far advanced to visit the chief or king, they sent a messenger to inform him of their intention of paying him their respects on the following morning.

Towards evening, Richard Lander his brother being too fatigued to accompany him, took a saunter in the immediate vicinity of his residence, when he found, that in one respect, the streets of Badagry, if they might be so called, and the streets of London, bore a very great resemblance. It might be the mere effect of female curiosity, to ascertain what kind of a man's visage could possibly be concealed under such a preposterous hat, or it might be for any other purpose, which his penetration could not discover, but certain it was, that ever and anon a black visage, with white and pearly teeth, and an expressive grin of the countenance, somewhat similar to that of the monkey in a state of excited pleasure, protruded itself

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under the canopy of straw, which protected his head, but he, who had withstood the amorous advances of the widow Zuma, or of the fat and deaf widow Laddie, could not be supposed to yield to the fascinations and allurements of a Badagry houri. Richard therefore returned to his dwelling, fully satisfied with himself, but by no means having satisfied the ladies of Badagry, that an European was a man of love or gallantry.

At nine o'clock on the morning of the 23rd March, agreeably to the promise which they had made on the preceding day, they visited the chief at his residence, which was somewhat more than half a mile from their own. On their entrance, the potent chief of Badagry was sitting on a couple of boxes, which, for aught Lander knew, might at one time have belonged to a Hong merchant at Canton; the boxes were placed in a small bamboo apartment, on the sides of which were suspended a great number of muskets and swords, with a few paltry umbrellas, and a couple of horses' tails, which are used for the purpose of brushing away flies and other insects.

King Adooley looked up in the faces of his visiters without making any observation, it perhaps not being the etiquette of kings in that part of the world, to make any observation at all on subjects before them, nor did he even condescend to rise from his seat to congratulate them on their arrival. He appeared in deep reflection, and thoughtfully rested his elbow on an old wooden table, pillowing his head on his hand. One of the most venerable and ancient of his subjects was squatted at the feet of his master, smoking from a pipe of extraordinary length; whilst Lantern, his eldest son and heir apparent, was kneeling at his side, the Badagry etiquette not allowing the youth to sit in the presence of his father. Every thing bore an air of gloom and sadness, totally different from what they had been led to expect. They shook hands, but the royal pressure was so very faint, that it was scarcely perceptible, yet, notwithstanding this apparent coldness, they seated themselves one on each side, without ceremony or embarrassment. It was evident that neither Lander nor his brother knew how to deport themselves in the presence of a king, a thing which the former had never seen in his life but at the courts of Africa, and

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they, God knows, were not calculated to give him an exalted idea of royalty; but when it had been ascertained, that it was contrary to etiquette at the court of Badagry, for even the heir apparent to assume any other attitude in the royal presence than that of kneeling, it might have occurred to the European travellers, that seating themselves without permission, in the presence of so august a personage as the king of Badagry, might be the forerunner of their heads being severed from their body, which, as it has been detailed in a preceding part of this work, is in that part of the country, a ceremony very easily aud speedily despatched. It was, however, necessary that some conversation should take place between the king and his visiters, and therefore the latter began in the true old English fashion, to inquire about the state of his health, not forgetting to inform him at the same time, that they found the weather uncommonly hot, which could not well have been otherwise, considering that they were at that moment not much more than 5° to the northward of the equator. In regard to the state of his health, he answered them only with a languid smile, and relapsed into his former thoughtlessness. Not being able to break in upon the taciturnity of the monarch, they had recourse to a method which seldom fails of "unknitting the brow of care," and that was by a display to the best advantage, of the presents, which they had brought for him from England. Badagry is not the only kingdom in which, if a present be made to the king, the sole return that is received for it, is the honour of having been allowed to offer it, and this experience was acquired by our travellers, for the king certainly accepted the presents, but without the slightest demonstration of pleasure or satisfaction; the king scarcely deigned to look at the presents, and they were carried away by the attendants, with real or seeming indifference. To be permitted to kiss the hand of the sable monarch could not rationally be expected, as an honour conferred upon them for the presents, which they had delivered, but it was mortifying to them not to receive a word of acknowledgment, not even the tithe of a gracious smile; they accordingly said not a word, but they had seen enough to convince them that all was not right. A reserve, the cause whereof they could not define, and a coldness towards them, for which

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they could in no wise account, marked the conduct of the once spirited and good-natured chief of Badagry, and prepared them to anticipate various difficulties in the prosecution of their plans, which they were persuaded would require much art and influence to surmount. The brow of the monarch relaxed for a moment, and an attempt was made on the part of Richard Lander to enter into conversation with him, but on a sudden the king rose from his boxes, and left them to converse with themselves.

After waiting a considerable time, and the king not returning, a messenger was despatched to acquaint him, that the patience of his visiters was nearly exhausted, and they would feel obliged by his immediate return, in order to put an end to their conference or palaver, as it is emphatically styled, as speedily as possible. On the receipt of this message, the king hastened back, and entered the apartment with a melancholy countenance, which was partially concealed behind large volumes of smoke, from a tobacco pipe, which he was using. He seated himself between them as before, and gave them to understand in a very low tone of voice, that he was but just recovering from a severe illness, and from the effect of a series of misfortunes, which had rendered him almost broken-hearted. His celebrated generals Bombanee and Poser, and all his most able warriors had either been slain in battle, or fallen by other violent means. The former in particular, whose loss he more especially lamented, had been captured by the Lagos people, who were his most inveterate enemies. When this unfortunate man was taken prisoner, his right hand was immediately nailed to his head, and the other lopped off like a twig. In this manner he was paraded through the town, and exposed to the view of the people, whose curiosity being satiated, Bombanee's head was at length severed from his shoulders, and being dried in the sun and beaten to dust, was sent in triumph to the chief of Badagry. To add to his calamities, Adooley's house, which contained an immense quantity of gunpowder, had been blown up by accident, and destroyed all his property, consisting of a variety of presents, most of them very valuable, that had been made him by Captain Clapperton, by European merchants, and traders in slaves. The chief and his women escaped with difficulty from the conflagration; but as

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it was the custom to keep the muskets and other fire-arms constantly loaded, their contents were discharged into the bodies and legs of those individuals, who had flocked to the spot on the first alarm. The flames spread with astonishing rapidity, notwithstanding every exertion, and ended in the destruction of a great part of the town. This accounted in some measure for the sad and grievous expression so strongly depicted on the chief's countenance; but still another and more powerful reason had doubtless influenced him on this occasion.

On returning to their residence, a number of principal men, as they style themselves, were introduced to compliment them on coming to their country, although their true and only motive for visiting their quarters was the expectation of obtaining rum, which is the great object of attraction to all of them. They had been annoyed during the greater part of this day by a tribe of ragged beggars, whose importunity was really disgusting. The men were in general old, flat-headed, and pot-bellied. The women skinny and flap-eared. To these garrulous ladies and gentlemen they were obliged to talk and laugh, shake hands, crack fingers, bend their bodies, bow their heads, and place their hands with great solemnity on their heads and breasts. They had not indeed a moment's relaxation from this excessive fatigue, and had Job, amongst his other trials, been exposed to the horrors of an interminable African palaver, his patience would most certainly have forsaken him. Lander was of opinion that he never would be a general favourite with this ever-grinning and loquacious people. If he laughed, and he was obliged to laugh, it was done against his inclination, and consequently with a very bad grace. At this time, Lander, speaking of himself, says, "for the first five years of my life, I have been told, that I was never even seen to smile, and since that period, Heaven knows my merriment has been confined to particular and extraordinary occasions only. How then is it possible, that I can be grinning and playing the fool from morning to night, positively without any just incentive to do so, and sweltering at the same time under a sun that causes my body to burn with intense heat, giving it the appearance of shrivelled parchment. Fortunately these savages—for savages they most certainly are in

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the fullest extent of the word—cannot distinguish between real and fictitious joy; and although I was vexed at heart, and wished them all at the bottom of the Red Sea, or somewhere else, I have every reason to believe that my forced attempts to please the natives have so far been successful, and that I have obtained the reputation, which I certainly do not deserve, of being one of the pleasantest and best-tempered persons in the world."

This candid exposition, which Lander gives of his own character is fully borne out by our own personal observation. On no occasion do we remember that we ever saw a smile sit upon his countenance, and as to a laugh, it appeared to be an act which he dreaded to commit. He seemed always to be brooding over some great and commanding idea, which absorbed the whole of his mind, and which he felt a consciousness within him, that he had not the ability to carry into execution, at the same time that he feared to let a word escape him, which could give a clue to the subject, which was then working within him. In this respect, he was not well fitted for a traveller in a country where, if his nature would not allow him, it became a matter of policy, if not of necessity, to appear lighthearted and gay, and frequently to join in the amusements of the people amongst whom he might be residing. Lander himself was not ignorant of the Arab adage, "Beware of the man who never laughs;" and, therefore, as he was likely to be thrown amongst those very people, he ought to have practised himself in the art of laughing, so as not to rouse their suspicions, which, it is well known, if once roused, are not again easily allayed.

To return to the narrative, one of the fetishmen sent them a present of a duck, almost as large as an English goose; but as the fellow expected ten times its value in return, it was no great proof of the benevolence of his disposition. They were now obliged to station armed men around their house, for the purpose of protecting their goods from the rapacity of a multitude of thieves that infested this place, and who displayed the greatest cunning imaginable to ingratiate themselves with the travellers. On the following morning, they awoke unrefreshed at daybreak; the noise of children crying, the firing of guns, and the discordant sound of drums and horns, preventing them from enjoying the sweetness of repose, so

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infinitely desirable, after a long day spent in a routine of tiresome ceremony and etiquette.

On the 24th March, one of the chief messengers, who was a Houssa mallam, or priest, presented himself at the door of their house, followed by a large and handsome spotted sheep from his native country, whose neck was adorned with little bells, which made a pretty jingling noise. They were much prepossessed in this man's favour by the calmness and serenity of his countenance, and the modesty, or rather timidity of his manners. He was dressed in the Houssa costume, cap, tobe, trousers, and sandals. He wore four large silver rings on his thumb, and his left wrist was ornamented with a solid silver bracelet: this was the only individual, who had as yet visited them purely from disinterested motives, as all the others made a practice to beg whenever they favoured them with their company.

The chief's eldest son was with them during the greater part of this day. The manners of this young man were reserved, but respectful. He was a great admirer of the English, and had obtained a smattering of their language. Although his appearance was extremely boyish, he had already three wives, and was the father of two children. His front teeth were filed to a point, after the manner of the Logos people; but, notwithstanding this disadvantage, his features bore less marks of ferocity than they had observed in the countenance of any one of his countrymen, while his general deportment was infinitely more pleasing and humble than theirs. When asked whether, if it were in his power to do so, he would injure the travellers, or any European, who might hereafter visit Badagry, he made no reply, but silently approached their seat, and falling on his knees at their feet, he pressed Richard Lander with eagerness to his soft naked bosom, and affectionately kissed his hand. No language or expression could have been half so eloquent.

They were now preparing to proceed on their journey, when they learned with surprise and sorrow, that a part of the populace had expressed themselves decidedly hostile to their projects, and that the leaders were continually with Adooley, using all their influence, and exercising all their cunning, in order to awaken his

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slumbering jealousy. They endeavoured to persuade him to demand, before he granted them leave to pass through his country, a sum of money, which, they were aware, was not in the power of the travellers to pay; and therefore it was imagined they would be compelled to abandon the undertaking. The first intimation they received of the effect of these insinuations on the mind of the chief, was brought to them by a person, who pronounced himself to be "on their side." This man assured them, with an ominous visage, that Adooley had declared, in the hearing of all the people, that the coat which Richard Lander had given him was intended for a boy, and not a man; it was therefore unworthy his acceptance as a king, and he considered that by the gift, they meant to insult him. The coat alluded to by Adooley was certainly extremely old-fashioned, and belonged to a surgeon in the navy about twenty years ago, notwithstanding which, it was almost as good as new, and was made showy by the addition of a pair of tarnished gold epaulets. It was, however, clear to Lander, that as this very same coat had been, only two days before, received with great satisfaction, that some enemy of theirs had been striving to render the chief discontented and mistrustful. To counteract the efforts of the malicious, they judged it prudent to sound the dispositions of those, who they were inclined to believe, from the fondness which they evinced for their rum, that they were favourable to their intentions and devoted to their interests.

At this time, there were two mulattoes residing in the town, one of whom, by name Hooper, acted as interpreter to Adooley, and shared a good deal of his confidence. He was born at Cape Coast Castle, in 1780, and was for many years a soldier in the African corps. His father was an Englishman, and he boasted of being a British subject. He was excessively vain of his origin, yet he was the most confirmed drunkard alive, always getting intoxicated before breakfast, and remaining in a soaking state all day long. This did not, however, make him regardless of his own interest, to which, on the contrary, he was ever alive, and indeed sacrificed every other feeling. The other mulatto could read and write English tolerably well, having received his education at Sierra Leone; he was a slave to Adooley, and was almost as great a drunkard as

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Hooper. These drunken political advisers of the chief they had little difficulty in bribing over to their interests; they had likewise been tampering with several native chiefs, apparently with equal success. Unfortunately every one here styled himself a great and powerful man, and Hooper himself calls a host of ragged scoundrels "noblemen and gentlemen," each of whom he advised Lander to conciliate with presents, and especially spirituous liquors, in order to do away any evil impression they might secretly have received, and obtain their suffrages, though it should be at the expense of half the goods in their possession. There is hardly any knowing who is monarch here, or even what form of government prevails; independently of the king of kings himself, the redoubtable Adooley, four fellows assume the title of royalty, namely, the kings of Spanish-town, of Portuguese-town, of English-town, and of French-town, Badagry being divided into four districts, bearing the names of the European nations just mentioned.

Toward the evening, they received an invitation from the former of these chieftains, who by all accounts was originally the sole governor of the country, until his authority was wrested from him by a more powerful hand. He was then living in retirement, and subsisted by purchasing slaves, and selling them to Portuguese and Spanish traders. They found in him a meek and venerable old man, of respectable appearance. He was surrounded by a number of men and boys, his household slaves, who were all armed with pistols, daggers, muskets, cutlasses, swords, &c., the manufacture of various European countries. In the first place, he assured them, that nothing could give him more pleasure than to welcome them to Badagry, and he very much wondered that they had not visited him before. If they had a present to give him, he said, he would thank them; but if they had not, still he would thank them. A table was then brought out into the court before the house, on which decanters and glasses, with a burning liquor obtained from the Portuguese, were placed. In one corner of the yard was a little hut, not more than two feet in height, wherein had been placed a fetish figure, to preserve the chief from any danger or mischief, which their presence might otherwise have entailed upon him. A portion of the spirit was poured into

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one of the glasses, and from it emptied into each of the others, and then drunk by the attendant that had fetched it from the house. This is an old custom, introduced no doubt to prevent masters from being poisoned by the treachery of their slaves. As soon as the decanters had been emptied of their contents, other ardent spirits were introduced, but as Richard Lander imagined that fetish water had been mingled with it, they simply took a teaspoonful into their mouths, and privately ejected it on the ground. The old chief promised to return their visit on the morrow, and lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, like a child in the attitude of prayer, he invoked the Almighty to preserve and bless them; they then saluted him in the usual manner, and returned well pleased to their own habitation.

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CHAPTER XXX.

THEY were now most anxious to proceed on their journey, but the chief, Adooley, evaded their solicitations to depart, under the most frivolous and absurd pretences. He asserted that his principal reason for detaining them against their inclinations, was the apprehension he entertained for their safety, the road not being considered in a good state. Under this impression, he despatched a messenger to Jenna, to ascertain if the affairs of that country warranted him sending them thither. The old king of Jenna, who, it will be recollected, behaved so kindly to Captain Clapperton, was dead; his successor had been appointed, but he had not at that time arrived from Katunga. That being the case, there would not be any one at Jenna to receive them. Meantime, the rainy season was fast approaching, as was sufficiently announced by repeated showers and occasional tornadoes. They were also the more anxious to leave this abominable place, as they were informed that a sacrifice of no less than three hundred human beings, of both sexes and all ages, was shortly to take place, such as has been described in the second journey of Clapperton. They often heard the cries of many of these poor wretches, and the heart sickened with horror at the bare contemplation of such a scene as awaited them, should they remain much longer at Badagry.

Early on the morning of the 25th March, the house of the travellers was filled with visiters, and from that time to the evening

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they resigned themselves to a species of punishment, which cannot be characterized by any other terms than an earthly purgatory. After cracking fingers a hundred times, and grinning as often, they were informed, that the chief's messenger had returned from Jenna, but for some reason, which Lander could not define, the man was almost immediately sent back again, and they were told that they could not quit Badagry until he again made his appearance. It is the custom in this place, that when a man cannot pay his respects in person to another, he sends a servant with a sword or cane, in the same manner as a gentleman delivers his card in England. They this day received a number of compliments in this fashion, and it is almost superfluous to say that a cane or a sword was at all times a more welcome and agreeable visiter than its owner would have been.

They had scarcely finished their morning repast, when Hooper introduced himself for his accustomed glass of spirits, to prevent him, according to his own account, from getting sick. He took the opportunity of informing them, that it would be absolutely necessary to visit the *noblemen*, who had declared themselves *on their side*. As they strove to court popularity and conciliate the vagabonds by every means in their power, they approved of Hooper's counsel, and went in the first place, to the house of the late *General* Poser, which was at that time under the superintendence of his head man. Him they found squatting indolently on a mat, and several old people were holding a conversation with him. As the death of Poser was not generally known to the people, it being concealed from them, for fear of exciting a commotion in the town, he having been universally loved and respected; they were not permitted even to mention his name, and the steward set them the example, by prudently confining his conversation to the necessity of making him a present proportionate to his expectations, and the dignity of his situation. Muskets and other warlike instruments were suspended from the sides of the apartment, and its ceiling was decorated with fetishes and Arab texts in profusion. Gin and water were produced, and partaken of with avidity by all present, more especially by the two mulattoes that had attended them, which being done, the head man wished the

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great spirit to prosper them in all their undertakings, and told them not to forget his present by any means. They shortly afterwards took their leave, and quitted the apartment with feelings of considerable satisfaction, for its confined air was so impure, that a longer stay, to say the least of it, would have been highly unpleasant. As it was, they had consumed so much time in Poser's house, that they found it necessary to alter their intention of visiting the other chiefs, and therefore resolved to pay their respects to Adooley, whom they had not seen for two days. Accordingly, they repaired immediately to his residence, and were welcomed to it with a much better grace, than on any previous occasion.

The chief was eating an undrest onion, and seated on an old table, dangling his legs underneath, with a vacant thoughtlessness of manner, which their abrupt intrusion somewhat dissipated. He informed them of his intention to send them on their journey on the day after to-morrow, when he expected that the people of Jenna would be in a suitable condition to receive them. He was full of good nature, and promised to make Richard Lander a present of a horse, which he had brought with him from Sockatoo on the former expedition, adding, that he would sell another to John Lander. So far, their visit was attended with satisfaction, but it was rather destroyed by Adooley informing them that it was his particular wish to examine the goods, which they intended to take with them into *the bush*, as the enclosed country is called, in order that he might satisfy himself that there were no objectionable articles amongst them. Having expressed their thanks to Adooley for his well-timed present, and agreed to the examination of their baggage, they all partook of a little spirit and water, which soon made them the best friends in the universe. During this palaver, the chief's sister and two of his wives were ogling at the travellers, and giggling with all the playfulness of the most finished coquette, until the approach of the chief of the English-town and the remainder of the travellers' party put a sudden stop to their entertainment, on which they presently left the apartment. These men came to settle a domestic quarrel, which was soon decided by the chief, who, after receiving the usual salutation of dropping on the knees with the face to the earth,

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chatted and laughed immoderately; this was considered by the travellers as a happy omen. In that country, very little ceremony is observed by the meanest of the people towards their sovereign, they converse with him with as little reserve, as if he were no better than themselves, while he pays as much attention to their complaints, as to those of the principal people of the country. An African king is therefore of some use, but there are kings in other parts of the world, of whose use it would be a very difficult matter to find any traces, and who know as much of the complaints or grievances of their subjects, as of the nucleus of the earth. Nor was king Adooley supposed to be entirely destitute of the virtues of hospitality, for it was observed that the remainder of his onion was divided equally amongst the chiefs, who had come to visit him, and was received by them with marks of the highest satisfaction.

In the afternoon, a herald proclaimed the approach to the habitation of the venerable chief of Spanish-town, with a long suite of thirty followers. The old man's dress was very simple, consisting only of a cap and turban, with a large piece of Manchester cotton flung over his right shoulder, and held under his left arm. This is infinitely more graceful and becoming in the natives, than the most showy European apparel, in any variety of which, indeed, they generally look highly ridiculous. After they had made the chief and all his attendants nearly tipsy, the former began to be very talkative and amusing, continuing to chat without interruption for a considerable time, not omitting to whisper occasionally to the interpreter, by no means to forget, after his departure, to remind the travellers of the present they had promised him, it being considered the height of rudeness to mention any thing of the kind aloud in his presence. The rum had operated so cheerily upon his followers in the yard, that fat and lean, old and young, all commenced dancing, and continued performing the most laughable antics, till they were no longer able to stand. It amused the travellers infinitely to observe these creatures, with their old solemn placid-looking chief at their head, staggering out at the door way; they were in truth, but too happy to get rid of them at so cheap a rate. Hooper shortly afterwards came with a

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petition from twelve *gentlemen* of English-town, for the sum of a hundred and twenty dollars to be divided amongst them, and having no resource, they were compelled to submit to the demand of these rapacious scoundrels.

Late in the evening, they received the threatened visit from Adooley, who came to examine the contents of the boxes. He was borne in a hammock by two men, and was dressed in an English linen shirt, a Spanish cloak or mantle, with a cap, turban and sandals; his attendants were three half-dressed little boys, who, one by one, placed themselves at their master's feet, as they were in the regular habit of doing; one of them carried a long sword, another a pistol, and a third a kind of knapsack, filled with tobacco. The chief was presented with brandy, equal in strength to spirits of wine, and he swallowed a large quantity of it with exquisite pleasure. The boys were permitted to drink a portion of the liquor every time that it was poured into a glass for Adooley, but, though it was so very strong, it produced no grimace, nor the slightest distortion of countenance in these little fellows. The fondness of the natives, or rather their passion for spirituous liquors is astonishing, and they are valued entirely in proportion to the intoxicating effects they occasion. Adooley smoked nearly all the while he remained in Lander's house. As each box was opened, however, he would take the pipe slowly from his mouth, as if perfectly heedless of what was going forward, and from the couch on which he was reclining, he regarded with intense curiosity each article, as it was held out to his observation. Every thing that in his opinion demanded a closer examination, or more properly speaking, every thing he took a fancy to, was put into his hands at his own request, but as it would be grossly impolite to return it after it had been soiled by his fingers, with the utmost *nonchalance*, the chief delivered it over to the care of his recumbent pages, who carefully secured it between their legs. Adooley's good taste could not of course be questioned, and it did not much surprise, though it grieved the Landers, to observe a large portion of almost every article in the boxes speedily passing through his hands into those of his juvenile minions. Nothing seemed unworthy of his acceptance, from a piece of fine scarlet cloth to a child's farthing

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whistle; indeed he appeared to be particularly pleased with the latter article, for he no sooner made it sound, than he put on a horrible grin of delight, and requested a couple of the instruments, that he might amuse himself with them in his leisure moments. Although he had received guns, ammunition, and a variety of goods, to the amount of nearly three hundred ounces of gold, reckoning each ounce to be worth two pounds sterling, yet he was so far from being satisfied, that he was continually grumbling forth his discontent. Gratitude, however, was unknown to him, as well as to his subjects. The more that was given them, the more pressing were their importunities for other favours; the very food that he ate, and the clothes that he wore, were begged in so fawning a tone and manner, as to create disgust and contempt at the first interview.

It was nearly midnight, before Adooley rose from his seat to depart, when he very ceremoniously took his leave, with broad cloth and cottons, pipes, snuff-boxes, and knives, paper, ink, whistles, &c., and even some of the books of the travellers, not a line of which he could comprehend; so avaricious was this king of Badagry.

They rose early on the morning of the 26th, for the purpose of arranging some trifling matters and taking their breakfast in quietness and comfort; but they had scarcely sitten down, when their half-naked grinning acquaintance entered to pay them the compliments of the day. Notwithstanding their chagrin, so ludicrous were the perpetual bowing and scraping of these their friends, in imitation of Europeans, that they could not forbear laughing in good earnest. Their rum, which had been kindly supplied them by Lieutenant Matson, they were happy to find was nearly all consumed, and the number of their general visiters had diminished in exact proportion to the decrease of the spirit, so that they were now beginning to feel the enjoyment of an hour or two's quiet in the course of the day, which was a luxury they could hardly have anticipated. The chief sent his son to them, requesting a few needles and some small shot; they could ill spare the latter, but it would have been impolitic to have refused his urgent solicitations, whatever might have been their tendency.

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The horses promised by Adooley were now sent for them to examine. They appeared strong and in good condition, and if they played them no wicked pranks in "the bush," no doubt they would be found eminently serviceable.

In the evening, Poser's headman, who, it was understood, was one of the chief's first captains, returned their visit of the preceding day, followed by a multitude of friends and retainers. He had been determined, it was believed, before he left home, to be in an ill humour with the travellers, and perhaps he had treated himself with an extra dram upon the occasion. This great bully introduced himself into their dwelling; his huge round face, inflamed with scorn, anger, and "potations deep." He drank with more avidity than his countrymen, but the liquor produced no good impression upon him, serving rather to increase his dissatisfaction and choler. He asked for every thing which he saw, and when they had gratified him to the best of their power, he began to be very abusive and noisy. He said he was convinced that they had come into the country with no good intentions, and accused them of deceit and insincerity in their professions, or, in plainer terms, that they had been guilty of a direct falsehood, in stating that they had no other motive for undertaking the journey than to recover the papers of Mr. Park at Youri. He was assured that they were afraid to tell the true reasons for leaving their own country. They withstood his invectives with tolerable composure, and the disgraceful old fellow left them in a pet, about half an hour after his arrival.

John Lander, we find, on referring to this part of their journey says, "It is really a discouraging reflection, that, nowithstanding the sacrifices we have made of all private feeling and personal comfort, for the purpose of conciliating the good opinion of the people here; the constant fatigue and inconvenience to which we have been subjected; the little arts we have practised; the forced laughter; the unnatural grin: the never-ending shaking of hands, &c. &c., besides the dismal noises and unsavoury smells to which our organs have been exposed, still, after all, some scoundrels are to be found hardened against us by hatred and prejudice, and so ungrateful for all our gifts and attentions, as to take a delight in poisoning the minds of the people against us, by publicly asserting

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that we are English spies, and make use of other inventions equally false and malicious. Pitiable, indeed, must be the lot of that man, who is obliged to drag on a year of existence in so miserable a place as this. Nevertheless we are in health and spirits, and perhaps feel a secret pride in being able to subdue our rising dissatisfaction, and in overcoming difficulties, which at a first glance seemed to be insurmountable. By the blessing of Heaven, we shall proceed prosperously in our undertaking; for in the divine goodness do we alone repose all our confidence and hopes of success. We may say that pleasure and enjoyment have accompanied us hither. The clearness of the sky is pleasant, and its brilliancy, the softness of the moon, the twinkling brightness of the stars, and the silence of night, the warbling and the flight of birds, the hum of insects, and the varied and luxuriant aspect of beautiful nature, are all charming to us; and what on earth can be more soothing and delightful than the thoughts of home and kindred, and anticipations of a holier and more glorious existence; these are true pleasures, of which the barbarians cannot deprive us."

So writes John Lander, in the enthusiasm of his imagination; but unfortunately the reality did not come up to the picture which his fancy had drawn; for although the softness of the moon, and the silence of night, and the brightness of the stars, might be all very pleasant objects, even under an equatorial sun, yet the following account of some of the disagreeables, when taken in contrast, rather tends to overbalance the sum of the agreeables. Thus we find, that on the day subsequent to that on which John Lander had written his rhapsody on the agreeables of Badagry, the noise and jargon of their guests pursued them even in their sleep, and their dreams were disturbed by fancied palavers, which were more unpleasant and vexatious, if possible, in their effects than real ones. Early on the morning of the 25th, they were roused from one of these painful slumbers to listen to the dismal yell of the hyenas, the shrill crowing of cocks, the hum of night flies and mosquitoes, and the hoarse croaking of frogs, together with the chirping of myriads of crickets and other insects, which resounded through the air, as though it had been pierced with a thousand whistles. The *silence* of night, under these circumstances, could not have been very

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pleasant to them, and it scarcely amounts to a question, whether the warbling of the birds could afford any great delight, if the hyenas and the mosquitoes, and the frogs and the crickets considered themselves privileged to make up the chorus.

The sun had scarcely risen, when two Mahommedans arrived at their house, with an invitation for them to accompany them to the spot selected for the performance of their religious rites and observances. This being a novelty, they embraced the proposal with pleasure, and followed the men to the distance of about a mile from their house. Here they observed a number of Mahommedans sitting in detached groups, actively employed in the duties of lustration and ablution. It was a bare space of ground, edged with trees, and covered with sand. The Mussulmans were obliged to bring water with them in calabashes. Seated in a convenient situation, under the spreading branches of a myrtle tree, the two travellers could observe, without being seen, all the actions of the Mussulmans. A number of boys, however, soon intruded themselves upon their privacy; and, in truth, they were more amused by the artlessness and playfulness of their manners, than with all the grave and stupid mummery of the Mahommedan worshippers. Groups of people were continually arriving at the spot, and these were welcomed by an occasional flourish of music from a native clarionet, &c. They were clad in all their finery, their apparel being as gaudy as it was various. The coup d'œil presented by no means an uninteresting spectacle. Loose tobes, with caps and turbans striped and plain, red, blue, and black, were not unpleasantly contrasted with the original native costume of figured cotton, thrown loosely over the shoulders, and immense rush hats. Manchester cottons, of the most glaring patterns, were conspicuous amongst the crowd; but these were cast in the shade by scarfs of green silk, ornamented with leaves and flowers of gold, and aprons covered with silver spangles. Very young children appeared bending under the weight of clothes and ornaments, whilst boys of maturer years carried a variety of offensive weapons. The Turkish scimitar, the French sabre, the Portuguese dagger confined in a silver case, all gleamed brightly, and heavy cutlasses, with rude native knives, were likewise exhibited, half-devoured by cankering

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rust. Clumsy muskets and fowling-pieces, as well as Arab pistols, were also handled with delight by the joyful Mussulmans. In number the religionists were about a hundred and fifty. Not long after the arrival of the two brothers, they formed themselves into six lines, and having laid aside many of their superfluous ornaments, and a portion of their clothing, they put on the most sedate countenance, and commenced their devotional exercises in a spirit of seriousness and apparent fervour, worthy of a better place and a more amiable creed. In the exterior forms of their religion, at least, the Mussulmans are here complete adepts, as this spectacle was well calculated to convince the two Europeans, and the little which they had hitherto seen of them, led them to form a very favourable opinion of their general temperance and sobriety. The ceremony was no sooner concluded, than muskets, carbines, and pistols were discharged on all sides. The clarionet again struck up a note of joy, and was supported by long Arab drums, strings of bells, and a solitary kettle-drum. The musicians, like the ancient minstrels of Europe, were encouraged by trifling presents from the more charitable of the multitude. All seemed cheerful and happy, and, on leaving the Landers, several out of compliment, it was supposed, discharged their pieces at their heels, and were evidently delighted with themselves, with the two English, and the whole world.

In the path, the Landers met a fellow approaching the scene of innocent dissipation, clothed most fantastically in a flannel dress, and riding on the back, on what they were informed was a wooden horse. He was surrounded by natives of all ages, who were laughing most extravagantly at the unnatural capering of the thing, and admiring the ingenuity of the contrivance. The figure itself was entirely concealed with cloths, which rendered it impossible to discover by what agency it was moved. Its head was covered with red cloth, and a pair of sheep's ears answered the purpose for which they were intended tolerably well. Yet, on the whole, though it was easy to perceive that a horse was intended to be represented by it, the figure was executed clumsily enough. As soon as this party had joined the individuals assembled near the place of worship, a startling shriek of laughter testified the tumultuous joy of the wondering multitude. The sun shone out re-

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splendently on the happy groups of fancifully dressed persons, whose showy, various-coloured garments, and sooty skin, contrasted with the picturesque and lovely appearance of the scenery, produced an unspeakably charming effect. The foliage exhibited every variety and tint of green, from the sombre shade of the melancholy yew, to the lively verdure of the poplar and young oak. "For myself," says John Lander, "I was delighted with the agreeable ramble, and imagined that I could distinguish from the notes of the songsters of the grove, the swelling strains of the English skylark and thrush, with the more gentle warbling of the finch and linnet. It was indeed a brilliant morning, teeming with life and beauty, and recalled to my memory a thousand affecting associations of sanguine boyhood, when I was thoughtless and happy. The barbarians around me were all cheerful and full of joy. I have heard that like sorrow, joy is contagious, and I believe that it is, for it inspired me with a similar gentle feeling."

"The 27th March in this place, is what May-day is in many country places in England, and it strongly reminded us of it. But here unfortunately there are no white faces to enliven us, and a want of the lovely complexion of our beautiful countrywomen, tinged with "its celestial red," is severely felt; and so is the total absence here of that golden chain of kindness, which links them to the ruder associates of their festive enjoyments. By and by, doubtless, familiarity with black faces will reconcile me to them, but at present I am compelled to own, that I cannot help feeling a considerable share of aversion towards their jetty complexions, in common I believe with most strangers that visit this place."

Owing to the holiday, which is equally prized and enjoyed by Mahommedan and pagan, their visiters on this day have been almost exclusively confined to a party of Houssa mallams, who entered their dwelling in the forenoon, perfumed all over with musk, more for the purpose of gratifying their vanity by displaying their finery before them, than of paying the travellers the compliment of the day, which was avowedly the sole object of their intrusion. One or two of them were masticating the goora nut, and others had their lips, teeth, and finger nails stained red. Each of the mallams was attended by a well-dressed little boy of agree-

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able countenance, who acted as page to his master, and was his *protegé*. Neither of the men would eat or drink with those whom they came to visit, yet whilst they were in their company, they seemed cheerful and good humoured, and were communicative and highly intelligent. In answer to the questions put to them, they were informed that two rivers enter the Quorra, or great river of Funda, one of which is called the *Coodonia*, and the other the *Tshadda*, (from the lake Tsnad); that a schooner might sail from Bornou to Fundah, on the latter river, without difficulty; that Funda is only twenty-four hours pull from Benin, and twenty-nine days' journey from Bornou. At the close of a long and to the travellers rather an interesting conversation, their visiters expressed themselves highly gratified with their reception, and left the hut to repair to their own habitations.

These men, though slaves to Adooley, are very respectable, and are never called upon by their master, except when required to go to war, supporting themselves by trading for slaves, which they sell to Europeans. They wore decent *nouffie* tobes, (*qu Nyffee*,) Arab red caps, and Houssa sandals. The mallams, both in their manners and conversation, are infinitely superior to the ungentle, and malignant natives of Badagry.

March 28th fell on a Sunday, and luckily for the travellers, the inhabitants of the place considered it as a holiday, and their singing, dancing, and savage jollity possessed greater charms for them than an empty rum cask, though backed by two white faces. With a trifling exception or so, they were in consequence unmolested by their visiters of the everlasting grin and unwearied tongue during the day. This happy circumstance afforded them an opportunity, and ample leisure for spending the Sabbath in a manner most agreeable to their feelings; by devoting the greater part of it to the impressive duties of their divine religion, in humbling themselves before the mercy seat of the great Author of their being, and imploring him to be their refuge and guardian, to shield them from every danger, and to render their undertakings hopeful and prosperous.

As yet no crime of any peculiar atrocity had been committed, to impress the travellers with an unfavourable opinion of the moral

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character of the people amongst whom they were then residing, but on this evening of the Sabbath, a Fantee was robbed of his effects, and stabbed by an assassin below the ribs, so that his life was despaired of. The most unlucky part, however, of this tragical affair to Richard Lander, was, that the natives, from some cause, which he could not divine, had imbibed the conceit that he was skilled in surgery. In vain, he protested that he knew nothing of the anatomy of the human frame—there were many present, who knew far better than he did himself, and therefore, *nolens volens*, he was obliged to visit the patient. It was certainly the first time that Richard Lander had been called in to exercise his surgical skill, and it must be admitted that in one sense, he was well adapted for the character of a bone-setter, or other offices for which the gentlemen of the lancet are notorious. This trait in his character consisted in a gravity of countenance well befitting the individual, who presents himself to his anxious patient, to pronounce the great question of life and death, and the greater the ignorance of the individual, the deeper and more solemn is the countenance, which he assumes. If Richard Lander had been in the least inclined to a risible disposition, perhaps no occasion was more likely to call it into action, than when he saw himself followed by two or three hundred savages, under an imputation of possessing the power of curing an individual, who had been stabbed nearly to the heart, when at the same time, he knew as much of the art of stopping an hemorrhage, as he did of the art of delivering one of the queens of Badagry of an heir to "the golden stool." Fortunately, however, for the new debutant in the medical profession, the victim of the assassin had died a few minutes before the English doctor arrived, and right glad he was, for had he found his patient alive, and he had afterwards died, no doubt whatever rested on his mind, that his death would be attributed to the want of skill on the part of his medical attendant, who, by way of reward for his interference, would have run no small risk of being buried in the same grave as the individual, whose life he had sacrificed to his ignorance and want of skill. From this dilemma he was fortunately relieved, but he had scarcely returned to his habitation, than he was called upon to attend a fetish, or a religious rite, that was to be performed over the

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remains of a native, who had been found dead, but who was in perfect health a few hours before. This kind of coroner's inquest appeared most strange to the travellers, when it was well known to them that the king of Badagry, so far from following the example of other kings, who are so extremely anxious about the life of their subjects, often amuses himself with chopping off two or three hundred heads of his subjects, in order that the path to his apartments may be paved with their skulls; and should there not be quite a sufficient number to complete the job, the deficiency is made up with the same indifference, as a schoolboy strikes off the heads of the poppies in the corn fields. The ceremony observed at this fetish, had a great resemblance to an Irish wake; and could the mourners have been able to obtain the requisite supply of spirits, there is very little doubt that there would not have been a mourner present, who would not have exhibited himself in the state of the most beastly intoxication. The lament of the relatives of the deceased was doleful in the highest degree, and no sounds could be more dismally mournful than those shrieked forth by them on this occasion.

The Sabbath was nearly over, when a summons was received from Adooley, to repair to his residence, in order finally to settle the business relative to their journey into the interior, but they refused to have any disputes with him on the Sabbath, and therefore promised to wait on him the following morning. Accordingly after breakfast, they redeemed their pledge, by paying him the promised visit. Adooley received them with his accustomed politeness and gracious smile. He prefaced his wish by saying, that he wished to inform them of his intention, to detain them at Badagry a day or two longer, the "path" not being considered in a fit state for travelling, rather than his reputation should suffer by leading them into danger, which would undoubtedly be the case, if he had not adopted his present resolution. Yet, he continued, they might depend upon his word as a king, that they should be at liberty to depart on the following Thursday at the latest. Now the Landers well knew that the country was never in a more peaceable or quiet state than at the moment he was speaking, and they were consequently mortified beyond measure, at the perpetual evasions and

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contradictions of this chief. They also regretted that the dry season was drawing fast to a close, and that then they would be obliged to travel in the rainy months.

Having made this declaration, Adooley requested them to write on paper in his presence, for a few things, which he wished to procure from Cape Coast Castle, or from England, as a return for the protection he had promised them. Amongst other articles enumerated were *four* regimental coats, such as are worn by the king of England, being for his own immediate wear, and forty less splendid than the king of England's, for his captains; two long brass guns, to run on swivels; *fifty* muskets; *twenty* barrels of gunpowder; four handsome swords, and forty cutlasses; to which were added, two puncheons of rum; a carpenter's chest of tools, with oils, paint and brushes; the king himself boasting that he was a blacksmith, carpenter, painter, and indeed every trade but a tailor. Independently of these trifles, as he termed them, he wished to obtain half a dozen rockets, and a rocket gun, with a soldier from Cape Coast capable of undertaking the management of it; and lastly, he modestly ordered two puncheons of kowries to be sent him, for the purpose of defraying in part the expences, he had incurred in repelling the attacks of the men of Porto Novo, Atta, Juncullee; the tribes inhabiting those places having made war upon him, for allowing Captain Clapperton's last mission to proceed into the interior without their consent. They now asked jocosely, whether Adooley would be satisfied with these various articles, when, having considered for a few moments, and conversed aloud to a few of his chiefs, who were in the apartment at the time, he replied that he had forgotten to mention his want of a large umbrella, *four* casks of grape shot, and a barrel of flints, which having also inserted in the list, the letter was finally folded and sealed. It was then delivered into the hands of Adooley, who said that he should send it by Accra, one of his head men, to Cape Coast Castle, and that the man would wait there till all the articles should be procured for him. If that be the case, the Landers imagined that Accra would have a very long time to wait.

The interpreter of the Landers, old Hooper, having been suspected by the chief to be in their interest, a young man, named

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Tookwee, who understood a little English, was sent for, and commanded to remain during the whole conference, in order to detect any error that Hooper might make, and to see that every thing enumerated by the chief, should be written in the list of articles.

During this long and serious conversation, the Landers were highly amused with a singular kind of concert, which was formed by three little bells, which were fastened to the tails of the same number of cats by a long string, and made a jingling noise, whenever the animals thought proper to play off any of their antics. As an accompaniment to this singular kind of music, they were favoured with the strains of an organ, which instrument was turned by a little boy, placed purposely in a corner of the apartment.

In the afternoon, a young Jenna woman came to visit them, accompanied by a female friend from Houssa. Her hair was traced with such extraordinary neatness, that John Lander expressed a wish to examine it more minutely. The girl had never beheld such a thing as a white man before, and permission was granted with a great deal of coyness, mixed up perhaps with a small portion of fear, which was apparent as she was slowly untying her turban. No sooner, however, was the curiosity of the travellers gratified, than a demand of two hundred kowries was insisted on by her companion, that, it was alleged, being the price paid in the interior by the male sex to scrutinize a lady's hair. They were obliged to conform to the usual custom, at which the women expressed themselves highly delighted. The hair, which had excited the admiration of the travellers, was made up in the shape of a hussar's helmet, and very ingeniously traced on the top. Irregular figures were likewise braided on each side of the head, and a band of worked thread, dyed in indigo, encircled it below the natural hair, which seemed, by its tightness and closeness, to have been glued fast to the skin. This young Jenna woman was by far the most interesting, both in face and form, of any they had seen since their landing; and her prettiness was rendered more engaging by her retiring modesty and perfect artlessness of manner, which, whether observed in black or white, are sure to command the esteem and reverence of the other sex. Her eyelids were stained with a bluish-black powder, which is the same kind of substance,

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is supposed, as that described in a note in Mr. Beckford's Vatheck. Her person was excessively clean, and her apparel flowing, neat, and graceful. Before taking leave, the girl's unworthy companion informed John Lander, that her *protegée* was married, but that as her husband was left behind at Jenna, she would prevail on her to visit the travellers in the evening after sunset. Of course they expressed their abhorrence of the proposal, and were really grieved to reflect, that, with so much meekness, innocence, modesty, and beauty, their timid friend should be exposed to the wiles of a crafty and wicked woman. On this occasion, John Lander says, "We have longed to discover a solitary virtue lingering amongst the natives of this place, but as yet our search has been ineffectual."

As a contrast to the youthful individual just described, an old withered woman entered their residence in the evening, and began professing the most unbounded affection for both the travellers. She had drank so much rum that she could scarcely stand. She first began to pay her attentions to John Lander, who, being the more sprightly of the two, she thought was the most likely to accede to her wishes; she happened, however, to be the owner of a most forbidding countenance, and four of her front teeth had disappeared from her upper jaw, which caused a singular and disagreeable indention of the upper lip. The travellers were disgusted with the appearance and hateful familiarity of this anc nt hag, who had thus paid so ill a compliment to their vanity, and subsequently they forced her out of the yard without any ceremony.

The travellers now ascertained that the king would not allow them to go to Jenna by the nearest beaten path, on the plea, that, as sacred fetisb land would lie in their way, they would die the moment in which they trod upon it.

The pleasant news was now received, that the king of Jenna had arrived at that town from Katunga. His messenger reached Badagry on the 30th March, and immediately paid a visit to the Landers, accompanied by a friend. They regaled him with a glass of rum, according to their general custom, the first mouthful of which he squirted from his own into the mouth of his associate, and *vice*

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versa. This was the first time they had witnessed this dirty and disgusting practice.

Adooley again sent for the travellers, he having recollected some articles, which were necessary to complete the cargo, which the king of England was to send him. To their great surprise, however, the first article that he demanded was nothing less than a gun-boat, with a hundred men from England, as a kind of body-guard; for his own private and immediate use, however, he demanded a few common tobacco-pipes. It was a very easy matter to give a bill for the gun-boat and the hundred men, neither of which, they well knew, would be duly honoured; for, before they could come back protested to king Adooley, the drawers of it knew they would be far beyond his power; and they had received such specimens of the extreme nobleness and generosity of his character, that they determined never to throw themselves in his power again. In regard, however, to the tobacco-pipes, they dared not part with them on any account, because, considering the long journey, they had before them, they were convinced they had nothing to spare; indeed it was their opinion, that the presents would be all exhausted long before the journey was completed, and this was in a great measure to be imputed to the rapacity of Adooley, when he examined their boxes. With the same facility that they could have written the order for the gun-boat and the hundred men, they now wrote a paper for forty ounces of gold, worth there about two pounds an ounce, to be distributed amongst the chief of the English-town and the rest of their partisans. Adooley had now summed up the measure of his demands; the travellers were most agreeably surprised by an assurance from him, that they should quit Badagry on the morrow, with the newly-arrived Jenna messenger. They accordingly adjusted all their little matters to the apparent satisfaction of all parties, nor could they help wishing, for the sake of their credit, that they might never meet such needy and importunate friends as pestered them during their residence at Badagry.

In regard to king Adooley, we have been furnished with some most interesting particulars respecting him, and some of his actions certainly exhibit a nobleness of character seldom to be found in

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the savage. His conduct towards the Landers was distinguished by the greatest rapacity and duplicity, whilst in his intercourse with his own immediate connexions, his actions cannot be surpassed by any of the great heroes of antiquity. He evinced in early youth an active and ingenious disposition, and an extraordinary fondness for mechanical employments and pursuits. This bias of Adooley soon attracted the attention and notice of his father, and this revered parent did all that his slender means afforded of cherishing it, and of encouraging him to persevere in his industrious habits. Whilst yet a boy, Adooley was a tolerable carpenter, smith, painter, and gunner. He soon won the admiration of his father, who displayed greater partiality and affection for him, than for either of his other children, and on his death nominated this favorite son his successor, to the exclusion of his first-born, which is against the laws of the country, the eldest son being invariably understood as the legitimate heir. For some time, however, after his decease, no notice was taken of the dying request of the Lagos chieftain; his eldest son ruled in his stead, notwithstanding his last injunction, and Adooley for a few years wisely submitted to his brother without murmuring or complaint. The young men at length quarrelled, and Adooley calling to remembrance the words and wishes of his father, rose up against the chief, whom he denounced an usurper, and vehemently called upon his friends to join him in disputing his authority, and endeavour to divest him of his power and consequence. All the slaves of his deceased parent, amongst whom were a great number of Houssa mallams; all who bore any personal dislike to the ruling chief, or were discontented with his form of government; those who preferred Adooley, and the discontented of all ranks, formed themselves into a strong body, and resolved to support the pretensions of their favourite. The brothers agreed to decide the quarrel by the sword, and having come to a general engagement, the partizans of the younger were completely routed, and fled with their leader before the victorious arms of the opposing party.

Fearing the result of this contest, Adooley, with a spirit of filial piety, which is not rare amongst savages, and is truly noble, dug out of the earth, wherein it had been deposited, the skull of his

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father, and took it along with him in his flight, in order that it might not be dishonoured in his absence, for he loved his father with extraordinary tenderness, and cherished his memory as dearly as his own life. The headless body of the venerable chief, like those of his ancestors, had been sent to Benin, in order that its bones might adorn the sacred temple at that place, agreeably to an ancient and respected custom, which has ever been religiously conformed to, and tenaciously held by the Lagos people. But Adooley displayed at the same time another beautiful trait of piety and filial tenderness. At the period of his defeat, he had an aged and infirm mother living, and her he determined to take with him, let the consequences be what they might. With his accustomed foresight, he had previously made a kind of cage or box, in case there should be a necessity for removing her. His father's skull having been disinterred and secured, he implored his mother to take immediate advantage of this cage, as the only means of escaping with life. She willingly acceded to her son's request, and was borne off on the shoulders of four slaves, to a village not far distant from Lagos, accompanied by Adooley and his fugitive train, where they imagined themselves secure from further molestation. In this opinion, however, they were deceived, for the more fortunate chief, suspicious of his brother's intentions, and dreading his influence, would not suffer him to remain long in peace, but drove him out soon after, and hunted him from place to place like a wild beast. In this manner, retreating from his brother, he at last reached the flourishing town of Badagry, and being quite wearied with his exertions and fatigues, and disheartened by his misfortunes, he set down his beloved mother on the grass, and began to weep by her side. The principal people of the town were well acquainted with his circumstances, and admiring the nobleness of his sentiments, they not only pitied him, but resolved to protect and befriend him to the last.

For this purpose they presently invited him to attend a council, which they had hastily formed. When in the midst of them, perceiving tears falling fast down his cheeks, they asked him why he wept so? "Foolish boy," said they, "wipe away those tears, for they are unworthy of you, and show yourself a man and a prince.

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From this moment we adopt you our chief, you shall lead us on to war, and we will fight against your brother, and either prevail over him or perish. Here your mother may dwell in safety, and here shall your father's skull be reverenced as it ought to be. Come then, lay aside your fears, and lead us on against your enemies."

These enemies were in the bush, and hovering near Badagry, when Adooley and his generous friends sallied out against them. The fighting or rather skirmishing lasted many days, and many people, it is said, were slain on both sides. But the advantage was decidedly in favour of the Badagrians, whose superior knowledge of the district and secret paths of the wood, was of considerable service to them, enabling them to lie in ambush, and attack their enemies by surprise. The Lagos people at length gave up the unequal contest in despair, and returned to their own country. Adooley was thus left in quiet possession of an important and influential town, which declared itself independent of Lagos for ever. Since then various unsuccessful attempts have been made to compel the Badagrians to return to their allegiance. The latter, however, have bravely defended their rights, and in consequence their independency has been acknowledged by the neighbouring tribes.

In the year 1829, the warlike chief of Lagos died, and Adooley considering it to be a favourable opportunity for his re-assertion of his claims to the vacant "stool," as it is called, determined to do so, and assembled his faithful Badagrians for the purpose of making an attack on his native town. He imagined that as his brother was dead, he should experience little opposition from his countrymen; but he soon discovered that he had formed an erroneous opinion, for almost at his very outset, he met with a stout resistance. His brother had left an infant son, and him the people declared to be his legitimate heir, and unanimously resolved to support him.

The sanguine invaders were repulsed, and entirely defeated, notwithstanding their tried bravery and utter contempt of danger: and were forced to return home in confusion without having accomplished any thing. In this unfortunate expedition Bombanee and all the principal warriors were slain. A similar attempt has

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been made on Lagos more than once, and with a similar result. On the arrival of the Landers at Badagry, Adooley was but just recovering from the effects of these various mortifications and other disasters; and singular enough, he had the artfulness, as has been previously noticed, of laying the whole blame of them to his having permitted the last African mission to pass through his territories, contrary to the wishes of his neighbours, and those, who were interested in the matter.

Justice is not unfrequently administered at Badagry by means of a large wooden cap, having three corners, which is placed on the head of the culprit at the period of his examination. This fantastic piece of mechanism, no doubt by the structure of internal springs, may be made to move and shake without any visible agent, on the same principle as the enchanted Turk, or any other figure in our puppet shows. It is believed that the native priests are alone in the secret. When the cap is observed to shake whilst on the head of a suspected person, he is condemned without any further evidence being required; but should it remain without any perceptible motion, his innocence is apparent and he is forthwith acquitted. The frame of this wonderful cap makes a great fuss in the town, and as many wonderful stories are told of it here, as were related in England, a century or two ago, of the famous brazen head of Roger Bacon.

A respectable man, the chief of French-town, was tried by the ordeal of the cap a short time since, for having, it was alleged, accepted a bribe of the Lagos chieftain to destroy Adooley by poison. The fatal cap was no sooner put upon his head than it was observed to move slightly and then to become more violently agitated. The criminal felt its motion, and was terrified to such a degree that he fell down in a swoon. On awakening, he confessed his guilt, and implored forgiveness, which was granted him by Adooley, because, it was said, of his sorrow and contrition, but really, no doubt, of his birth and connexions.

During the stay of the Landers at Badagry, the thermometer of Fahrenheit ranged between 86° and 94° in their hut, but being oftener stationary nearer the latter, than the former.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

It was on Tuesday, the 31st March, that the Landers bade adieu to the chief of Badagry, and during the whole of that day they were employed packing up their things preparatory to their departure. They repaired to the banks of the river at sunset, expecting to find a canoe, which Adooley had promised should be sent there for their use; but having waited above two hours, and finding it had not arrived, they placed their goods in two smaller canoes, which were lying on the beach. These soon proved to be leaky, and as no other resource was at hand, they were fain to wait as patiently as they could for the canoe promised them. Every thing betrayed the lukewarmness and indifference of the chief, who had received so much from them, and who expected so much more, but they had answered his purpose, and therefore he took no further notice of them. In two more hours, Hooper made his appearance in Adooley's war canoe, which he had prevailed on him to lend them. This was placed directly between the two others, and their contents speedily transferred into it. It was between ten and eleven o'clock at night that they were fairly launched out into the body of the river. The canoe was above forty feet in length; it was propelled through the water by poles instead of paddles, and moved slowly and silently along. It was a clear and lovely night; the moon shone gloriously as a silver shield, and reflecting the starry firmament on the unruffled surface of the water, the real concave of heaven with its reflection seemed to form a perfect world. The scenery on the

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borders of the river appeared wild and striking, though not magnificent. In the delicious moonshine it was far from uninteresting: the banks were low and partially covered with stunted trees, but a slave factory and a fetish hut were the only buildings which were observed on them. They could not help admiring at some distance ahead of their canoe, when the windings of the river would permit, a noble and solitary palm tree with its lofty branches bending over the water's edge; to them it was not unlike a majestical plume of feathers nodding over the head of a beautiful lady.

Proceeding about ten miles in a westerly direction, they suddenly turned up a branch joining the river from the northward, passing on the left the village of Bawie, at which Captain Clapperton landed. They saw several small islands covered with rank grass, interspersed in different parts of the river. They were inhabited by myriads of frogs, whose noise was more hoarse and stunning than ever proceeded from any rookery in christendom. As they went up the river the canoe men spoke to their priests, who were invisible to them, in a most sepulchral tone of voice, and were answered in the same unearthly and doleful manner. These sounds formed their nocturnal serenade. Notwithstanding the novelty of their situation and the interest they took in the objects, which surrounded them, they were so overcome with fatigue, that they wrapped a flannel around them, and fell fast asleep.

The hard and uncomfortable couch, on which they had reposed the preceding night, made their bodies quite sore, and occasioned them to awake at a very early hour in the morning. At six o'clock A. M. they found themselves still upon the river, and their canoe gliding imperceptibly along. From half a mile in width, and in many places much more, the river had narrowed to about twenty paces; marine plants nearly covered its surface, and marsh miasmata, loaded with other vapours of the most noxious quality, ascended from its borders like a thick cloud. Its smell was peculiarly offensive. In about an hour afterwards, they arrived at the extremity of the river, into which flowed a stream of clear water. Here the canoe was dragged over a morass into a deep but narrow rivulet, so narrow indeed that it was barely possible for the canoe to float, without being entangled in the branches of a number of trees.

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which were shooting up out of the water. Shortly after, they found it to widen a little; the marine plants and shrubs disappeared altogether, and the boughs of beautiful trees, which hung over the banks, overshadowed them in their stead, forming an arch-like canopy, impervious to the rays of the sun. The river and the lesser stream abound with alligators and hippopotami, the wild ducks and a variety of other aquatic birds resorting to them in considerable numbers. In regard to the alligator, a singular fraud is committed by the natives of the coast, who collect the alligators' eggs in great numbers, and being in their size and make exactly resembling the eggs of the domestic fowl, they intermix them, and sell them at the markets as the genuine eggs of the fowls; thus many an epicure in that part of the world, who luxuriates over his egg at breakfast, fancying that it has been laid by some good wholesome hen, finds, to his mortification, that he has been masticating the egg of so obnoxious an animal as the alligator.

The trees and branches of the shrubs were inhabited by a colony of monkeys and parrots, making the most abominable chattering and noise, especially the former, who seemed to consider the travellers as direct intruders upon their legitimate domain, and who were to be deterred from any further progress by their menaces and hostile deportment. After passing rather an unpleasant, and in many instances an insalubrious night, the travellers landed, about half-past eight in the morning, in the sight of a great multitude, that had assembled to gaze at them.

Passing through a place, where a large fair or market is held, and where many thousands of people had congregated for the purpose of trade, they entered an extensive and romantic town, called Wow, which is situated in a valley. The majority of the inhabitants had never before had an opportunity of seeing white men, so that their curiosity, as may be supposed, was excessive. Two of the principal persons came out to meet them, preceded by men bearing large silk umbrellas, and another playing a horn, which produced such terrible sounds, that they were glad to take refuge, as soon as they could, in the chief's house. The apartment, into which they were introduced was furnished with a roof precisely like that of a common English barn inverted. In the middle of it.

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which reached to within a few inches of the floor, a large square hole had been made to admit air and water to a shrub that was growing directly under it. The most remarkable, if not the only ornament in the room, were a number of human jaw bones, hung upon the side of the wall, like a string of onions. After a formal and ceremonious introduction, they were liberally regaled with water from a calabash, which is a compliment the natives pay to all strangers, and then they were shown into a very small apartment. Here Richard Lander endeavoured to procure a little sleep, having remained awake during the whole of the preceding night; but they were so annoyed by perpetual interruptions and intrusions, the firing of muskets, the garrulity of women, the unceasing squall of children, the drunken petition of men and boys, and a laugh, impossible to describe, but approximating more to the nature of a horse-laugh than any other, that it was found impossible to sleep for ten minutes together.

The market of this place is supplied abundantly with Indian corn, palm oil, &c., together with *trona*, and other articles brought hither from the borders of the Great Desert, through the medium of the wandering Arabs. According to the regulations of the fetish, neither a white man nor a horse is permitted to sleep at Wow during the night season: as to the regulations respecting the horses, they knew not what had become of them; they were, according to the orders of Adooley, to have preceded them to this place, but they had not then arrived. With respect to themselves, they found it necessary, in conformity to the orders of the fetish, to walk to a neighbouring village, and there to spend the night. Their course to Wow, through this creek, was north-by-east; and Badagry, by the route they came, was about thirty miles distant.

A violent thunder-storm, which on the coast is called a tornado, visited them this afternoon, and confined them to the "worst hut's worse room" till it had subsided, and the weather become finer. At three P. M. they sallied forth, and were presently saluted by hootings, groanings, and hallooings from a multitude of people of all ages, from a child to its grandmother, and they followed closely at their heels, as they went along, filling the air with their laughter and raillery. A merry-andrew at a country town in England,

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during the Whitsuntide holidays, never excited so great a stir as did the departure of the travellers from the town of Wow. But it is "a fool's day," and, no doubt, some allowance ought to be made for that. They had not proceeded more than a dozen paces from the outskirts of the town, when they were visited by a pelting shower, which wetted them to the skin in a moment. A gutter or hollow, misnamed a pathway, was soon overflowed, and they had to wade in it up to their knees in water, and through a most melancholy-looking forest, before they entered a village. It was called *Sagba*, and was about eight miles from Wow. They were dripping wet on their arrival, and the weather still continuing unpleasant, it was some time before any one made his appearance to invite them into a hut. At length the chief came out to welcome them to his village, and immediately introduced them into a long, narrow apartment, wherein they were to take up their quarters for the night. It was built of clay, and furnished with two apertures, to admit light and air into the room. One end was occupied by a number of noisy goats, whilst the travellers took possession of the other. Pascoe and his wife lay on mats at their feet, and a native Toby Philpot, with his ruddy cheek and jug of ale, belonging to the chief, separated them from the goats. The remainder of the suite of the travellers had nowhere whatever to sleep. The walls of their apartment were ornamented with strings of dry, rattling, human bones, written charms, or fetishes, sheep skins, and bows and arrows. They did not repose nearly so comfortably as could have been desired, owing to the swarms of mosquitoes and black ants, which treated them very despitefully till the morning.

Between six and seven on the morning of the 2d April, they continued their route through woods and large open patches of ground, and at about eleven in the forenoon, they arrived at the borders of a deep glen, more wild, romantic, and picturesque than can be conceived. It was enclosed and overhung on all sides by trees of amazing height and dimensions, which hid it in deep shadow. Fancy might picture a spot so silent and solemn as this, as the abode of genii and fairies, every thing conducing to render it grand, melancholy, and venerable, and the glen wanted only a dilapidated castle, a rock with a cave in it, or something of the kind.

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to render it the most interesting place in the universe. There was, however, one sight more beautiful than all the rest, and that was the incredible number of butterflies fluttering about like a swarm of bees, and they had no doubt chosen this glen as a place of refuge against the fury of the elements. They were variegated by the most brilliant tints and colourings imaginable: the wings of some of them were of a shining green, edged and sprinkled with gold; others were of a sky-blue and silver, others of purple and gold delightfully blending into each other, and the wings of some were like dark silk velvet, trimmed and braided with lace.

The appearance of the travelling party was romantic in the extreme, as they winded down the paths of the glen; with their grotesque clothing and arms, bundles, and fierce black countenances, they might have been mistaken for a strange band of ruffians of the most fearful character. Besides their own immediate party, they had hired twenty men of Adooley, to carry the luggage, as there are not any beasts of burthen in the country, the natives carrying all their burthens upon their heads, and some of them of greater weight than are seen carried by the Irishwomen from the London markets. Being all assembled at the bottom of the glen, they found that a long and dangerous bog or swamp filled with putrid water, and the decayed remains of vegetable substances intersected their path, and must necessarily be crossed. Boughs of trees had been thrown into the swamp by some good-natured people to assist travellers in the attempt, so that their men, furnishing themselves with long poles which they used as walking sticks, with much difficulty and exertion, succeeded in getting over, and fewer accidents occurred to them, than could have been supposed possible, from the nature of the swamp. John Lander was taken on the back of a large and powerful man of amazing strength. His brawny shoulders supported him, without any apparent fatigue on his part, and he carried him through bog and water, and even branches of tress, no bigger than a man's leg, rendered slippery with mud, in safety to the opposite side. Although he walked as fast and with as much ease as his companions, he did not set him down for twenty minutes; the swamp being, as nearly as they could guess, a full quarter of a mile in length. They then walked to a small

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village called Basha, whence, without stopping, they continued their journey, and about four in the afternoon, passed through another village somewhat larger than the former, which is called Soató. Here they found themselves so much exhausted with over fatigue and want of food, that they were compelled to sit down and rest awhile. The people, however, were a very uncourteous and clownish race, and teazed them so much with their rudeness and begging propensities, that they were glad to prosecute their journey to save themselves from any further importunities.

Having passed two other swamps, in the same manner as they had done before, they were completely tired, and could go no further, for they had been walking during the whole of the day in an intricate miserable path, sometimes exposed to the sun, and sometimes threading their way through a tangled wood. Some of the people were sent to the next town, to fetch the horses promised by Adooley, during the absence of whom, the two Landers reposed themselves under a grove of trees, which was in the neighbourhood of a body of stagnant water, in which women were bathing, who cast long side glances at the two white men, who were observing all their motions. It was a low, marshy, and unwholesome spot; and although a village was not many miles ahead, yet they were unable to walk to it. Under these circumstances, they had no other alternative than to rest there for the night, and they had made fires of dried wood and fallen leaves, and had prepared to repose for the night under a canopy of trees, and were in fact actually stretched at full length on the turf for that purpose, when they were agreeably surprised by the arrival of four of their men from the village with hammocks, for although sleeping in the open air, with Heaven for their canopy, in a dark wood, may be all very romantic and pretty in description; yet in reality nothing could be more disagreeable, for the crawling of ants, black worms, &c., over their faces was sufficient to dispel every delightful fancy, which might have been engendered in the brain. These hammocks were highly acceptable, and they were lifted into them with very grateful feelings. It was also exceedingly pleasant, after a long day's journey on foot, to be carried along so easily, and to see the parrots and other birds, with a number of grinning, chattering men-

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keys, capering from the lofty branches of the trees, and making the woods resound with their hideous screams.

After a charming journey of eight or ten miles, they entered the large and populous town of Bidjie, where the Landers first crossed Clapperton's route, and where Captain Pearse and Dr. Morrison fell sick on the last expedition. About a quarter of a mile from the town they were met by a fellow with a cow's horn, who, chiming in with a trumpeter, who had accompanied them from Wow, produced a harmony surpassing all that they had as yet heard. Two men followed the Bidjie musician with umbrellas of variegated silk, and, thus honoured and escorted, they were set down, amidst a crowd of people, in the centre of the town. As usual, the natives testified the wild delight they felt at the visit of the white men, by clapping of hands and loud shouts of laughter. In a short time, the noise of three or four drums was heard, which was an announcement that the chief was prepared to receive them, on which the multitude quitted them simultaneously, and rushed to the spot where he was sitting, and to which, they were also desired to proceed. The chief shook hands with them in great good humour; and they remarked with pleasure, or they fancied they did, that not only his laugh, but that of the people, was a more social and civilized kind of sound, than what of late they had been accustomed to hear. Nevertheless, when John Lander shook hands with the chief's son, which act was not very diverting in itself, the bystanders set up so general a roar of laughter, that the town rang with the noise; and when Lander ventured further to place his hand on his head, they were yet more amazingly pleased, and actually "shrieked like mandrakes torn out of the earth."

As soon as the ceremony of introduction was over, and the admiration of the people was confined within rational bounds, they wished the chief a pleasant night's rest, and were conducted into a comfortable airy hut, which had a verandah in front. The chief shortly afterwards sent them a goat for supper.

They were now in momentary expectation of hearing some account of their horses from Badagry, and indeed they waited the whole of the day at Bidjie for that purpose, and in order that the men with the luggage might have time to overtake them, for they

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had been hindered by the swamps and quagmires, which they themselves found so much difficulty in crossing. Just about sunset, however, two fellows arrived from Badagry with the mortifying intelligence, that their horses would not remain on the water in canoes, but having upset one of them, and kicked out the bottom of another, had swam ashore and been led back to Badagry. They were fully convinced that this story was made up for the occasion, and thus by the bad faith of Adooley they were deprived of their horses. They had put themselves in a fever by walking a journey of two days in one, and were likely to walk the remainder of the way to Jenna in the glare and heat of the sun, for they had no umbrellas to screen themselves from his rays. Richard Lander paid eighty dollars for one of the horses, but Adooley forgot to return the coin, and likewise kept for his own use a couple of saddles which were purchased at Accra.

Late in the evening the expected carriers arrived with the luggage, some of which had been wetted and damaged in the marshes. They were now informed that horses would be sent them on the following day from Jenna. During the greater part of the afternoon, Richard Lander amused himself in teaching the simple hearted chief to play on a child's penny Jews-harp, many of which they had brought with them as presents; but his proficiency, owing to a wonderfully capacious mouth, and teeth of extraordinary size, was not near so flattering as could have been wished. His people, however, who had assembled in extraordinary numbers, were of a different opinion, and when they heard their chief draw the first sound from the little instrument, "shouts of applause ran rattling to the skies."

A traveller in England, who enjoys the goodness of the roads, does not often murmur at the demands which are made upon his purse by the turnpike-keepers, but in Africa the frequency of the turnpikes on the road from Badagry to Bidjie, was a matter of some surprise to the Landers. Human beings carrying burthens are the only persons who pay the turnpikes, for as to a horse or a carriage passing through them, it would be a scene of the greatest wonder. The Landers, however, enjoyed the same privilege as the royal

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family of England, for being under the protection of the government, they as well as all their suite and baggage passed toll free.

On Sunday, April 4th, they arose at sunrise to make the necessary arrangements for leaving Bidjie, which was no easy task, and shortly after they sent to signify their intention to the chief. He expressed a desire to see them as soon as they could conveniently come, accordingly after breakfast, they repaired to his habitation, which was contiguous to their own. After being conducted through a number of yards and huts, inhabited only by goats and sheep, which were tethered to posts, and a number of tame pigeons, they perceived the object of their visit squatting on a leopard's skin, under a decent looking verandah. He was surrounded by his drummers, and other distinguished persons, who made room for the travellers as they drew near. But the chief arose as soon as he saw them, and beckoning them to follow him, they were ushered through a labyrinth of low huts, and still lower doors, till at last they entered the innermost apartment of the whole suite, and here they were requested to sit down and drink rum. The doors they had seen were covered with figures of men, which exactly resembled certain rude attempts at portraying the human body, which may still be observed in several old chapels and churches in the west of England. The chief informed them that they were at liberty to quit Bidjie, as soon as the heat of the sun should have somewhat abated, but previously to their departure he promised to return their visit. On leaving the place he followed them, though without their knowledge; but finding that they walked faster than he did, and that he could not keep pace with them, being a very bulky man, he hastily despatched a messenger to inform them that kings in Africa, whatever they may do elsewhere, always walk with a slow and measured step, and that the strides of the travellers being long and vulgar, he would thank them to lessen their speed, and stop awhile to enable him to come up with them, which was of course agreed to by the travellers with great good will. A few minutes afterwards he reached their house, dressed in a tobe of green silk damask, very rich and showy, and a skull cap made of purple and crimson velvet. With the exception

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of strings of white beads, which encircled his arms, he used no personal ornaments. He remained chattering with them for a long time.

Many of the women of Bidjie have the flesh on their foreheads risen in the shape of marbles, and their cheeks are similarly cut up and deformed. The lobes of their ears are likewise pierced, and the holes made surprisingly large, for the insertion of pieces of wood and ivory into them, which is a prevailing fashion with all ranks.

The church service was read this morning agreeably to their general custom. The natives, of whose society they were never able to rid themselves, seemed to attach great awe and reverence to their form of worship, for they had made them understand what they were going about, which induced them to pay a high degree of silent attention to the ceremony, and set at rest for the time, that peculiar continuous laugh by which they are distinguished from their neighbours. In the afternoon, or as the natives express it, when the sun had lost its strength, they departed from the town of Bidjie, accompanied by its good natured, happy governor, and in a very few minutes afterwards reached the banks of a rivulet called Yow. Butterflies were here more numerous than could be imagined, millions of them fluttered around them, and literally hid from their sight every thing but their own variegated and beautiful wings.

Here on the banks of the Yow they took a last farewell of the affectionate old chief, who implored the "Great God," to bless them, and as the canoes in which they had embarked moved from the spot, a loud long laugh, with clapping of hands from the lower classes, evinced the satisfaction they felt at having seen the white men, and their hearty wishes for their welfare.

The Yow is an extremely narrow rivulet, not more than a few feet in breadth, and flows in a serpentine direction through a flat country, covered with rushes, and tall, rank grass. Crocodiles are said to resort here in great numbers, indeed the low bark or growl of these rapacious animals was heard distinctly, and in some instances quite close to them; after they had been pushed along against the stream by poles for five or six miles, between four and

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five o'clock in the afternoon they landed at a narrow creek, which ran a little way into a thick and gloomy forest. They had not proceeded more than two hundred yards on the pathway, when they were met by a messenger from Jenna, who informed them that the owners of all the horses in the town, had ridden out to welcome their chief, and escort him to his residence, so that they should be obliged to walk the remainder of the way. A few minutes, however, only had elapsed before they descried a horse approaching them in the path, this was a goodly sight to them, who were already becoming wearied and sore with the exertions they had made during the day, for they did not reflect a moment that the animal might not after all be for their use. However, they soon met, and the rider immediately declared that he had left Jenna purposely on their account. The head of the horse was loaded with charms and fetishes, enveloped in pieces of red and blue cloth. His saddle was of Houssa manufacture, and uncommonly neat; in the interior such an article is only used by the principal people, and his bridle also was of curious workmanship. The horseman had an extravagant idea of his own consequence, and seemed to be a prodigious boaster. He wore abundance of clothing, most of which was superfluous, but it made him excessively vain. He informed the travellers that he had been despatched by the king of Jenna, to meet them in the path, and to escort them to the capital; but understanding that Adooley had supplied them with horses, he did not conceive it necessary to send others. The messenger, however, dismounted and offered them his horse, and the Landers agreed that they should ride him in turns. They therefore immediately proceeded, and traversed a rich and various country, abounding plentifully with wood and water. A fine red sand covered the pathway, which they found to be in much better condition than any they had before seen. Sometimes it winded through an open, level tract of fine grazing land, and then it again diverged through forests so thick and deep, that the light of the moon was unable to penetrate the gloom, and they were frequently left in comparatively midnight darkness. It is scarcely possible to give an adequate description of the magnificence, solemnity, and desolate repose of the awful solitudes through which they passed on this

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evening. They were, however, at times enlightened by the appearance of glow worms, which were so luminous that they could almost see to read by their golden splendour, and sometimes by the moonbeams, which trembled upon the leaves and branches of the trees. A fragrance also was exhaled from the forest, more odoriferous than the perfume of violets or primroses, and they might almost fancy, when threading their way through scenery, which cannot be surpassed for beauty in any part of the world, that they were approaching those eternal shades, where, in ancient time, the souls of good men were supposed to wander. The woods rang with the song of the nightbirds, and the hum of the insects, which continued to salute them with little intermission till about ten o'clock at night, when they entered Laatoo, a large and pleasant town. Here they were informed that no house would be offered them, the fetish priest having declared that the moment a white man should enter the dwellings of the inhabitants, they would be seized by their enemies and enslaved. They arrived thirsty and exhausted, but for a long time could not procure even a drop of water. Their tent had been left on the road for want of carriers, and they had made up their minds to rest under a tree, when about two hours afterwards it was fortunately brought into the town. They fixed it immediately, and having succeeded in procuring some wood from the inhospitable inhabitants, they kindled a fire in front of it, and whilst their attendants laid themselves in groups outside, the Landers attempted to sleep within their tent, but it was in vain, so tormented were they with the mosquitoes and the ants.

Before sunrise, on the morning of the 5th of April, they were all on the alert, and struck their tent at a very early hour, they then sent the carriers onwards with the luggage and hastily left the town, without bidding adieu either to the chief or any of his people, on account of their inhospitality, and in an hour's time reached the extensive and important town of Larro. On dismounting, they were first led to a large cleanly swept square, wherein was preserved the fetish of the place, which is the model of a canoe, having three wooden figures with paddles in it. After waiting in the shade for an hour, surrounded by an immense multitude of people of all

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ages, the chief's approach was announced by a general rush from their quarters, to the other end of the square, where he was walking. They went towards him in order to pay him the accustomed salutation of shaking hands, &c., but one of his followers fancying that John Lander kept his master's hand clasped in his, longer than the occasion warranted, looked fiercely in his face, and snatched away his hand eagerly and roughly, without, however, uttering a word. "I could have pulled the fellow's ears with the greatest goodwill, in the world," says John Lander, "had not the fear of secret revenge deterred me. As it was, I smothered my rising choler, and with my brother quietly followed the chief, to his principal hut, under whose verandah we were served with goora nuts in a huge pewter platter."

Presently the chief squatted himself down on a handsome rush mat, of native manufacture, and they were desired to sit by him, on an elegant Turkey carpet, which had been laid there for the purpose. He was rather fancifully dressed; and wore two tobes, the one nearest the skin being of black silk velvet, and the other of crimson velvet, lined with sarsenet; his boots were of yellow leather, neatly worked, and his wrists were loaded with bracelets of silver and copper. The countenance of the chief betrayed much seriousness and solidity, and the diverting laugh of his countrymen was suspended by a sober cheerfulness. Many of his wives sat behind him in rows, some of whom were of a bright copper colour, indeed a great number of the inhabitants of Larro have fairer complexions than mulattoes. The yard of the hut was crammed full of curious and inquisitive people, who stood with open mouths during the audience. The chief wished to imprint strongly on their minds his own dignity and power; he said he was greater than the governor of Jenna, inasmuch as the latter was a slave to the king of Katunga, but himself was a free man. He would give them permission to depart to-morrow, he continued, and in the mean time would supply them with provisions. The chief was as good as his word, for shortly after they had quitted the hut they received a goat and some game, and he returned their visit in the cool of the evening. It appeared that it was not his general practice to drink spirituous liquors in presence of his people, as it may be against

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the law to do so, for having carefully excluded all prying eyes from their dwelling, and ordered a mat to be hung over the door-way, he even then turned his face to the wall, whenever he attempted to swallow the brandy that was offered to him. He remained with them rather better than an hour. On the presentation of the chief to them, a religious ceremony was performed, which was not observed in any other part of the country. A chapter from the Koran was repeated to him by a mahommedan priest, to which both he and his people seemed to pay great attention.

Public schools are established in the town of Larro, for the avowed purpose of teaching the rising generation the rudiments of the mahommedan religion.

A singular custom prevails in the town, of compelling children at the breast to swallow a quantity of cold water from a calabash. An infant was nearly choked on this morning by the injection of more than a pint of water down its throat. Whether the mothers follow this custom for the purpose of curing the children of any imaginary complaints, or, as is more probable, in the hope of rendering them less eager for their natural food, was not exactly to be ascertained.

The inhabitants possess horses, asses, and mules, though not in any considerable numbers, they have, however, great abundance of sheep and goats, which are bred in the town; and their yards and huts are the common place of resort for those animals, indeed they may be said to grow up and live with the children of their owners. The Landers amused themselves during the greater part of the day, in looking at the gambols of some very handsome goats, which had strayed into their abode, but the sheep were not near so tame or frolicsome, repelling all the advances towards a more familiar acquaintance, by timidity and ill nature. Shrimps and fish, which are caught in the streams in the vicinity of the town, are daily exposed for sale, and the inhabitants appear to be in possession of a greater share of the necessaries and comforts of life, than their neighbours of the sea coast.

They this day observed the country to be sensibly rising, and agriculture appeared to be conducted on a regular system, which was an evident proof of the active and industrious habits of the people.

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The gloomy fastnesses and wildnesses of nature, such as they passed on the first day or two of their journey from Badagry, were less common as they advanced, and open glades with plantations of bananas, fields of yams and Indian corn, all neatly fenced, met their view from the path of yesterday as well as on the present day. The inhabitants of Larro also exhibit greater cleanliness of person and tidiness of apparel than the tribes nearer the sea-shore. Those pests also, the unfortunate beggars, entirely disappeared, for the inhabitants of Larro appeared to possess too much pride to beg.

It was at Larro that the two brothers began to feel the relaxing influence of the climate, but still their hearts were good, and they hoped, by the blessing of Heaven, that their progress through the country might not be impeded by sickness.

On Tueday, April 6th, the sun had scarcely risen above the horizon, and the mists of the morning yet hung upon the hills, than they quitted the town of Larro, and pursued their journey on horseback. Three horsemen from Jenna followed them on the path, and they were enlivened by the wild jingling of their animals' bells, till they got within a mile of that town, where they alighted at a kind of turnpike, and fired a salute of two muskets. Here they were met by a number of fellows with horns, who blew on them with the accustomed energy of the natives; these men preceded them over a bridge, which was thrown across a moat that surrounds Jenna into the centre of the town, where they again alighted, and waited the chief's pleasure in an open shed. They had not been seated many seconds before an immense crowd of people pressed in upon them on every side, subjecting them to the accustomed inconvenience of want of air, strong unwholesome smells, and a confused hubbub, that defies description. Never were the people more eager to behold a white man; the little ones formed themselves into a ring close to the shed, then followed those of maturer age, after them came a still older class, and the last circle consisted of people as tall as steeples; most of whom held infants in their arms. Altogether a large amphitheatre was formed of black woolly heads, and white teeth set in jetty faces, and although the Landers felt rather amazed at their innocent curiosity, and were obliged to wait a considerable time for the new chief, they could

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not help being highly diverted with the spectacle around them; at length, to their great relief and joy, intelligence was brought that the chief was ready to receive them. It appears that the principles of etiquette at the royal courts, whether of Europe or of Africa, are not definitively settled, for that which at the court of a William the fourth, would be considered as the extreme of rudeness and disrespect, is at the African courts construed into the most decisive testimony of good breeding and politeness. It may be difficult to determine to which the preference ought to be given, but as etiquette is an essential in all courts, no matter how far it departs from common sense and reason, we do not see why, as amongst the many fooleries which are enacted at courts, the African system should not be introduced. It happens, however, that the etiquette of the European and African are decidedly dissimilar: to make an individual wait is certainly considered in the former, as a breach of good manners, whereas in the latter, the longer a person is made to wait before the introduction takes place, the greater is the honour done him, and the higher is the rank of that person supposed to be, who exacts that ungracious duty. They discovered the chief, or rather governor, sitting on a piece of leather, under a large verandah at one end of a commodious square yard. He was clad in the prevailing finery of crimson velvet tobe and cap, both edged with gold lace. At his right hand sat his wives and women, and the brothers were desired to place themselves on his left. The women sang the praises of their master in a loud unpleasant voice, in which they were assisted by the music, equally inharmonious, of drums, fifes, clarionets, and horns. On their wishing the chief all the happiness in the world, all the people who had flocked into the yard after them, and every one near the chief, prostrated themselves on the ground, and clapped their hands. Goora nuts were now presented to them in water, and a profusion of compliments passed on both sides; but the dignity of the newly-made governor seemed to sit rather awkwardly upon him, for he was as shy and bashful as a maiden, and really appeared agitated, and afraid of his white-faced visitants. Strange as it may appear, the patience of the most patient people in the world was completely exhausted, as might be seen by the desertion of the premises before the travellers

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quitted them, notwithstanding the few words that had passed between them and the chief. The ceremony being over, they bade adieu to the chief, and having visited the grave of Dr. Morrison on their way, they repaired to a hut which had been got ready for their reception.

The former governor of Jenna, who it will be recollected treated the gentlemen composing the last mission so handsomely, died about fifteen months before the arrival of the Landers, and the king of Youriba chose one of the meanest of his slaves as his successor. This appears, however, to be an invariable rule with the sovereigns of that country, of which Jenna is a province; for they fear as its distance from the capital is very great, that a person of higher rank, if possessed of talents and spirit, could easily influence the natives to throw off the yoke, and declare themselves independent of Youriba. The then governor was a Houssa man, and was raised to the dignity he then held, in all probability, on account of his childish simplicity, and artlessness, for a person with a countenance more indicative of innocence, and perhaps stupidity also, they never recollected to have seen. The qualities of his heart were, however, said to be excellent, and his manners were mild and amiable. He had been twelve months in coming from Katunga to Jenna; being under the necessity of stopping at every town between that place and the capital, to receive the applause and congratulations of the inhabitants, and to join in their festivities and amusements.

The showers were now becoming heavier, and fell more frequently than heretofore, indeed the rainy season may be said fairly to have commenced, the thermometer, on the 6th of April, fell suddenly from 94° to 78°, and remained stationary there for the whole of the day.

On the 7th April they carried a present to the governor, which he received with every mark of satisfaction and gratitude; but he declared with sorrow that he should be obliged to send some of it to the king of Katunga, who would not allow him to wear red cloth, till he had been a longer time established in his new situation.

It is related in Captain Clapperton's journal, that one of old Pascoe's wives eloped from him in Katunga, whilst he was asleep.

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taking with her the trinkets Mr. Belzoni had given him, and that she was never afterwards heard of. This woman had the effrontery to introduce herself into the house of the Landers with an infant, whereof she asserted with warmth that Pascoe was the father, and that she was determined to leave it upon his hands. She had prevailed upon a number of Houssa women to accompany her, that they might endeavour to induce her quondam husband, who was a countryman of theirs, to receive the child, and make up the breach between them; but the infant not being more than nine or at most twelve months old, and three or four years having elapsed since the elopement took place, they were convinced that, independently of the age and infirmities of Pascoe, it could not by any rule or law be his. Accordingly, notwithstanding the uproar occasioned by the women's tongues, which, whether in Africa or elsewhere, is a very serious matter, the mother with her spurious offspring, and the ladies who came to aid and abet her imposition, were turned out of the yard without any ceremony, to the great relief of Pascoe, and his present wife, who felt rather uncomfortable, whilst the palaver was carrying on.

The fetish priest of the town came dancing into the hut, shortly after the ladies had retired, looking exceedingly wild, and roaring as if possessed by an evil spirit. They paid little attention to the fellow's fooleries, who, not liking his reception, left the hut, after he had received the accustomed fee of a few kowries. The person and dress of the man, together with his whimsical ornaments, were admirably adapted to impose on the credulity and superstition of the inhabitants; although many people of the town, influenced perhaps by the spreading doctrines of Mahomet, spoke their minds pretty freely, calling him a scoundrel and a devil. There was something peculiar in this priest's countenance, which could not be defined. On his shoulders he bore a large club, carved at one end with the figure of a man's head. A vast number of strings of kowries were suspended on this weapon, which were intermixed with shells, broken combs, small pieces of wood with rude imitations of men's faces cut on them, large sea shells, bits of iron and brass, nut shells, &c. &c. Perhaps the number of kowries on his person did not fall far short of twenty thousand, and the weight of his various

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ornaments almost pressed him to the ground. After this fellow had left their apartment, three or four others came to torment them with drums, whistles, and horns, and began and ended the evening's serenade to their own infinite delight and satisfaction. The native drum answers the purpose of a tambourine, and bagpipe as well, and is of peculiar formation. Its top is encircled with little brass bells, and is played upon with one hand, whilst the fingers of the other were employed at the same time in tapping on its surface. The instrument itself was held under the left arm, but instead of an outer wooden case, strings alone were used from end to end, which being pressed against the musician's side, sounds somewhat similar to those of a Scotch bagpipe, but very inferior, are produced. The drummers, with their companions of the horns and whistles, subsist entirely on the charity of the public, who require their services on all occasions of general merriment and jollity.

On the morning of the 8th of April, the two messengers who arrived at Badagry whilst the Landers were there, and stated that they had been employed for the purpose by the governor of Jenna, were discovered to be impostors, and put in irons accordingly. But as the poor fellows had really been of essential service to them, inasmuch as by their representations, they had prevailed upon Adooley to give them leave to proceed on their journey much sooner than they themselves could have done; they thought proper to intercede in their behalf, and although they were to have been sold for their deception, they were set at liberty. The person also who had met them with a horse after crossing the river Yow near Bidjie, proceeded thither on his own account, without the knowledge or consent of the governor, but as he was a Fellata and a respectable man, little was said or done about that matter. The only motive, which could have influenced these three men in their projects of assisting the travellers, had been without doubt in the expectation of receiving a trifling remuneration, and of this, notwithstanding an injunction to the contrary from the governor, they did not disappoint them, their services were well timed and very acceptable, and amply deserved the reward of a few needles and scissors.

The travellers were this morning witnesses to a specimen of na-

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tive tumbling and dancing, with the usual accompaniments of vocal and instrumental music; by far the most diverting part of the entertainment was the dancing, but even this did not at all answer the expectations they had formed of it. The dancers were liberally supplied with country beer, and like most amusements of the kind, this one ended in wrangling and intoxication.

The fellows who accompanied them as guides from Badagry, and who, in their native place would sell their birthright for a glass of rum, had now washed themselves, and thrown aside their rags, appearing in all public places in borrowed finery. They now never left their habitations without Adooley's sword, which they had with them, and a host of followers. On this morning, they attended the celebration of the games in showy apparel, with silk umbrellas held over their heads; and amongst other articles of dress, the principal of them wore an immense drab-coloured quaker's hat of the coarsest quality. So great were their ostentation and pride, that they would scarcely deign to speak to a poor man.

It was now they learned with great regret, that all the horses of the late governor of Jenna, had been interred according to custom with the corpse of their master, and they consequently began to be apprehensive that they should be obliged to walk the whole of the way to Katunga, as the present ruler was not the owner of a single beast of burthen. This piece of ill news was carefully withheld from the travellers, until the presents had been all duly delivered to the governor and his head men; but in this instance, the latter alone were to blame. Matters being thus unpleasantly situated, they sent a messenger to the chief of Larro, informing him of the circumstance, and entreating him to redeem his promise of lending them a horse and mule; and another messenger was sent to Adooley, requesting him to despatch immediately, at least one of their horses from Badagry, for they had found it impossible to proceed without them. It was not supposed that he would pay any attention to the request; and yet on the other hand, it was scarcely to be imagined that he would carry his chicanery so far, because he must fear that the variety of orders they had given him, to receive valuable presents from England, would never be honoured

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by their countrymen, if he refused to fulfil his engagements with them.

Since the demise of the late governor, it was calculated that Jenna had lost more than five hundred of its population, chiefly by wars, intestine broils, &c. and all for want of a ruler. It must not, however, be imagined, that because the people of this country are almost perpetually engaged in conflicts with their neighbours, the slaughter of human beings is therefore very great. They pursue war, as it is called, partly as an amusement, or "to keep their hands in it," and partly to benefit themselves by the capture of slaves. As they were sailing down the coast, they were informed that the natives of La Hoo, and Jack-a-jack, had been warring for three years previously, and were still at variance, but during that long period only one single decrepit old woman, who found it no easy matter to run as fast as her countrymen, was left behind, and became the solitary victim of a hundred engagements. Much after the same fashion are the bloodless wars of Jenna. Success depends much more on the cunning and address of the parties, than on any extraordinary display of intrepidity, and living not dead subjects are sought after, so that it is their interest to avoid hard blows, and enrich themselves by the sale of their prisoners. Perhaps the extraordinary decrease in the population of Jenna, has arisen principally from the desertion of slaves, who embrace the opportunity, whilst their masters are from home, engaged in predatory excursions, of running away; and thus the latter often become losers instead of gainers by their unnatural passion for stealing their fellow creatures. The individuals captured are sent to the coast, and the chiefs of those unsettled and barbarous tribes that inhabit it, are appointed agents to regulate the sale of them, for which they receive half the profits.

Late in the evening, the young Fellata already mentioned, paid them a visit, and offered his horse for sale. He was a mahommedan priest, and was accompanied by a countryman of the same persuasion, but neither of the holy men appeared in their dealing to understand the meaning of truth or justice. An agreement was made and thirty dollars paid. The merchant implored them

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not to tell his father, who was the real owner of the horse, that he had sold him for less money than he had received, and in this request, he was seconded by his more venerable friend, because he said he wanted a small sum for his private use, which he knew his parent would refuse him. The words were hardly out of their mouths, before the two Mussulmans publicly went through their ablutions in front of the house, where, turning their faces to the east, they seemed to pray very devoutly to the founder of their faith. When this was concluded, they sang an Arabic hymn with great solemnity, and the whole had a wonderful and immediate effect on the feelings of many of their followers in the yard, who, mistaking loudness of voice for fervour, and hypocritical seriousness for piety, made the two worshippers a present of money. The Fellatas are generally supposed to be spies from Soccatoo, but although this is a very prevalent opinion, no measures whatever have yet been taken either to watch their motions, or question them as to their intentions.

The women of Jenna employ themselves generally either in spinning cotton, or preparing Indian corn for food. Much of the former material grows in the vicinity of the town, but the cultivation of the plant is not carried on with that spirit which it deserves. Silk, which is brought over land from Tripoli, the inhabitants sometimes interweave in their cotton garments, but such being very expensive, are only worn by the higher class of people. They have abundance of sheep, bullocks, pigs, goats, and poultry, but they prefer vegetable food to animal; their diet, indeed, is what we should term poor and watery, consisting chiefly of preparations of the yam and Indian corn, nowithstanding which a stronger or more athletic race of people is nowhere to be met with. Burdens with them, as with the natives of many parts of the continent, are invariably carried on the head, which, it is more than likely, occasions that dignified uprightness of form, and stateliness of walk, so often spoken of by those acquainted with the pleasing peculiarities of the African female. The weight of a feather is borne on the head in preference to its being carried in the hand; and it not unfrequently requires the united strength of three men to lift a calabash of goods from the ground to the shoulder of one, and

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then, and not till then, does the amazing strength of the African appear. The greater part of the inhabitants of Jenna have the hair of their head and their eyebrows shaven. But the governor's ministers and servants wear their hair in the shape of a horse shoe as a mark of distinction. It is confined to the crown of the head by large daubs of indigo, and none of the people presuming to imitate it, it answers the purpose of a livery.

The early part of the morning of April 10th, was obscured by a mist or haze, which was as thick, and at least as unwholesome, as a London fog in November, but between nine and ten o'clock it dispersed, and the sun shone out with uncommon lustre. The hut which they occupied was in a large square yard, and was the property of the late governor's wife, whose story is rather romantic. Each of its sides was formed by huts, which had all at one time been inhabited, but a fire having broken out in one of them by some accident, the greater part perished. A few huts were only then standing, together with black, naked walls, and stakes, which supported the verandahs, the latter reduced to charcoal. The tenantable buildings were inhabited by the female slaves of the owner of the square, and the travellers and their suite.

It is the custom in this place, when a governor dies, for two of his favourite wives to quit the world on the same day, in order that he may have a little, pleasant, social company in a future state, but the late governor's devoted wives had neither ambition nor inclination to follow their venerable husband to the grave, not having had or got, according to their opinion, enough of the good things of this world; they therefore went, and hid themselves before the funeral ceremonies were performed, and had remained concealed ever since with the remainder of their women. On this, day, however, one of these unfortunates, the individual to whom the house belonged, which the travellers resided, was discovered in her hiding place at the present governor's, and the alternative of a poisoned chalice, or to have her head broken by the club of a fetish priest, was offered her. She chose the former mode of dying, as being the less terrible of the two; and she, on this morning, came to their yard, to spend her last hours in the society of her faithful slaves, by whom she was addressed by the endearing name of mother. Poor

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creatures! as soon as they learnt her misfortune, they dropped their spinning; the grinding of corn was also relinquished; their sheep, goats, and poultry were suffered to roam at large without restraint, and they abandoned themselves to the most excessive and poignant grief; but now, on the arrival of their mistress, their affliction seemed to know no bounds. There is not to be found in the world perhaps, an object more truly sorrowful, than a lonely defenceless woman in tears; and on such an occasion as this, it may very easily be conceived that the distress was more peculiarly cutting. A heart that could not be touched at a scene of this nature, must be unfeeling indeed. Females were arriving the whole day, to condole with the old lady, and to weep with her, so that the travellers neither heard nor saw any thing but sobbing and crying from morning to the setting of the sun. The principal males in the town likewise came to pay their last respects to their mistress, as well as her grave-digger, who prostrated himself on the ground before her. Notwithstanding the representations and remonstrances of the priest, and the prayers of the venerable victim to her gods, for fortitude to undergo the dreadful ordeal, her resolution forsook her more than once. She entered the yard twice to expire in the arms of her women, and twice did she lay aside the fatal draught, in order to take another walk, and gaze once more on the splendour of the sun and the glory of the heavens, for she could not bear the idea of losing sight of them for ever. She was for some time restless and uneasy, and would gladly have run away from death, if she durst; for that imaginary being appeared to her in a more terrible light, than our pictures represent him, with his shadowy form and fatal dart. Die she must, and she knew it; nevertheless she tenaciously clung to life till the very last moment. In the mean time her grave was preparing, and preparations were making for a wake at her funeral. She was to be buried in one of her own huts, the moment after the spirit had quitted the body, which was to be ascertained by striking the ground near which it might be lying at the time, when, if no motion or struggle ensued, the old woman was to be considered as dead. The poison used by the natives on these occasions, destroys life, it is reported, in fifteen minutes.

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The reason of the travellers not meeting with a better reception when they slept at Laatoo, was the want of a chief to that town, the last having followed the old governor of Jenna, to the eternal shades, for he was his slave. Widows are burnt in India, just as they are poisoned or *clubbed* at Jenna, but in the former country no male victims are destroyed on such occasions. The original of the abominable custom at Jenna, of immolating the favourite wives, is understood to have arisen from the dread on the part of the chiefs of the country in olden times, that their principal wives, who alone were in possession of their confidence, and knew where their money was concealed, might secretly attempt their life, in order at once to establish their own freedom, and become possessed of the property; that so far from entertaining any motive to destroy her husband, a woman might on the contrary have a strong inducement to cherish him as long as possible, the existence of the wife was made to depend entirely on that of her lord, and this custom has been handed down from father to son even to the present time. But why men also, who can have no interest to gain on the death of their prince, should be obliged to conform to the same rite, is not to be so easily accounted for. The individual, who was governor of Jenna at the time of the visit of the Landers, must of necessity go down to the grave on the first intelligence of the demise of the king of Youriba, and as that monarch was a very aged man, the situation of the former was not the most enviable in the world.

Previously to her swallowing the poison, the favourite wife of a deceased chief or ruler destroys privately all the wealth, or rather money of her former partner, in order that it may not fall into the hands of her successor. The same custom is observed at Badagry also, and although the king's son may be of age at the period of his father's death, he inherits his authority and influence only. He is left to his own sagacity and exertions to procure wealth, which can seldom be obtained without rapine, enslavement, and bloodshed.

Whenever a town is deprived of its chief, the inhabitants acknowledge no law; anarchy, troubles, and confusion imediately prevail, and until a successor is appointed, all labour is at an end

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The stronger oppress the weak, and perpetrate every species of crime, without being amenable to any tribunal for their actions. Private property is no longer respected, and thus, before a person arrives to curb its licentiousness, a town is not unfrequently reduced from a flourishing state of prosperity and of happiness to all the horrors of desolation.

Considerable surprise was now excited at the delay of the messenger, who was sent to Badagry for the horses, on which they placed so much value, for he had not yet returned, although he promised to be back in four days from the time of his departure. As he had exceeded the time by a whole day, and being a native of Badagry, the travellers had given up all hopes of again seeing either him or the horse, or even the message sword they had lent him as a token that he had been sent by them. Positive assurances were given them that leave would be granted to depart from Jenna on the following week, but as they had only one horse, they would be obliged to take it in turns to ride, or procure a hammock, which it would be a difficult thing to get, and attended with considerable expense.

In the mean time, the devoted old queen dowager engrossed the chief part of their attention, although her doom was inevitably fixed, yet her cheerfulness appeared rather to increase, and she seemed determined to spin out her thread of life to its utmost limit; spies were now set over her, and she was not permitted to go out of the yard.

On Monday the 12th of April, the travellers had the customary visit to their yard of a long line of women, who came every morning with rueful countenances and streaming eyes to lament the approaching death of the old widow. They wept, they beat their breast and tore their hair; they moaned, and exhibited all manner of violent affliction at the expected deprivation. Perhaps their sorrow was sincere, perhaps it was feigned; at all events their lamentations were ungovernable and outrageous; the first woman in the line begins the cry, and is instantly followed by the other voices; the opening notes of the lamentation were rather low and mournful, the last wild and piercing.

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The principal people of the place finding the old lady still obstinately bent on deferring her exit, sent a mesenger to her native village, to make known to her relatives, that should she make her escape, they would take all of them into slavery, and burn their town to ashes, in conformity to an established and very ancient law. They therefore strongly advised the relatives of the old woman for their own sakes, and for the sake of the public, to use all their endeavours to prevail upon her to meet her fate honourably and with fortitude. A deputation was expected from the village on the morrow, when no doubt, after a good deal of crying and condoling, and talking and persuading, the matter will eventually be decided against the old lady. It was well understood that she had bribed a few of the most opulent and influential inhabitants of Jenna with large sums of money, to induce them to overlook her dereliction from the path of duty, and by their representations that she had obtained the tacit consent of the king of Katunga to live out the full term of her natural life. But the people for many miles round, horror-struck at such impiety and contempt for ancient customs, rose to enforce the laws of her country against her.

On Tuesday April 13th, the town of Jenna was visited by one of those terrific thunder storms, which are so prevalent in those latitudes. The thatched hut in which the Landers resided, afforded but an insecure and uncertain asylum against its fury. Part of the roof was swept away, and the rain admitted freely upon their beds, whence the most awful lightning flashes could be seen, making "darkness visible." It appeared as if the genius of the storm were driving through the murky clouds in his chariot of fire to awaken the slumbering creation, and make them feel and acknowledge his power, It was, indeed, a grand lesson to human pride, to contemplate the terrors of a tornado through the trembling walls and roof of a gloomy dilapidated hut in the interior of Africa. It is scenes like these, which make the traveller think of his home, his friends, and his fireside enjoyments, and by comparison, estimate the blessings which are his portion in his native land. In civilized countries, when men are visited by an awful calamity of this kind, the distinctions of rank are levelled, and numbers flock together,

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for the purpose of keeping each other in countenance, and strengthening each other's nerves; but here all was naked, gloomy, and desolate.

They passed the night, as may be supposed, in a very uncomfortable state. The roof of their dwelling had long been infested with a multitude of rats and mice; and these vermin being dislodged from their haunts, by the violence of the wind and rain, sought immediate shelter between their bed-clothes; and to this very serious inconvenience was added another still greater, viz. the company of lizards, ants, mosquitoes, besides worms and centipedes, and other crawling, creeping, and noxious things, which the tempest seemed to renovate with life and motion. After a long, long night, the morning at length appeared, and the terrors of the storm were forgotten.

Not long after sunrise, two fresh legions of women entered their yard, to mourn with their old mistress, and the shrieks and lamentations of these visiters, were more violent than any of their predecessors. It made them shudder to hear their cries. The piercing cries, that assailed the ears of Telemachus, at his entrance into the infernal regions, were not more dolorous or fearful. Their eyes were red with weeping; their hands were clasped on the crown of the head; their hair was in frightful disorder, and two channels of tears were plainly seen flowing down over the naked bosom of each of the women. In this manner they passed before the threshold of the hut in two close lines, and were observed to bend the knee to the venerable matron, without uttering a word. They then rose and departed, and their cries could be heard long after they were out of sight.

Matters were now arranged for their departure, and after breakfast they went to pay their last respects to the governor. Of course they were obliged to wait a tiresome length of time outside his residence, before admittance was obtained; but when the doors were opened, the band that were in attendance inside, played a native tune as a token of welcome. A greater number of drummers were observed than on any former occasion. Some of their instruments were something in the shape of a cone, and profusely ornamented with plates and figures of brass. On one of these was represented

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the busts of two men, with a tortoise in the act of eating out of the mouth of one of them. The tortoise had a cock by its side, and two dogs standing as guardians of the whole. These figures were all ingeniously carved in solid brass. Both ends of the larger drums were played on with the palms of the hand; hundreds of little brass bells were suspended round the edges for ornament rather than use; for being without clappers, they could not produce any sound. The common native drum is beaten on one of its ends only, and with a stick shaped like a bow.

After a little conversation, the chief and his principal people shook the Landers affectionately by the hand, and wished them every blessing; and as soon as they got outside the yard, they mounted their horses and rode out of the town. The chief of Larro had broken his promise, but they were fortunate enough to meet with and purchase another horse that morning, so that they cared little about it. Their pathway led through a champaign country, partially wooded; and after a pleasant ride of three quarters of an hour, they entered the small village of Bidjie. Here their carriers dropped their loads, nor could they be induced to resume them by the most pressing solicitations. Nor would the villagers, as their duty required, take them up; but when they were begged to do so, they laughed at them, so that they were compelled to remain at Bidjie until the following day. This was very provoking, but such was the tiresome mode of travelling through this country. No consideration can induce the natives to shake off their habitual indolence, not if a voice from heaven were to be heard, would they do it. Pleasure and sloth are with them synonymous terms, and they are scarcely alive to any other gratification. In the mean time, the chief, who appeared to be a very good sort of man, although he had little authority over his people, sent them a fatted goat; and being in good health, and having very encouraging prospects held out to them as to their future progress, they were determined to forget their little troubles and vexations, and spend the evening as cheerfully as they could.

Hawks and vultures are exceedingly numerous both at Jenna and this place, the former are bold and disgusting birds, but the latter are so hungry and rapacious that they pounce fearlessly in

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be midst of the natives when at their meals. Whilst the Landers were at supper, one of them darted at a piece of meat, which one of their men held between his fingers, and snatched it from him whilst he was conveying it to his mouth.

At an early hour of Wednesday the 14th April, to the infinite surprise and pleasure of the Landers, the man from Badagry made his appearance with one of their horses and an English saddle. The latter was as acceptable to them as the horse, for on the preceding day, for want of a saddle, they were obliged to substitute a piece of cloth, and the back of the animal being as sharp as a knife, it was no very pleasant thing to ride him; walking would have been the far less irksome exercise of the two. Pascoe, whose sagacity and experience proved of infinite service to them, was lamed in his endeavours to walk as fast as the rest of the party, and as he had the misfortune of having one leg shorter than the other he became the general butt and laughing stock of his more robust companions. This day, however, they mounted him on the extra horse, on the back of which he retorted their revilings, and the whole of them became as envious of his dignity, as they were before facetious at his expense.

They took their departure from Bidjie while the morning was yet cool and pleasant, and arrived at Chow before eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The natives have an unaccountable fancy that white men are fond of poultry to an excess, insomuch that whenever they entered a town or village, all the fowls were immediately seized and confined in a place of security until their departure.

Several strangers accompanied them from town to town, for the purpose of evading the duty which is exacted at the turnpike gates, by stating themselves to be of the number of their attendants. Women also placed themselves under the protection of their men from Cape Coast Castle, in order that they might enjoy a similar advantage; in return for this favour, they showed a great willingness to do for them many little kind offices, and they were found particularly useful in making fires, preparing food, &c. for the whole of the party.

Their journey throughout the whole of this day was extremely pleasant. At one time the path ran in a serpentine direction

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through plains covered with green turf, at another it led them amidst large groves of stately trees, from whose branches a variety of playful chattering monkeys diverted them by their mischievous tricks, and the grey parrot, with its discordant, shrill scream, and other beautiful birds, "warbled their native wood notes wild."

The chief of Chow, who received and entertained Captain Clapperton, had been dead some time, and was succeeded by a humble, good-natured, and active individual, who treated the white men more like demi-gods than human beings. At the time of their arrival, he was engaged in superintending the slaves at his corn and yam plantations, but he hastened to them the moment he was informed of the circumstance. He possessed a number of horses, one of which was the smallest and most beautiful animal they ever beheld.

In the evening, the chief visited them again with a present of provisions, and a few goora nuts. Richard Lander took the opportunity of playing on a bugle horn in his presence, by which he was violently agitated, under the supposition that the instrument was nothing less than a snake.

For the first time since their landing they observed the loom in active operation; the manufacture of cotton cloth is, however, carried on exclusively by women, the men appearing too slothful and indolent to undertake any labour, which might subject them to fatigue.

On the following day the path wound through a country charmingly diversified by hill and dale, woods and open glades, and watered by streams flowing over beds of fine white sand. A horseman from Katunga met them about ten o'clock in the morning, whose dress and accoutrements were highly grotesque. He neither stopped nor spoke, but couched his lance as he gallopped past them. It was supposed that he was the bearer of a message to the chief of Jenna, from the king of Katunga, and that it had some reference to themselves, but whether it was an act of caution or of compliment could not be ascertained.

They met a number of people of both sexes in the path, who were returning from Egga to Chow, and several naked boys on their way to the coast, under the care of guardians. These were

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slaves, and would be most likely sold at Badagry. Some of the woman bore burdens on their heads, that would have tired a mule and broken the neck of a Covent Garden Irish woman, and children not more than five or six years old trudged after them with loads that would have given a full grown person in Europe the brain fever.

They departed from Chow before sunrise; a surprising dew had fallen during the night and distilled from the leaves and branches in large drops. They passed during the forenoon, over three or four swampy places, covered with reeds, rushes, and rank grass, which were inhabited by myriads of frogs of prodigious size. On crossing the streams, they were invariably saluted by a loud and unaccountable hissing, as if from a multitude of serpents. They could not account for this extraordinary noise in any other way, than by supposing it to have proceeded from some species of insects, whose retreats they had invaded.

With very trifling manual labour, the path, which was little better than a mere gutter formed by repeated rains, might be converted into a good and commodious road; and were a tree simply thrown over them, the streams and morasses might be crossed with ease and safety. But the natives appeared to have no idea whatever of such improvements, and would rather be entangled in thick underwood, and wade through pools of mud and water, than give themselves any trouble about repairing the road. But the native, however, says to himself, and not unjustly, *cui bono?* neither in England or in Africa are individuals to be found, who will undertake a work of difficulty and fatigue gratuitously, merely for the benefit and accommodation of others; characters of that description are very rarely to be found, and perhaps the interior of Africa is the last place in the world where we should look for them. An Englishman might find it to be his interest to repair the roads on which he is frequently obliged to travel; but what benefit can accrue to the uncivilized African, and particularly the slave, who has not a blade of grass under the canopy of Heaven, which he can call his own, to trouble himself about the repair of a road, on which he might never have occasion to travel, and which, with the great uncertainty which is always hanging over his future condition in life, he may never see again. Trees

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not unfrequently fall across the pathway, but instead of removing them, the people form a large circuit round them, even a small ant hill is an object too mighty to be meddled with, and it is left in the centre of the narrow road, to be jumped over, or to be travelled round, according to the option of the traveller.

Several women, with little wooden figures of children on their heads, passed them in the course of the morning; they were mothers, who, having lost a child, carry these rude imitations of them about their persons for an indefinite time, as a symbol of mourning. Not one of them could be induced to part with one of these little affectionate memorials.

They entered Egga, which is a very large town, in the early part of the afternoon. On their arrival, they were introduced into the house occupied by Captain Clapperton on his last journey, in the yard of which, repose the remains of an Englishman, named Dawson, who died here of a fever when that officer passed through the country. Both the hut and yard were soon filled with people, and were in a state of filth, which baffles all description. They could not by any means rid themselves of sheep, goats, and fowls, with their train; in spite of all their attempts to remove them, they were determined to be their companions, and this grievance, added to the tongues of a hunded visiters, made their situation all but intolerable.

Egga is the principal market town in this part of Africa, and is attended by buyers and sellers for many miles round. Women here are the chief, if not the only traders, most of them are of graceful and prepossessing exterior, and they all practise those petty tricks and artifices in their dealings, with which the market women of more civilized countries are not unacquainted.

This day, April 16th, was one of the hottest they ever remember to have felt. They found the path in much better condition, than that on which they had previously travelled, and it lay almost entirely through plantations of yams, calavances and pumpkins, and three or four different varieties of corn, which a number of labourers were employed in weeding, &c. The hoe is the only implement of husbandry in use, and indeed they

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an well dispense with every other, because the soil, during the rainy months, is so soft and light, that but very little manual exertion in working it is required. Population is abundant, labourers may be hired to any number; and it may be affirmed that the introduction of the plough would scarcely be a blessing, but on the contrary, it would furnish fresh encouragement to the general sin of indolence.

Having crossed at noon a small but agreeable river flowing from east to west, in which several females were bathing and washing clothes, they shortly afterwards entered the capacious and populous town of Jedoo. Here they were informed that the chief had been in the grave more than a twelvemonth; and that no one having yet been nominated to succeed him, every thing continued in a state of confusion and misrule. They were conducted, after having waited a little, into a large yard belonging to the late governor, and in a short time received a visit from his brother, in company with all the elders of the place; their conversation was, however, very unpleasant, and their whole behaviour much cooler than was agreeable, the more so as such a reception had been entirely unexpected.

The yard in which they resided, was perfectly circular, and walled with huts, all tenanted by the late chief's widows, who employ their time and earn their livelihood by spinning and weaving. Not less than a hundred of the king of Katunga's ladies were lodging in the yard with them. They had all passed the bloom of life, and had lately arrived with loads of trona and country cloth, which they barter for salt, and various articles of European manufacture, particularly beads; with these they return home, and expose them for sale in the market, and afterwards the profits are taken to their husbands. These royal ladies are distinguished from their countrywomen only by a peculiar species of cloth, which is wrapped round their goods, and which no one dared to imitate on pain of perpetual slavery. This severe punishment is often inflicted, for, as the king's wives pay no tribute or turnpike dues whatever, and must besides be entertained by the chiefs of every town through which they pass, strong inducements are offered for others to attempt to deceive, by using the for-

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bidden cloth, and hence examples are necessary. As a contrast to the afflicted females of Jenna, the wives of the king of Katanga all fell to crying for joy this evening, on recognizing a few old acquaintance in the yard, who soon joined them in the melancholy music. It was highly ridiculous to see them, for after the first burst had subsided, they began to chat with a garrulity far beyond that of the most talkative of their European sisters. The conversation lasted more than an hour, till at last it resolved itself into a violent quarrel, which lasted during the remainder of the day.

It was now ten o'clock, and the women were still sitting in groups round the several wood fires. The travellers themselves only occupied a small verandah, which was simply the projection of the roof of a thatched hut. Their horses were fastened to wooden stakes in the centre of the yard; their men were lying round them, warming themselves at their own fires. Sheep, beautiful sheep with tinkling bells hung round their necks, were chewing the cud in peace and happiness. But notwithstanding it was the hour of repose, the tongues of the female travellers were making a clatter which all the women of Billingsgate could not rival, and together with the squalling of brats innumerable, completely spoiled the emotions, which the wild and pleasing scene around them would otherwise have awakened in their breasts. The sheep here are regarded with as much partiality, and treated much in the same manner as ladies lap dogs are in England. Great care is taken to keep them clean and in good condition; they are washed every morning in soap and water; and so greatly are they attached to their masters or mistresses, that they are constantly at their meals, following them in doors and out, from town to town, and in all their peregrinations. Goats, sheep, swine and poultry are in great plenty here, and in the possession of every one, notwithstanding which they are always excessively dear, because the people take a pride in displaying the number and quality of their domesticated animals.

The inhabitants of Jeudo are in general very decently dressed in cotton dresses of their own manufacture. In their persons they are much more agreeable, than those who reside near the sea. European goods are brought hither from Dahomey and Badagry, but

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more especially from Lagos, and are daily exposed for sale in the markets of Jadoo and Egga. Several chiefs on the road, questioned the travellers to account to them for the Portuguese not purchasing so many slaves as formerly, and they made very sad complaints of the stagnation of that branch of traffic. It would perhaps have been as much as their heads were worth, to have told them the true reason.

Hippopotami abound in the rivers in the vicinity of the town, when young, the flesh and skin of these animals are sold as food, and whips and other articles are made of the skins of the old ones.

At the usual hour of the following day, April 17th, they quitted Jadoo, and in the middle of the day arrived at a clean, pretty little village, called Pooya. The appearance of the country between these places is extremely fine, resembling a magnificent orchard. On their way they met several hundreds of people of both sexes and all ages, with a great number of bullocks, sheep, and goats, together with fowls and pigeons, which were carried on the head in neat wicker baskets. Several of the travellers were loaded with country cloth, and indigo in large round balls. They were all slaves, and were proceeding to the coast from the interior, to sell the goods and animals under their charge. One old woman had the misfortune to let a large calabash of palm oil fall from her head: on arriving at the spot, they found a party of females, her companions in slavery, wringing their hands and crying. The affliction of the old woman was bitter indeed, as she dreaded the punishment which awaited her on her return to the house of her master. John Lander compassionated her distress, and gave her a large clasp knife, which would more than recompense her for the loss of the oil, on which the women wiped away their tears, and fell down on the dust before them, exhibiting countenances more gladsome and animated than could be conceived.

The mortality of children must be immense indeed here, for almost every woman they met with on the road, had one or more of those little wooden images, already mentioned. Wherever the mothers stopped to take refreshment, a small part of their food was invariably presented to the lips of these inanimate memorials. The daughters of civilization may boast of the refinement of their

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feelings, but under what circumstances did they ever exhibit a stronger instance of maternal affection than these rude, untutored mothers of interior Africa evinced to our travellers. The English mother will frequently deposit her child in the grave, and a few days afterwards will be seen joining in all the pleasures and vanities of the world. Whirled about in a vortex of dissipation, the mother of civilization bears no memorial about her of the infant that is in its grave; but the uncivilized African carries about with her the image of her child, and, in the full force of her maternal affection, feeds not herself until in her imagination she has fed the being who once was dear to her. There was something beautifully affectionate in the mother offering the food to the images of her children, and had a whole volume been written in display of the African female character, a more forcible illustration could not have been given of it.

Although Pooya is considered by the natives to be a day's journey from Jadoo, they only halted to pay their respects to the chief, and then continued their journey over gentle hills, and through valleys watered by streams and rivulets, so as to reach Engua in the afternoon. The soil between the two towns is mostly dry and sterile, and large masses of ironstone, which looked as if they had undergone the action of fire, presented themselves almost at every step. The day was oppressively hot, and as they had been exposed to the sun for a great number of hours, when they reached Engua, their skin was scorched and highly inflamed, which proved very painful to them. Richard Lander was comparatively inured to the climate, but his brother now begun to feel it severely, he was sore, tired, and feverish, and longed to lie down in a hut, but they were obliged to remain under a tree for three hours, before they could be favoured with that opportunity, because the chief of that town was engaged in making a fetish, for the purpose of counteracting any evil intentions that the white men might entertain towards him. All their people were fatigued and exhausted on the road, complaining much of the heat, and one of them was brought to them in the evening in a high fever. Engua is the town where the lamented Captain Pearce breathed his last, and here also Captain Clapperton felt

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quite disheartened, and almost despaired of penetrating further into the interior of the country. The chief sent them only a little Indian corn and water, and obstinately refused to sell them either a goat, sheep, or any other animal, although there were many thousands in the town.

Their reception at Engua was so truly inhospitable, that they arose at a much ealier hour than they generally did, and proceeded on their way by starlight. In place of the ironstone which they had observed on the preceding day, the country was now partially covered with large and unshapely masses of granite. Mountains and elevated hills were observed to the right of them, the sides of which were thickly wooded, and their summits reaching above the clouds. At nine o'clock, they passed through a neat and cleanly village named Chakka, which had lately lost its chief, and an hour afterwards crossed a small river called Akeeney, which was full of sharp and rugged rocks, and is reported to fall into the Lagos. They were carried over on men's shoulders without much difficulty, but the horses were a long time in getting across. Hence the path winded up a high and steep hill, which they ascended, and entered the town of Afoora about mid-day. The governor gave them a hearty welcome, and said it made him so extremely happy to see them, which was also expressed by the joy and animation of his countenance. The best hut in the town, which was the most airy and commodious of any they had seen, was presently got ready for them, and shortly after they had taken possession of it, they received a quantity of excellent provisions from the chief.

This was the first day of his government; his father, the late chief, had been dead some time, but from motives of delicacy he refused to take upon himself his authority until this morning. In honour of the event, a large company of women were dancing, rejoicing, and making merry all the evening, outside their hut. It appeared as rather a strange circumstance to Richard Lander, that the chief or governor of almost every town through which they had passed since leaving Badagry, who was alive and well on his return to the coast three years ago, had been either slain in war

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or had died from natural causes. Scarcely one of them was alive on his present expedition.

On April 19th, an easy pleasant ride of three hours brought them to the first walled town they had seen, which was called Assinara. The wall was of clay and so diminutive, that a person might easily jump over it; a dry ditch about eighteen inches deep, and three or four feet in width also surrounds the town. Over this a single plank is thrown, which answers the purpose of a draw-bridge, and is the only means the inhabitants have of getting in and out of the place. Assinara had also lately lost its chief in some battle, and all business was transacted by a benevolent elderly man, who volunteered his services till a successor should be appointed. From him the Landers received the warmest reception, and the most hospitable treatment.

The climate now began to have a most debilitating effect upon John Lander, and from a state of robust health and vigour, he was now reduced to so great a degree of lassitude and weakness, that he could scarcely stand a minute at a time. Every former pleasure seemed to have lost its charm with him. He was on this day attacked with fever, and his condition would have been hopeless indeed, had his brother not been near to relieve him. He complained of excessive thirst. Ten grains of calomel were administered to him, and afterwards a strong dose of salts. On the following day, April 20th, he was much better and free from fever, but too weak to travel, their stay, therefore, at Assinara was unavoidably protracted.

The acting governor visited them with a very long face, and entreated the Landers to discover a certain wizard, whom he imagined to be concealed somewhere in the town. By the influence of this sorcerer, a number of people, it was said, pined away and died, and women with child were more especially the object of his malevolence. These victims dropped down suddenly, without the slightest warning, and the deaths had lately been so numerous, that the old man himself was grievously alarmed, and begged a charm to preserve him and his family.

On the 23rd, John Lander finding himself considerably invi-

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;orated and refreshed by a day's rest at Assinara, and sufficiently ecovered to pursue their journey, all hands were in readiness to tart at an early hour. The morning was cool and pleasant, and hey travelled onwards in excellent spirits. Without meeting any hing particular in the path, or perceiving any object sufficiently nteresting or novel to demand attention, they entered the town of Accadoo in the forenoon, having had an agreeable ride of a few iours duration only.

At this time John Lander seemed to be free from any kind of complaint whatever, and enjoyed an unusual cheerfulness and buoyancy of spirits, which led his brother to form the most flattering anticipations. In the course of a few minutes, however, his body was overspread with a burning heat, and he suffered under another attack of fever, more violent than any of the former. He resorted to the most powerful remedies, he could think of at the time. His brother bled him, and applied a strong blister to the region of the stomach, where the disorder seemed to be seated. It was swollen and oppressed with pain, and he felt as if some huge substance lay upon his chest. His mouth being dry and clogged, and his thirst burning and unquenchable, he drank so much water that his body was greatly swollen. Towards evening, his ideas became confused and he grew delirious. He afterwards described to his brother the horrible phantoms that disturbed him whilst in this state, and the delicious emotion that ran through his whole frame, when the dreadful vision had passed away. Tears gushed from his eyes, a profuse perspiration, which had been so long checked, gave him immediate relief, and from that moment his health began to improve.

During this illness of John Lander, the natives made a most hideous noise by singing and drumming on the celebration of their fetish. Richard went out with the hope of inducing them to be quiet, but they only laughed at him, and annoyed them the more; having no compassion whatever for the sufferings of a white man, and if they can mortify him by any means, they consider it a praiseworthy deed. This day at noon, the sun stood at 99° of Fahrenheit.

Early on Saturday the 24th, a hammock was prepared for John

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Lander, he being too weak to ride on horseback; and shortly afterwards they quitted the town of Accadoo, in much better spirits, than circumstances had led them to expect. The hammock-men found their burden rather troublesome, nevertheless they travelled at a pretty quick pace, and between eight and nine o'clock, halted at a pleasant and comfortable village called Etudy. The chief sent them a fowl and four hundred kowries; but they stopped only to take a slight refreshment, and to pay their respects. They then proceeded through large plantations of cotton, indigo, Indian corn, and yams, and over stony fields, till between ten and eleven, when they entered the town of Chouchou. They were almost immediately introduced to the chief, and from him into a ruinous hut, in a more filthy state than can be imagined. No pigstye was ever half so bad. Its late occupier had incurred the displeasure and hatred of the chief, because he happened to be very rich, and rather than pay a heavy fine, he ran away and joined his former enemies, and this partly accounted for the destitution and wretchedness around them.

Since leaving Jenna they met an incredible number of persons visited with the loss of one eye. They assigned no other reason for their misfortune, than the heat and glare of the rays of the sun.

During the whole of this night it rained most heavily; but their hut, although of the very worst description, had a pretty good thatched roof, and sheltered them better than they could have expected. There are seasons and periods in our life-time, in which we feel a happy complacency of temper and an inward satisfaction, cheerfulness, and joy, for which we cannot very well account, but which constrain us to be at peace with ourselves and our neighbours, and in love with all the works of God. In this truly enviable frame of mind, Richard Lander says he awoke on this morning, to proceed onwards on horseback. It was a morning, which was fairly entitled to the epithet of incense breathing; for the variety of sweet-smelling perfumes, which exhaled after the rain, from forest flowers and flowering shrubs, was delicious and almost overpowering. The scenery which gratified their eyes on this day, was more interesting and lovely, than any they had heretofore beheld. The path circled round a magnificent, cultivated valley,

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hemmed in on almost every side with mountains of granite of the most grotesque and irregular shapes, the summits of which were covered with stunted trees, and the hollows in their slopes occupied by clusters of huts, whose inmates had fled thither as a place of security against the ravages of the *warmen* who infest the plains. A number of strange birds resorted to this valley, many of whose notes were rich, full, and melodious, while others were harsh and disagreeable, but, generally speaking, the plumage was various, splendid, and beautiful. The modest partridge appeared in company with the magnificent balearic crane, with his regal crest, and delicate humming birds hopped from twig to twig, with others of an unknown species; some of them were of a dark, shining green; some had red silky wings and purple bodies; some were variegated with stripes of crimson and gold, and these chirped and warbled from among the thick foliage of the trees. In the contemplation of such beautiful objects as these, all so playful and so happy, or the more sublime ones of dark waving forests, plains of vast extent, or stupendous mountains, that gave the mind the most sensible emotions of delight and grandeur, leading it insensibly

"To look from nature up to nature's God."

Speaking on these subjects, Lander very feelingly expresses himself, "For myself," he says, "I am passionately fond of them, and have regretted a thousand times, that my ignorance incapacitated me from giving a proper representation of them, or describing the simplest flower that adorns the plains, or the smallest insect that sparkles in the air. This consideration gives me at times many unhappy reflections, although my defective education arose from circumstances over which my boyhood had no control."

Having passed through the immense valley already mentioned, they had not travelled far before they arrived and halted at a large village called Tudibu; here they rested a while, and then continuing their journey for two hours over even ground between high hills, they rode into the town of Gwen-dekki, in which they purposed passing the night. The chief was either very poor or very ill natured, for the only thing he sent them was a little boiled yam, with a mess of unpalatable gravy, which he would not have given, if he had not

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expected ten times its value in return. Divine service, it being Sunday, was performed in the course of the day, and this was a duty, which to persons in their situation, was found inconceivably pleasant. It rendered them happy and resigned in the midst of their afflictions and privations; reposing their confidence in the all-protecting arm of that beneficent Being, who is the author and disposer of their destinies, and in whom alone, thus widely separated as they were from home, and kindred and civilization, the solitary wanderer can place his trust.

On the morning of Monday the 26th April, a thick mist obscured the horizon, and hid in deep shade the mountains and the hills; every object indeed was invisible, with the exception of the pathway and the trees growing on each side, which they could hardly distinguish as they passed along. It continued hazy for two hours after leaving Gwen-dekki, when the mist dispersed and the atmosphere became clear. Preparatory to ascending a steep granite hill, they halted to refresh their horses under the branches of a high spreading tree, near a town called Eco. Here they were visited by several of the inhabitants, who, as soon as they were informed of their arrival, came flocking to the spot. They formed themselves into a line to pay their respects, and entreated them to wait a little for the arrival of their chief, who was momentarily expected. But after staying as long as they conveniently could, and no chief appearing, they mounted their beasts and began the toilsome ascent. On attaining the summit of the hill, the *coup d'œil* was magnificent indeed, and the fog having been dispersed by the sun, the eye was enabled to range over an extensive horizon, bounded by hills and mountains of wonderful shapes. Some, of them bore a very striking resemblance to the Table mountain at the Cape of Good Hope, and another was not unlike the Lion's Head and Rump of the same place. Their course was north-east, and those two mountains bore due west from them. There was no continued range of hills, but numbers of single unconnected ones, with extensive valleys between them. In some places, several were piled behind each, and those most distant from them appeared like dark indistinct clouds. Nothing could surpass the singularity, and it may be added the sublimity of the whole view from the top of the

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granite hill which they had ascended, and they contemplated it in silence for a few seconds, with emotions of astonishment and rapture.

Descending the hill, they continued their journey over a noble plain, watered with springs and rivulets, and in the afternoon entered Dufo, a most extensive and populous town. The inhabitants appeared to be industrious and very opulent, as far as regarded the number and variety of their domestic animals, having abundance of sheep, goats, swine, pigeons, and poultry, amongst the latter of which were observed for the first time, turkeys and guinea-fowl. They had likewise horses and bullocks. The chief did not make his appearance for a long time, but as soon as he had introduced himself, he desired them to follow him into a cleanly swept square, where was the house which he intended them to occupy. Presently after his departure, he sent them a quantity of yams, a basket of ripe bananas, and a calabash of eggs, which they soon discovered to be good for nothing, although sand had been mixed with them, that they might feel heavier than they really were.

They were on this evening visited by four Burgoo traders, who informed them that they had crossed the Niger at Inguazhilligie, not more than fourteen days ago, and that although the rains had commenced, the river had as yet received no great addition to its waters.

The travellers were early on horseback, on the morning of the 27th, and preceded by the carriers of their luggage, they rode out of the town of Dufo. The country, indeed, appeared inferior, as to the boldness and beauty of its scenery, to that which they had traversed on the preceding day but still it possessed features of no common interest. Another table mountain was observed to the left of their path in the course of the morning, as well as another lion's head and rump. Ponderous masses of granite rock overhung the road way; they were almost black, and seemed to have been washed by the rains of a thousand years; in many of them were deep and gloomy caverns, which, were they in Cornwall instead of in central Africa, they would be selected by some novel-monger, as the scene of some dark and mysterious murder, or as the habitation of a gang of banditti, or perhaps of the ghost of some damsel,

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who might have deliberately knocked her brains out against some rocky protuberance, on account of a faithless lover. They were followed a long while by hundreds of the natives, and who annoyed them so much by their noises and curiosity, that they were compelled to resort to violent measures to drive them away; but this was a line of conduct rarely adopted towards them, and never without extreme reluctance. They were at length frightened away, and they saw them no more. About eight miles from Dufo, they arrived at a large straggling village, called Elokba, where they halted a little, as the path had been so stony, rugged, and irregular, that a few minutes rest was absolutely necessary to recruit themselves. From this place the road became excellent, not at all inferior to a drive round a nobleman's park in England, and continued to be good till they came in sight of a capacious walled town, called Chaadoo, which they entered about mid-day. Outside the walls is a small Fellata village, the huts of which are constructed in the circular or *cooste* form. Its inhabitants employ themselves solely in the breeding of cattle, an occupation to which they are passionately addicted. They are simple in their manners, and extremely neat in their dress and appearance.

Not long after their arrival, three or four young Fellata shepherdesses from the village came to pay their respects to the travellers, who felt much pleased with their society, for they were extremely well-behaved and intelligent; they remained, however, a very short time, their customary avocation not permitting a longer stay. The hair of these females was braided in a style peculiarly tasteful and becoming, and the contour of their oval faces was far from disagreeable. Their manners also were innocent and playful; the imaginary shepherdesses of our pastorals were not more modest, artless, and engaging in description, than these were in reality: they left behind them an impression very favourable, both as regards their morals, *naïveté*, and rustic simplicity.

On the road from Dufo, Richard Lander unthinkingly shot a crane, which fell in an adjoining field. The report of his gun brought out a number of natives from "the bush," who being in continual dread of an attack from "the war men of the path," imagined it to be a signal of one of these marauders. They were

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ll armed like their countrymen with bows and arrows, and with a hreatening aspect would have lodged a few shafts in the person of Richard Lander, had it not been for the timely interference of one of their Jenna messengers, who fortunately happened to be with him at the time, and who gave an immediate and satisfactory explanation. The head of the party then sought for and picked up the bird, but Richard took it from him, after he had rewarded him liberally for his trouble. The man, however, was neither satisfied nor pleased, but roughly demanded the bird as his own, because it had fallen on his land. As there were no game laws here, Richard Lander would not admit his claim, and was retiring, when the fellow begged with much importunity that the head and legs of the animal, at least, might be given him to make a fetish of. This was likewise objected to, at which the man was out of all patience, and went off foaming with passion. In the evening, the crane was dressed for supper, and a similar request was made by a eunuch from Katunga, who being a good-natured fellow, his wish was readily complied with. The chief of Chaadoo, however, presently sent a messenger to request the said precious head and legs, and to him they were finally committed by the disappointed eunuch, who could hardly forbear weeping on the occasion; these relics are considered extremely valuable as a charm.

The chief sent them a goat, a quantity of bananas, a dish of pounded or rather mashed yam with gravy, and a large basket of *caffas*. These are a kind of pudding, made into little round balls from bruised Indian corn, which is first boiled to the consistence of thick paste. From being made entirely of coarse flour and water, they have an insipid taste when new, but when kept for a day or two, they become sour, and in this state are eaten by the natives. There are several deep wells in the town, but most of them are dried up, so that water is exceedingly scarce, and it is sold in the market-place to the inhabitants. They were daily accosted on the road with such salutations as these, "I hope you go on well on the path," "success to the king's work," "God bless you white men," "a blessing on your return, &c."

They remained the whole of the 28th at Chaadoo, in order to give the carriers with the luggage, time to come up with them

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having been unavoidably detained by the roughness and uneveness of the road from Dufo to Elokba. The Katunga eunuch already mentioned, was sent by the king of that place to receive the customary tribute of the governors of various towns on the road between Katunga and Jenna. This man was treated with much respect both by the governor of Chaadoo and his people, who prostrated themselves to the eunuch, before addressing him.

Being in want of money, they sent some needles this morning to the market to sell. It is a custom in Youriba, that after a buyer has agreed to pay a certain sum for an article, he retracts his expression, and affirms that he only promised to give about half the sum demanded. This occasioned violent altercations between the Landers' people and the natives, but it is an established custom, from which there is no appeal.

The mother of the governor was buried this afternoon, at a neighbouring village, and the funeral was attended by all his wives or women as mourners. They were dressed in their holiday attire and looked tolerably smart. The mourners exhibited no signs of grief whatever, on the contrary, they were as lively as a wedding party; attended by a drummer, they passed through their yard on their return to the governor's house, which was only a few steps distant, and they kept up singing and dancing during the whole of the day, to the noise of the drum.

The inhabitants of the town have immense numbers of sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry, but bullocks are in the possession of Fellatas alone. It was believed, that the natives have not a single animal of that description. Like many other places, the market was not held here till the heat and toil of the day are over, and buyers seldom resort to it, till eight o'clock in the evening.

On the morning of the 29th April, it commencing raining at a very early hour, and continued with uncommon violence, till between ten and eleven o'clock, when it suddenly ceased, and they quitted Chaadoo. Before their departure, however, the credulous governor, who in common with his people, imagine that white men possess an influence over the elements, paid them a visit with a calabash of honey as a present, to thank them he said for the rain that had fallen, of which the country was greatly in

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want, and invoked blessings on them. The kindness of this good old man was remarkable; he never seemed weary of obliging them, regretted his inability to do more, and solicited them very pressingly to remain with him another day.

They traversed a mountainous country intersected with streams of excellent water, and at noon entered a small, but pleasant picturesque village, which was ornamented with noble and shady trees. Here they waited a very short time, and continuing their route, arrived towards evening at a capacious walled town, called *Row*, wherein they passed the night. In many places, the wall, if it be deserving the name, was no more than twelve or fourteen inches from the ground, and the moat was of similar dimensions. The yard to which they were conducted, shortly after their arrival, was within three or four others, and so intricate were the passages leading to it, that after a stranger gets in, he would be sadly puzzled to find his way out again without a guide. Nevertheless, this was no security against interruption, for the yard was speedily invaded by five or six hundred individuals, who had been induced to visit them from curiosity. As usual, they annoyed the travellers for a long time to the best of their ability, till they completely wearied them out by their importunity and forwardness. They then hung sheets round the door-way of their dwelling, and laid down on their mats; and then only, the natives began to disperse, and left them at their ease.

The governor of the town was a morose, surly, and ill-natured man. He sent them only a few bananas, and a calabash of eggs, which were all stale and unfit to be eaten, so that some of their people were obliged to go supperless to bed. The governor ascribed the badness of his fare to extreme poverty, yet his vanity exacted from their Jenna messengers the most abject method of salutation, with which they were acquainted. These men walked backwards from him several yards, to throw dirt on their heads, and with the dust and filth still clinging to their hair, they were compelled to address the chief with their faces to the ground. The apartment of the travellers unfortunately communicated with his, and the restless tongues of his numerous wives prevented either of the Landers from closing their eyes long after sunset. In the

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centre of their yard grew a tree, round which several stakes were driven into the ground. This tree was a fetish tree, and the stakes also fetish, and therefore a strong injunction was issued not to tie the horses to either of them. Calabashes, common articles of earthenware, and even feathers, egg-shells, and the bones of animals; indeed any kind of inanimate substance is made fetish by the credulous, stupid natives, and like the horse-shoe, which is still nailed to the door of the more superstitious of English peasantry, these fetishes are supposed to preserve them from ghosts and evil spirits. It is sacrilege to touch them, and to ridicule them, would be dangerous.

It was between seven and eight o'clock of the 30th April, before carriers could be procured, and every thing got in readiness for their departure. The sun was excessively hot, and the sky brilliantly clear. They crossed two or three rivulets of cool delicious water, as they had done on the preceding day, and then passed through an insignificant village, whose chief sent them a calabash of bruised corn, mixed with water, to drink. At noon, they arrived at the foot of a very elevated hill, and perceived a town perched on its summit, and knew it to be the same to which they had been directed. They dismounted, and after a laborious ascent, which occupied them three quarters of an hour, at length reached the top. Stones and blocks of granite interrupted their path, so that it became a very difficult matter to force the horses along before them; hey fell repeatedly, but without materially injuring themselves.

The name of the town was Chekki; their arrival was rather unexpected, and therefore the governor was not prepared to receive them, and they sat down under a tree, until they were tired of waiting. At length, a man came to conduct them to his residence, which was but a little way from the tree, under which they were reposing, when a tumultuous rush was made by the inhabitants to precede them into the yard, and notwithstanding the presence of their chief, they so surrounded the travelling party as to prevent a particle of fresh air from reaching them. The governor received them with bluntness, but not unkindly, though without much demonstration of good-will. While in his yard, he regaled them with water, and afterwards sent them a large calabash of

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foorah sweetened with honey to their lodgings, which did not taste unlike thick gruel or *burgoo*, as it is termed in Scotland. It is made of a corn called goorah, is very palatable, and is in general use with the natives of these parts. A quantity of bananas from the chief soon followed the foorah, and something more substantial than either, was promised them.

It was observed to be a general practice here, as well as in every other town through which the Landers passed, for children until the age of seven years to go naked, with perhaps a string of kowries tied round the loins, and clumsy bracelets, either of brass or tin enclosing the wrist. Grown-up people, however, dress somewhat neatly, if not gracefully; the men wear a cap, tobe and trousers, mostly blue, and the women wear a large loose cotton cloth, which is thrown over the left shoulder, and comes down mantling below the knee. The right arm and feet alone are bare. People of both sexes are infinitely more grave and serious in their manners, than those nearer the coast, nor was the loud vacant laugh so prevalent, as at the commencement of their journey.

They quitted Chekki on the 1st of May, and rode on pleasantly until, at the expiration of four hours, they arrived at Coosoo, a large and important town. A Fellata hamlet stands near it, the inhabitants of which, subsist by following pastoral occupations alone. They are much esteemed by the Youribans, who behave to them without suspicion or reserve.

Shortly after their arrival, a man stole a sword from one of the attendants on the travellers; he was pursued to the chief, and asserted that he had found it; as he laid the weapon at his feet. The sword was restored to them by the governor, but without the slightest allusion being made to the means by which he obtained it.

A company or *goffle* of merchants from Hano, were at this time in the town, who had travelled thus far on their way to Gonga, which is the Selga of Cape Coast Castle and Accra. Their merchandise consists chiefly of elephants' teeth, trona, rock salt, and country cloths. This, the Landers were told, is a new route, the road formerly taken being considered unsafe, on account of private broils and disturbances amongst the natives. The goffle consisted of more than four hundred men; but a company of merchants that

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passed through the town ten days previously, amounted to twice that number. Other merchants were also in the town, and were to leave on the morrow on their way to Yàoorie, to which place they were destined.

The palm tree became scarce as they advanced into the country, and, consequently. the oil obtained hereabouts, is only in very small quantities. But nature, ever bountiful, supplies its place with the mi-cadania or butter tree, which yields abundance of a kind of vegetable marrow, pleasant to the taste, and highly esteemed by the natives. It is used for lights and other domestic purposes. The tree from which it is obtained, is not much unlike our oak in appearance, and the nut it produces is enveloped in an agreeable pulpy substance. The kernel of this nut is about the size of our chestnut. It is exposed in the sun to dry, after which it is pounded very fine and boiled in water. The oily particles which it contains, soon float on the surface; when cool, they are skimmed off, and then made into little cakes for use, without any further preparation.

Two individuals appeared before the chief this day, in consequence of an accusation of theft that had been made against them. The method adopted of proving the guilt or innocence of the parties, was, by compelling them to swallow the fetish water.

In the evening, the travellers received a fat goat, a basket of caffas, a calabash of bananas, a vast quantity of yams, and a bowl of milk from the governor. He appeared to be a sober, kind, and benevolent old man, and generally beloved by his people. To the Landers, he was particularly attentive and obliging. He informed them, that the common path to Katunga was unsafe, in consequence of a serious quarrel between the inhabitants of Coosoo, and those of a neighbouring town. "Therefore," said he, "I entreat you to remain here until to-morrow, in order that I may make arrangements to send you by a different road." This intelligence was not very agreeable to the Landers, but they were convinced of its importance, and therefore thankfully accepted the chief's offer.

The market which was held this evening in the town, had a most imposing and brilliant appearance, from the immense number of lamps used by the trades-people.

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Their visiters, who continued with them until late in the evening, were innumerable, and the noise of the women's tongues was as loud and disagreeable as ever. For some time nothing could quiet them: threats and entreaties were disregarded or laughed at, till at last, they were compelled to resort to the childish expedient of spirting water in their faces from a large syringe. On seeing and feeling the effects of this fearful instrument, they became alarmed and ran away.

On the following day, May 2nd, a fetish priest came to see them, and was about to treat them with the usual harangue of his profession, but they contrived to put a stop to it, by bribing him with a few needles. Nothing particular was observed in this fellow's ornaments or dress, but his person presented a strange and singular appearance. The colour of his skin was like that of whitish brown paper; his eyebrows and eyelashes were of a silvery whiteness, and his eyes of a bright blue, notwithstanding which, the negro features were strongly and distinctly marked on his countenance. The man's parents were both natives, and quite black, and it was found impossible to ascertain the reason of this extraordinary deviation from the common laws of nature.

They received an abundance of kindness from the good old chief of this place, and his endeavours to make them comfortable were imitated by many of the more respectable inhabitants.

The path recommended by the friendly chief of Coosoo, lay due east from the town, and they pursued their journey on it, on the morning of the 3rd of May. Robbers were stated to be lurking about, and therefore they conceived it prudent, if not absolutely necessary, to take every precaution for the safety of the mission, they, therefore, loaded their own guns and pistols, and armed all their men with swords and muskets. Their Jenna messengers being unacquainted with the new route, the governor of Coosoo had furnished them with two armed foot guides, whose weapons were bows and arrows, besides a horseman, armed at all points, to bring up the rear of the party. With all these warlike preparations and equipments, a few harmless women, who were terrified at the appearance of the travellers, were the only individuals whom they met with on the path during a ride of two hours, which brought

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them to a town called Acboro. The town itself was very small, but its dilapidated walls, which enclose an immense extent of ground, would lead the observer to suppose, that it was formerly of much greater magnitude. Within the walls, were three granite hills, two on one side, and the other on the opposite side of the town. All their bases were of solid stone, but their summits consisted of loose blocks, from the interstices of which, trees and stunted vegetation shot forth. Besides these hills, immense masses of granite rock were seen piled upon each other in different parts. On the whole, Acboro was one of the wildest and most venerable looking places that the human mind could conceive; the habitations of the people alone, lessening that romantic and pleasing effect, which a first sight of it produces.

Shortly after their arrival, the governor sent them a sucking pig and some other presents, and seemed highly pleased that circumstances had thrown them in his way. "White men do nothing but good," said he, "and I will pray that God may bless you, and send more of your countrymen to Youriba."

Instead of the people running and scrambling to see them, the good-natured ruler of this place excluded the mass of them from visiting their yard, and came very civilly to ask their permission for a few of his friends to look at them. John Lander was too weak and indisposed to gratify their curiosity by rising from his couch, so his brother went out to exhibit his person, and suffered himself to be examined rather minutely, which must have had a very ludicrous effect, to see the European undergoing an examination by a posse of black inquisitors, just as if he had been a horse or a bullock at Smithfield. They, however, separated tolerably well pleased with each other.

On May the 4th, three men, inhabitants of Acboro, were captured by a gang of restless, marauding scoundrels, who are denominated here, as elsewhere, "War-men of the path," but who are, in reality, nothing more nor less, than highway robbers. They subsist solely by pillage and rapine, and waylaying their countrymen. The late governor of Acboro was deposed and driven from the town by his own people, for his indifference to their interest, and the wanton cruelty, with which he treated them and their

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children. At different times he seized several individuals of both sexes, and sold them as slaves, without assigning any cause for the act. This drew on him the vengeance of the friends and relatives of the sufferers, who prevailed on the town's people to arise with them and punish the aggressor. The latter soon found that his party were too weak to withstand the attacks of the exasperated populace, and he fled to a remote village, where he was residing at the time of the arrival of the Landers. The inhabitants of Acboro immediately elected a more humane and benevolent governor in his stead.

They rose this morning at an early hour, and John Lander finding himself sufficiently recovered to ride on horseback, they bade farewell to the governor of Acboro, and quitted the town by sunrise, taking care to use the same precaution against robbers as on the preceding day. In an hour and three quarters, they entered an open and delightful village called Lazipa. An assemblage of Fellata huts stood near it, by which their beautiful cattle were grazing. Many of the bullocks were as white as snow, others were spotted like a leopard's skin, and others again were dotted with red and black on a white ground. A Fellata girl presented them with a bowl of new milk, which was very agreeable and refreshing, and after drinking it, they bade adieu to the Fellatas and their cattle for ever.

They had not travelled a great way from Lazipa, before they had to cross a large morass, on the borders of which a very large and handsome species of water-lily flourished in great perfection. They crossed this morass without difficulty or trouble, and with the same facility also two small streams, which intersected the road. At nine A. M. they arrived at Cootoo, which like Lazipa is an open village, but the former is by far the most extensive of the two. A person, who may have travelled from Penzance in Cornwall to the Land's End, and observed the nature of the soil, and the blocks of granite which are scattered over its surface, will have a very good idea of the country between Acboro and Cootoo, only that in the latter, it is much more woody.

After leaving Cootoo, however, the aspect of the surrounding scenery speedily changed, and became infinitely more pleasing.

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The soil was more rich and deeper; patches of verdure and cultivated land were more frequent, the latter being neatly fenced; fine handsome trees, with their spreading branches and thick foliage, embellished the country in every direction, and extended to the eastern horizon. It might have been supposed that these trees had been carefully planted by the hand of man, for they grew at equal distances from each other, and none seemed to interfere with the order, beauty, and regularity of its neighbour. The soil between them was covered with a soft green turf, which rendered the whole view remarkably pleasant. It was over this delightful landscape that they travelled; the morning was cooled by a refreshing south-east wind, and the travellers, which is not often the case, were both on good terms with themselves, and gratified by everything around them. At length, they came in sight of numerous herds of fine cattle, attended by little boys, and shortly afterwards, they arrived at a clean and neat Fellata village, the inhabitants of which were employed in feeding calves, and other occupations connected with an African farm. They then crossed a small stream, and entered a town of prodigious extent, called Bohoo, which was fortified with a triple wall and moats. Without being exposed to the customary tiresome formalities, they were immediately conducted to the residence of the governor. The usual conversation passed between them, and after they had returned to their hut, a bullock was sent them, with yams, bananas, and a huge calabash of new milk, which did not contain less than six gallons, and the travellers sat down to enjoy themselves in perfect good humour.

In the afternoon, a message was delivered to them, signifying that the governor's head minister would be very glad to see them, and would thank them to visit him in the course of the day. John Lander, however, having experienced a relapse, his sufferings were such as to prevent him leaving the hut, and his brother was, therefore, obliged to go alone. After a pleasant walk of about two miles, he arrived at the habitation of the minister, by whom he was very kindly received. The compliments of the day only were exchanged between them, and the numerous wives, and large family of the master of the house, who are on these occasions

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generally exhibited to a stranger, having amply gratified their curiosity by an examination of his person, the interview terminated, and he presently returned to his abode, after promising to visit the minister again on the following day.

Bòhoo lies north-east of Acboro, and is built on the slope of a very gentle and fertile hill, at whose base flows a stream of milk-white water, and behind which is the Fellata hamlet already mentioned. Its immense triple wall is little short of twenty miles in circuit; but besides huts and gardens, it encloses a vast number of acres of excellent meadow land, in which bullocks, sheep, and goats feed indiscriminately. By the hasty view obtained of it, the town in some degree resembled Kano, but there is no large swamp like that which intersects the latter city. Bòhoo was formerly the metropolis of Youriba, but about half a century ago, the reigning prince preferring the plain at Katunga, the seat of government was transferred there, since which Bòhoo has materially declined in wealth, population, and consequence, although it is still considered a place of great importance, and the second town in the kingdom. It is bounded on all sides by hills of gradual ascent, which are prettily wooded, and commands an extensive horizon. The land in the vicinity of the town presents a most inviting appearance, by no means inferior to any part of England in the most favourable season of the year. It appears to be duly appreciated by the Fellatas, so great a number of whom reside with their flocks in different parts, that the minister candidly declared he could not give any information of their amount. These foreigners sell their milk, butter, and cheese in the market at a reasonable rate. The latter is made into little cakes about an inch square, and when fried in butter is very palatable. It is of the consistence and appearance of the white of an egg, boiled hard.

Agreeably to the promise which Richard Lander made to the chief, he left his brother to the care of old Pascoe and his wife, and hastened to pay his respects to the chief's head man or minister. It appears that this man was placed in his present situation by the king of Katunga, as a kind of spy on the actions of the governor, who can do nothing of a public nature, without in the first place consulting him, and obtaining his consent to the measure. Yet

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he conducted himself so well in his disagreeable office, that he won the good will, not only of the governor of the town, but also its inhabitants. A kind of rivalry existed between the minister and his master, but then it was a rivalry in good and not in bad actions. Hearing that the governor had sent the travellers a bullock, and something besides, he presented Richard Lander with a similar one, and a large calabash of *Pitto* (country beer,) which Lander distributed amongst those who had accompanied him. A bottle of honey completed the list of presents, and they were forthwith forwarded to their habitation, but Richard Lander remained a considerable time afterwards with the chief. He was filled with amasement at the formation and ticking of Lander's watch, which he gazed on and listened to with transport. The spurs which he wore, also excited his eager curiosity, and he examined them with the greatest attention. He hoped, he said, that God would bless them both, and that they had his best wishes for their safety. He remarked further, that white men worshipped the great God alone, and so did black men also, and that every blessing of life was derived from that source.

On the return of Richard, he found his brother extremely ill, he had been so faint and sick during his absence, that his recovery seemed doubtful, but in a few hours afterwards he became better. In the afternoon they sent to the governor and the minister, who had behaved so handsomely to them, three yards of fine red cloth, a common looking-glass, tobacco pipe, a pair of scissors, snuff-box, and a large clasp knife. The tobacco pipe was much admired, but the red cloth was the most valued; with the whole, however, they were both perfectly well pleased, and were extravagant in their expressions of gratitude.

One of the bullocks was slaughtered this morning, and about two thirds of it distributed by the governor and his chief man to the poor in the town; the remainder of the carcass was divided equally amongst the attendants of the travellers, who appeared by no means anxious to leave the place, while their present, unusually good fare, was to be had.

John Lander was now so far recovered as to excite a hope that they might be able to proceed on their journey, on the following

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day. His recovery was, however, considerably retarded by the continual noises to which he was subject. Perhaps, of all evils that can afflict a sick person, noises of any kind are the greatest. In Africa, whether a person be ill or well, it is exactly the same, nothing like peace or quiet is any where to be found; independently of the continual fluttering of pigeons, which roosted close to their ears, the bleating of sheep and goats, and the barking of numerous half-starved dogs, they were still more seriously annoyed by the incessant clatter of women's tongues, which pursued them every where, and which it was believed nothing less than sickness or death on their part could eventually silence. The shrillness of their voices drowns the bleating of the sheep, and the yellings of the canine race; and notwithstanding all the exertions of Richard Lander, seconded by those of their attendants, their noise in this town considerably retarded the recovery of his brother. A person in England might be inclined to think lightly of this matter, but it is indeed a grievance, which can ill be borne by an invalid languishing under a wasting disease, and who has equally as much need of rest and silence as of medicine. Besides those grievances, the shouts of the people outside the yard, and the perpetual squalling of children within it, the buzzing of beetles and drones, the continual attacks of mosquitoes and innumerable flies, form a host of irritating evils, to which a sick person is exposed, and to which he is obliged patiently to submit, until by a relief from his disorder, he is obliged to stand upon his legs, and once more take his own part. But even then noises assail his ear, and he does not enjoy the happiness of perfect silence unless he enters a grove or forest.

They were this morning, visited by a party of Fellatas of both sexes. They differed bnt little either in colour or feature from the original natives of the soil. In dress and ornaments, however, there was a slight distinction between them. They displayed more taste in their apparel, and wore a greater number of ornaments round the neck and wrists; they paid also great attention to their hair, which the women plait with astonishing ingenuity Like that of the young woman, whom they met at Jenna, their heads exactly resembled a dragoon's helmet. Their hair was much longer of course than that of the negro, which enables the

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Fallatas to weave it on both sides of the head into a kind of *queue*, which passing over each cheek is tied under the chin.

Another company of Fellatas came to them in the evening, for they had never beheld a white man, and curiosity had led them to their habitation. They brought with them a present of a little thick milk, of which they begged the travellers' acceptance, and then went away highly gratified with the interview. The behaviour of the whole of them was extremely reserved and respectful; nothing in the persons of the travellers excited their merriment, on the contrary, they seemed silently to admire their dress and complexion, and having examined them well at a distance, seemed grateful for the treat.

In the mean time, the kindness and generosity of the governor of Bohoo continued unabated; instead of diminishing, it seemed to strengthen; he literally inundated them with milk, and he was equally lavish with other things. It gave them unmixed pleasure to meet with so much native politeness and attention from a quarter, where they the least expected it, and at a time also, when it was the most required.

After they had retired to rest, a Fellata woman came to their dwelling, bringing with her a number of eggs of the guinea-hen, and a large bowl of milk fresh from the cow, as a return for a few needles they had given her in the afternoon. This circumstance is mentioned merely to show the difference between the Fellatas and the Youribeans, in point of gratitude for favours which they may have received. The latter are very seldom grateful, and never acknowledge gratitude as a virtue. The indifference, unconcern, and even contempt, which they often evinced on receiving the presents which the Landers made them, was a proof of this, and with a very few exceptions, they never observed a Youribean to be sincerely thankful for any thing.

On the following morning, John Lander was able to sit on horseback, and as they were on the point of taking their departure, the governor came out to bid them farewell, and presented them with two thousand kowries to assist them on their journey.

Two hours after leaving Bohoo, they passed through an agreeable, thinly inhabited village called Mallo, and in somewhat less

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than an hour after, arrived at Jaguta, a large and compact town, fortified by a neater and more substantially built wall than any they had yet seen.

Jaguta lies E. S. E. of Bòhoo, from which it is distant, as nearly as the Landers could guess, from twelve to thirteen miles. In the course of the journey, they met a party of Nouffie traders from Coulfo, with asses carrying trona for the Gonja market. Among them, were two women, very neatly clad in their native costume, with clean white tobes outside their other apparel, resembling as nearly as possible the *chemise* of European ladies. These asses were the first beasts they had observed employed in carrying burdens, for hitherto, people of both sexes and of all ages, especially women and female children, had performed those laborious duties.

The governor of Jaguta came to apologize in the evening, for not having attended them the greater part of the day, on the plea that he had been engaged in the country with his people, in making a fetish for the prosperity of the king of Katunga. The return of the governor and his procession to the town, was announced by a flourish of drums, fifes, &c., with the usual accompaniments of singing and dancing. The musicians performed before him, for some time, in a yard contiguous to that where the Landers resided, and their ears were stunned for the remainder of the night, by a combination of the most barbarous sounds in the world.

They were here daily assured that the path was rendered exceedingly dangerous by banditti, and the governor of Jaguta endeavoured with a good deal of earnestness, to persuade them that their goods would not be respected by them. It will, however, scarcely be believed, that this universal dread originates from a few Borgoo desperadoes, who, although only armed with powder and a few broken muskets, can put a whole legion of the timid natives to flight. The inhabitants of the town kept firing the whole of the evening, to deter their formidable foe from scaling the wall and taking possession of their town.

On the night of Saturday May 8th, they were visited by thunder storms, from which, however, they did not receive any great annoyance. The natives as usual imputed the seasonable weather to their agency alone, and in consequence, their arrival at many

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places was hailed with transport, as the most fortunate thing that could have happened.

Extraordinary preparations were made by the governor of Jaguta, to ensure the safety of the travellers on the dreaded pathway; and a horseman armed with sword and spear, in company with four foot soldiers, who were equipped with bows, and several huge quivers full of arrows, were in readiness to offer them their protection. The horseman preceded the party, and played off a variety of antics to the great amusement of the Landers. He seemed not a little satisfied with himself; he flourished his naked sword over his head; brandished his spear; made his horse curvet and bound, and gallop alternately; and his dress being extremely grotesque, besides being old and torn, gave him an appearance not unlike that of a bundle of rags flying through the air. But with all this display of heroism and activity, the man would have fled with terror from his own shadow by moonlight, and it was really regretted by the travellers, that a few defenceless women were the only individuals that crossed their path to put his courage to the test, the formidable "war men" not being at that time in that part of the country.

Their journey this day was vexatiously short, not having exceeded four miles, for it was utterly beyond the power of either of the Landers to persuade the superstitious natives, who conform only to their fetish in these matters, that the robbers would be afraid even to think of attacking white men. They halted at a small town called Shea, which was defended by a wall. It appeared to possess a numerous population, if any opinion could be formed from the vast number of individuals that gathered round them, immediately on their entrance through the gateway. A stranger, however, cannot give anything like a correct estimate of the population of any inhabited place, in this part of Africa, for as he can only judge of it by the number of court-yards a town or village may contain; and as in one court yard there may be residing at least a hundred people, and in the one adjacent to it, perhaps not more than six or seven, the difficulty will be immediately perceived. Generally speaking, the description of one town in Youriba, would answer for the whole. Cleanliness and order

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may contribute and establish the superiority of one place over another, which may likewise have the advantages of a rich soil, a pleasant neighbourhood, and be ornamented with fine spreading and shady trees, but the form of the houses and squares is everywhere the same; irregular and badly built clay walls, ragged looking thatched roofs, and floors of mud polished with cow-dung, form the habitations of the chief part of the natives of Youriba, compared to most of which, a common English barn is a palace. The only difference between the residence of a chief and those of his subjects, lies in the number and not in the superiority of his court yards, and these are for the most part tenanted by women and slaves, together with flocks of sheep and goats, and abundance of pigs and poultry, mixed together indiscriminately.

Shea lies four miles E. by S. of Jaguta. The governor of the town presented them with a pig, and a quantity of country beer, and they also received little presents of provisions from a few of the people.

May the 9th was on a Sunday, and they were invited to witness an exhibition of tumbling; it was with great reluctance that the invitation was accepted, not only on account of the sanctity of the day, but for the delay which it would occasion them. They, however, considered it politic to lay aside their religious scruples, and they attended the exhibition mounted on their horses. As soon as it was over, they were escorted out of the town by beat of drum, preceded by an armed horseman, and an unarmed drummer, and continued their journey, followed by a multitude of the inhabitants.

They passed through a very large walled town called Esalay, about six miles from Shea, but its wall was dilapidated, and the habitations of the people in ruins, and almost all deserted. This town, which was not long since well inhabited, has been reduced to its present desolate and miserable state, by the protection which its ruler granted to an infamous robber, whose continued assaults on defenceless travellers, and his cruelty to them, at length attracted the notice of the king of Katunga. But previously to this, the inhabitants of another town not far off, many of whom had at different times suffered from his bold attacks, called in a number of Borgoo men, who bore no better reputation for honesty than the

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robber himself, and resolved to attempt the capture of the ruffian in his strong hold, without any other assistance. Their efforts, however, were unavailing; the governor entrenched in his walled town, and supported by his people, sheltered the miscreant and compelled his enemies to raise the siege. About this time a messenger arrived at Esalay from the king of Katunga, with commands for the governor to deliver up the robber to punishment, but instead of obeying them, he privately warned the man of his danger, who took immediate advantage of it, and made his escape to Nouffie. The governor was suspected of aiding the escape of the robber, and a second messenger soon after arrived from Katunga, with orders for the guilty chief either to pay a fine to the king, of 120,000 kowries, or put a period to his existence by taking poison. Neither of these commands suiting the inclination of the governor of Esalay, he appointed a deputy, and privately fled to the neighbouring town of Shea, there to await the final determination of his enraged sovereign. The Landers saw this man at Shea, dressed in a fancifully made tobe, on which a great number of Arab characters were stitched. He walked about at perfect liberty, and did not seem to take his condition much to heart. The inhabitants of Esalay, however, finding that their ruler had deserted them, that they were threatened by the king of Katunga, and that the Borgoo men emboldened by the encouragement they received from that monarch, were also lurking about the neighbourhood, and ready to do them any mischief, took the alarm, and imitating the example of their chief, most of them deserted their huts, and scattered themselves amongst the different towns and villages in the neighbourhood. Very few people now resided at Esalay; and this town, lately so populous and flourishing, was on the visit of the Landers little better than a heap of ruins.

After passing through Esalay, they crossed a large morass and three rivers, which intersected the roadway. The croaking from a multitude of frogs which they contained, in addition to the noise of their drum, produced so animating an effect on their carriers, that they ran along with their burdens doubly as quick as they did before. They then arrived at an open village called Okissaba, where they halted for two hours under the shadow of a large tree,

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to allow some of their men who had been loitering behind to rejoin them, after which the whole party again set forward, and did not stop until they arrived at the large and handsome walled town Atoopa, through which Captain Clapperton passed in the last expedition. During their ride, they observed a range of wooded hills, running from N. N. E. to S. S. W., and passed through a wilderness of stunted trees, which was relieved at intervals by patches of cultivated land, but there was not so much cultivation as might be expected to be found near the capital of Youriba.

The armed guides were no longer considered necessary, and, therefore, on the 10th May, they set out only with their Badagry and Jenna messengers and interpreters. On leaving Atoopa, they crossed a river, which flowed by the foot of that town, where their travellers overtook them, and they travelled on together. The country through which the path lay, was uncommonly fine; it was partially cultivated, abounding in wood and water, and appeared by the number of villages which are scattered over its surface, to be very populous. As they rode along, a place was pointed out to them, where a murder had been committed about seven years ago, upon the person of a young man. He fell a victim to a party of Borgoo scoundrels, for refusing to give up his companion to them, a young girl, to whom he was shortly to be married. They at first endeavoured to obtain her from him by fair means, but he obstinately refused to accede to their request, and contrived to keep the marauders at bay, till the young woman had made her escape, when he also ran for his life. He was closely pursued by them, and pierced by the number of arrows which they shot at him; he at length fell down and died in the path, after having ran more than a mile from the place where the first arrow had struck him. By the care with which this story is treasured up in their memory, and the earnestness and horror with which it is related, the Landers were inclined to believe, that although there is so great a fuss about the Borgoo robbers, and so manifest a dread of them, that a murder on the high-way is of very rare occurrence. When this crime was perpetrated, the whole nation seemed to be terror-struck, and the people rose up in arms, as if a public enemy were devastating their country, and slaughtering its inhabitants without mercy. This is

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the only instance they ever heard of a young man entertaining a strong attachment for a female. Marriage is celebrated by the natives as unconcernedly as possible. A man thinks as little of taking a wife as of cutting an ear of corn; affection is altogether out of the question.

A village in ruins, and a small town called Nama, where they halted for a short time, were the only inhabited places they passed through during the day, till their entrance into the town of Leoguadda, which was surrounded by a double wall, and in which they passed the night. The governor happened to be in his garden on their arrival, so that they were completely wearied with waiting for him, but as he did not make his appearance, they themselves found a convenient and comfortable hut; and though they were assailed by a volley of abuse from the mouths of half a dozen women, they succeeded in sending them away, and they remained in tranquil possession of their quarters. In the centre of their yard was a circular enclosure without a roof, within which was an alligator that had been confined there for seven years. This voracious animal was fed with rats only, of which he generally devoured five a day. One of the inhabitants perceiving that John Lander was rather inquisitive, voluntered to go to a river in the vicinity of the town, and to return in a few minutes with as many young crocodiles as he might wish for; but as he had no opportunity of conveying animals of that description through the country, he declined the man's offer. The inhabitants of Leoguadda, having probably no vegetable poison, make use of the venom of snakes on the tips of their arrows. The heads of those serpents, from which they extract this deadly substance, are exposed on the sticks, which are thrust into the inside of the thatch of their dwellings as a kind of trophy.

Leoguadda is almost surrounded by rugged hills, formed by loose blocks of granite; these added to a number of tall trees, always green and growing within the walls, render the town inconceivably pleasant and romantic. Immense tracts of land are cultivated in the vicinity of the town with corn, yams, &c., and abundance of swine, poultry, goats, and sheep are bred by its inhabitants. Formerly, also herds of cattle were to be seen in the

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meadows, but they belonged to Fellatas, who, they were told, fled from Leoguadda some time since, to join their countrymen at Alorie.

They left Leoguadda early in the morning of 11th May, and about the middle of the forenoon reached a walled town of some extent called Eetcho. This place is of importance on account of a large weekly market which is held in it. Eetcho had recently been more than half consumed by fire, and would not, it was supposed, regain its former condition for some time. Like most large trading towns, it is in as unsettled and filthy a state as can be conceived. This day's journey was highly agreeable, the path lay through a beautiful country, varied in many places by hills of coarse granite, which were formed by blocks heaped on each other. Trees and shrubs of a beautiful green grew from their interstices, and almost hid the masses of stone from the view.

The governor of Eetcho welcomed them to his town very civilly; yet his kindness was not of any great extent, and although in all probability, he was as opulent as most chiefs on the road, yet he did not follow their example in giving them provisions, but left them to procure what they wanted for themselves, in the best manner they were able. It is the general custom here, when any stranger of consequence approaches Katunga, to send a messenger before him, for the purpose of informing the king of the circumstances; and as they were considered to be personages of consequence, one of their Jenna guides was deputed to set out on the morrow, and in the mean time they were to remain at Eetcho until a guard of soldiers should be sent to escort them to Katunga. They, however, having no inclination for the honour, as it would expose them to a thousand little inconveniences, determined to avoid them all by leaving the place by moonlight.

An extraordinary instance of mortality is here mentioned by Richard Lander, who says, "that not less than one hundred and sixty governors of towns and villages, between this place and the seacoast, all belonging to Youriba, have died from natural causes, or have been slain in war, since I was last here, and that of the inhabited places through which we have passed, not more than half a dozen chiefs are alive at this moment, who received and entertained me on my return to Badagry three years ago."

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On the night of the 12th, they were visited by a tornado, and in the morning it rained so heavily, that even if they had not been obliged to remain in Eetcho that day, it would have been next to impossible to have pursued their journey.

The celebrated market of this place may be said to commence about mid-day, at which time, thousands of buyers and sellers were assembled in a large open space in the heart of the town, presenting the most busy, bustling scene imaginable. To say nothing of the hum and clatter of such a multitude of barbarians, the incessant exertions of a horrid band of native muscians rendered their own voices inaudible. People from Katunga and other towns of less importance, flocked into Eetcho to attend the market held on this day, which they were informed was not so well attended as on former occasions; the rain that had fallen, and the alleged danger which besets the path, having prevented many thousands from leaving their own abodes. Country cloth, indigo, provisions, &c., were offered for sale, but they observed nothing in the market worthy of notice. Orders were given by the governor that the town should be well guarded during the night, for fear of its being attacked whilst the travellers were in it, and it was given out that any one found loitering outside the walls after sunset, would be seized without ceremony, and his effects taken from him.

A very ungallant custom prevails at Eetcho, which is, that every woman, who attends the market for the purpose of selling any article, is obliged to pay a tax of ten kowries to the governor, whilst any individual of the other sex is allowed to enter the town, and vend commodities publicly without paying any duty whatever.

On Thursday May 13th, they arose at a very early hour to undertake the journey to Katunga, which was rather long, and they hoped not only to reach that city before the heat became oppressive, but also to avoid, if possible the escort, which they had every reason to suppose the king would send out to meet them. Notwithstanding, however, their most strenuous exertions, it was six o'clock before they were all ready to depart. The air was cooler than they had felt it since landing from the Clinker, the thermometer being as low as 71° in the shade. The natives appeared to feel this *severity* of the weather most keenly, for although they huddled them-

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selves up in their warmest cotton dresses, they were yet shivering with cold. Hundreds of people, and it would perhaps not be overrating the number to say thousands, preceded and followed them on the pathway; and as they winded through thick forests, along narrow roads, their blue and white clothing contrasted with the deep green of the ancient trees, produced an eminently pleasing effect.

After a hasty ride of two hours, they came in sight of the town of Eetcholee, outside of which were numerous trees, and underneath their widely spreading branches, were observed various groups of people seated on the turf taking refreshment. They joined the happy party, partook of a little corn and water, which was their usual travelling fare, and then renewed their journey in good spirits. They had not, however, proceeded a great way, when the escort, about which they had been so uneasy, was descried at a distance, and as they approached at a rapid pace, they joined the party in a very few minutes. There was no great reason after all, for their modesty to be offended either at the splendour or numbers of their retinue, for happily it consisted only of a few ragged individuals on foot, and eight on horseback; with the latter was a single drummer, but the former could boast of having in their train, men with whistles, drums and trumpets.

Richard Lander sounded his bugle, at which the natives were astonished and pleased; but a black trumpeter jealous of the performance, challenged a contest for the superiority of the respective instruments, which terminated in an entire defeat of the African, who was hooted and laughed at by his companions for his presumption, and gave up the trial in despair. Amongst the instruments used on this occasion, was a piece of iron, in shape exactly resembling the bottom of a parlour fire shovel. It was played on by a thick piece of wood and produced sounds infinitely less harmonious than "marrow-bones and cleavers."

The leader of the escort was a strange looking, powerful fellow, and might very well serve the writer of a romance as the hero of his tale, in the character of keeper of an enchanted castle, when fierce, scowling looks, terrific frowns, and a peculiarly wild expression of countenance are intended to be *naturally* described, for the man's stature was gigantic; his eyes large, keen, piercing, and ever in motion, his broad nose squatted over both cheeks; his

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lips immensely large, exposing a fine set of teeth; the beard was thick, black and gristly, and covering all the lower part of his face, reached to his bosom; the famous Blue Beard was nothing to him; and in gazing on his features, the observer might almost be inclined to believe, that all the most iniquitous and depraved passions of human nature were centered in his heart. Yet, with so unlovely and forbidding an appearance, this man was in reality as innocent and docile as a lamb. He wore on his head a small rush hat, in shape like a common earthenware pan inverted, or like the hats, which are worn by the lower class of the Chinese. His breast was enveloped in a coarse piece of blue cloth; from his left shoulder hung a large quiver of arrows, and in his right hand he held a bow, which he brandished like a lance; a short pair of trousers covered his thighs, and leathern boots, fantastically made, incased his feet and legs. His skin was of jetty blackness, his forehead high, but his tremendous beard, which was slightly tinged with grey, contributed, perhaps, more than any thing else, to impart that wildness and fierceness to his looks, which at first inspired the travellers with a kind of dread of their leader.

Thus escorted they travelled onwards, and after a hasty ride of six hours from Eetcho, they beheld from a little eminence, those black naked hills of granite, at whose base lay the metropolis of Youriba. About an hour afterwards, they entered the gates of that extensive city. As being consistent with etiquette, they halted under a tree just inside the walls, till the king and the eunuchs were informed of their arrival, which having been done after a wearisome delay, they rode to the residence of the chief eunuch Ebo, who, next to the king, was the most influential man in the place. They found this personage a great fat, round, oily man, airing himself under the verandah of his dwelling. Other eunuchs of similar appearance were sitting on the ground with him, and joining him in welcoming both of the travellers, but particularly Richard, to Katunga, with every appearance of sincerity, heartiness, and good-will. An uninteresting conversation now took place, which lasted for some time, after which, they walked altogether to the king's house, which was at the distance of half a mile from that place.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

INFORMATION of the approach of the travellers had been previously sent to the monarch, but they were obliged to wait with much patience for a considerable period, until he had put on his robes of state. In the mean time to amuse his august visiters, the head drummer and his assistants, with the most benevolent intention, commenced a concert of the most bewitching melody; and long drums, kettle drums, and horns were played with little intermission, till Mansolah, the king, made his appearance, and the travellers were desired to draw nearer to pay their respects to his majesty. They performed this ceremony after the English manner, much to the entertainment and diversion of the king, who endeavoured to imitate them, but it was easy to see that he was but a novice in the European mode of salutation—bowing and shaking hands; nor did he, like some other monarchs, stretch forth his hand to be kissed, which, to a man possessing a particle of spirit, must be degrading and humiliating. There is no doubt that it was owing to the rusticity and awkwardness of their address, not having been brought up amongst the fooleries and absurdities of a court, that Mansolah's risible faculties were so strongly excited, but he laughed so long and heartily, and his wives, and eunuchs, and subjects of all sorts joined with him with such good will, and such power of lungs, that at length the travellers were obliged to laugh too, and were constrained to unite their voices to the general burst of kindly feeling, although, if they had been asked the cause of

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such jollity and obstreperous mirth, they would have been at a loss for an answer.

Mansolah's headpiece was something like a bishop's mitre, profusely ornamented with strings of coral, one of which answered the purpose of a ribbon, for it was tied under the chin, to prevent the cap from being blown off. His tobe was of green silk, crimson silk damask, and green silk velvet, which were all sewn together, like pieces of patchwork. He wore English cotton stockings, and neat leathern sandals of native workmanship. A large piece of superfine light blue cloth, given the chief by Captain Clapperton, was used as a carpet. The eunuchs, and other individuals who were present at the interview, prostrated themselves before their prince, agreeably to the custom of the country, and rubbed their heads with earth two separate times, retreating at some distance to perform this humiliating and degrading ceremony, and then drawing near the royal person, to lie again with their faces in the dust. They also saluted the ground near which he was sitting, by kissing it fervently and repeatedly, and by placing each cheek upon it. Then, and not till then, with their heads, and faces, and lips, and breasts, stained with the red damp soil, which still clung to them, they were allowed to seat themselves near their monarch, and to join in the conversation. Two or three of the inferior eunuchs, not satisfied with this servile prostration, began to sport and roll themselves on the ground, but this could not be effected without immense labour, and difficulty, and panting, and puffing, and straining; for like that paragon of knighthood Sir John Falstaff, they could not be compared to any thing so appropriately as huge hummocks of flesh. There they lay wallowing in the mire, like immense turtles floundering in the sea, till Ebo desired them to rise. A very considerable number of bald-headed old men were observed among the individuals present, their hair or rather wool, having been most likely rubbed off by repeated applications of earth, sand, gravel, filth, or whatever else might be at hand, when the prince happened to make his appearance.

The conference being brought to a close, a kid, a calabash of caffas, and two thousand kowries were presented to the Landers, and cheered by a flourish of music, they laughed in concert as a

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mark of politeness, and shook hands with the king, and walked away to their own dwelling, which had been repaired, and thoroughly cleansed for their use. The latter operation was particularly necessary, as previously to their inhabiting it, it had been occupied by a multitude of domestic animals, sheep, pigs, goats, fowls, guinea fowls, bullocks, in fine, it had been a kind of stable, where Ebo, the principal eunuch, kept his stock of animals. Here, however, they were glad to lie down to repose their aching limbs, although the stench arising from some parts of the hut was almost insupportable. In the evening, the king returned their visit, and immediately took a fancy to John Lander's bugle horn, which was very readily given him. He appeared to be greatly pleased with the present, turning about and inspecting every part of it, with the greatest curiosity. It appeared to him, however, to be immaterial as to which end the mouth was to be applied, for he put the lower part of the instrument to his mouth, and drawing up his breath to its full extent, sent such a puff of wind into it, as would have been sufficient for a diapason pipe of an organ; not hearing, however, the accustomed sound, he delivered the instrument to John Lander, who brought out of it the shrillest note which he could, which set the king and his eunuchs into a violent laugh, and he expressed his delight to the donors of so valuable a present, assuring them that it made his heart glad to see them, and hoped that they would make themselves quite comfortable whilst they remained at Katunga. They now shook hands, made a bow, not one that would have been deemed a very elegant one amongst the courtiers of St. James', and the sovereign departed, followed by a suite of wives, eunuchs, and other attendants. Ebo inquired if there were any thing further that they wished to be done to their residence, to render their stay as agreeable as possible. Their yard adjoined that of Ebo, with which it communicated by a door way, without a door, so that it enabled the travellers to have frequent opportunities of seeing his numerous *unhappy* wives, and a number of little boys and girls, who were his personal attendants. The circumstance of a eunuch keeping a whole retinue of wives, appeared to the Landers rather an extraordinary one, for he appeared to treat them with all the jealousy of a Turkish pacha towards his mistresses

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in his seraglio. Of their fidelity or continency, however, little could be said, whenever an opportunity presented itself; but we do not require to travel as far as Africa for the experience, that when an opportunity of that kind is wanted, it is not long before it is obtained. The eunuch sent them a very fat sheep, as a further token of his good will.

On Friday May 14th, Richard Lander accompanied by Ebo, and the other unwieldy eunuchs, took a present to the king, which was pretty well received; Mansolah, it was supposed out of compliment, remarked that if they had not brought with them the value of a single kowrie, they should have been favourably received at Katunga, and well entertained at his own expense. They had, previously to presenting themselves before the king, consulted their friend Ebo, on the subject of their journey to the Niger, and he strongly advised them by no means even to hint at such an intention to the king, whose suspicions, he assured them, would immediately take the alarm, so that instead of being forwarded on their way thither, they would either be detained in the town for an indefinite time, or sent back again to the coast. They therefore conceived it prudent to give him the following statement only:—"That the king of England, anxious to procure the restoration of certain papers which belonged to a countryman of theirs, who perished at Boosa about twenty years ago, which papers were supposed to be in the possession of the sultan of Yaoorie, they had been despatched hither by their sovereign, in the hope that the king of Katunga would forward them to the latter state, for the purpose of obtaining them from the sultan of Yaoorie, and taking them back with them to England."

Mansolah, with the natural indifference of the uncultivated mind, displayed neither eager curiosity as to their object in coming to his country, nor surprise when they had informed him of it, but very promptly observed, that in two days time, he would send a messenger to Kiama, Wouwou, Boossa, and Yaoorie, for the purpose of acquainting the rulers of those provinces of their intention to pay them a visit, and that on the return of the messenger, they should have his permission to depart. This was promised after Richard Lander's repeated solicitations and importunities, that they

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should not be detained here longer than necessary, as in a very short time, the violent rains would render the roads to those countries impassable, and, in consequence, they would not be able to travel till the return of the dry season. Their speedy departure was also a matter of importance to them on account of their health, which they found to be far better when they were travelling, than when cooped up in a close unwholesome hut, where ventilation appeared to be the object the least attended to, or considered of no importance at all.

They were expressly and repeatedly informed that the monarch of this empire was brother to the king of Benin; but notwithstanding this near relationship of the two sovereigns, not the slightest intercourse or communication is maintained between Yarriba and that power, and the reason ascribed for it is, that the distance between the two countries is too great. It must, however, be remarked, that friends and acquaintance are often called brothers in Yarriba; and to make a distinction in the above instance, they assert that Mansolah and the king of Benin were of one father and one mother. They made some inquiries of Ebo on this subject, but he soon silenced their remarks by observing, that they were too inquisitive, or to use his own words, "that they talked too much." It was the intention of the Landers, after leaving Yaoorie to proceed direct to Guarie, the prince of which country would no doubt send them to Funda, whence it would be their endeavour to discover the termination of the Niger, agreeably to their written instructions.

Instead of the jarring noise of women's tongues, which had hitherto annoyed and followed them at every stage of their journey from Badagry, they at length enjoyed as much of composure and tranquillity, as they could well desire; for the wives of Ebo residing at some distance from the part of the yard which they occupied, the shrill sound of their voices was pleasant, contrasted with the former loud, discordant, and perpetual din which rang in their ears from morning to night. Their male visiters were, likewise, few and select, and did not remain with them any very considerable time together. An order was issued by the king, that if any im-

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pertinent individual troubled them at any time with his company, when it was not desired, Ebo was at liberty to behead him, and no one, according to the strict injunction of Mansolah, should tax the eunuch with injustice or cruelty in the performance of his duties. This royal proclamation as it may be termed, had the desired effect, for it was regarded with greater exactness and punctuality than some royal proclamations are in Europe, the people having a great dread of Ebo, who, independently of the high office which he held of chief eunuch, somewhat similar to the office of Lord Chamberlain at the court of St. James', was also the occupant of the delightful office of public executioner, an occupation which, in that despotic country, was frequently called into practice.

The king of Katunga, like other kings, has also his master of the horse, who at the time of Lander's visit was an elderly person, possessing no small degree of influence over his royal master. The European and the African master of the horse, however, in some respects bore a great similarity to each other, although contrary to the opinion of the metaphysicians, the same cause produced a different effect. The European master of the horse has a great number of useless horses under his nominal care, and yet has nothing to do; the African master of the horse has also nothing to do, for the very best of all reasons, that he has no horses to take care of, the whole African stud consisting of one or two half-starved, ragged ponies, which would disgrace a costermonger's cart in the streets of London. Katunga, however, is not the only place in which the sun shines, where the office is made for the man, and not the man for the office; but as they have no pension list in Katunga, nor any retired allowances, nor any Chiltern Hundreds, to enable them to vacate their offices, they are immediately sent about their business when age, sickness, or other infirmity disables them from performing the duties of their office. The age of the master of the horse of the king of Katunga was about seventy, but he contrived, similar to the plan adopted in some other countries, of keeping to himself all the emoluments of his office, and getting a deputy to perform the labour; thus for a mess of Indian corn, the stud of the king of Katunga could be

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very ably looked after by some half-starved native, whilst the holder of the office was comfortably reposing himself amongst his twenty or thirty wives.

This important personage had been hitherto overlooked by the Landers, that is, they had not as yet made him any present; in order, however, to let them know that there was such a being in existence, he sent them a sheep as a present, on the principle of the English adage, of throwing a sprat to catch a mackarel. A present from an African master of the horse is not a disinterested gift; he had seen the presents delivered to the king, and he ardently longed for a slip of the red cloth wherewith to decorate his person, and set off the jetty blackness of his skin.

The pride of an African dignitary will not allow him to beg, and therefore he conjectured that on the receipt of his present of the sheep, common courtesy would instruct the Landers to return the compliment, by a present of some European article of corresponding value. Nor was the master of the horse wrong in his conjectures, for a present was sent him, and to his great delight a strip of red cloth was included in it. The unfortunate master of the horse, however, discovered, that although he filled the high office of master of the horse, he was not master of himself, nor was he master of that, which he believed did in reality belong to him, for his master and king no sooner heard that he had received a present of a piece of red cloth, than his majesty discovered that it was a colour, which royalty alone was entitled to wear. The master of the horse had scarcely exhibited his valuable present to his admiring wives, all of whom begged for a bit wherewith to enhance the charms of their unwieldy persons, than a messenger from the king arrived, bearing the afflicting intelligence to the master of the horse, to deliver up for the use of his majesty, a certain piece of red cloth presented to him by the Europeans then in the town, or submit to have his head cut off by the dexterity of his chief eunuch. The master of the horse judged it better to lose the cloth than his head, and with a very ill grace, and muttering some expressions partaking strongly of the enormous crime of high treason, the cloth was delivered up, and the master of the horse

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returned to his wives to condole with them on the heavy loss which they had sustained.

Speaking of the town of Katunga, Lander says, "All seems quiet and peaceable in this large dull city, and one cannot help feeling rather melancholy, in wandering through streets almost deserted, and over a vast extent of fertile land, on which there is no human habitation, and scarcely a living thing to animate or cheer the prevailing solemnity. The walls of the town have been suffered to fall into decay, and are now no better than a heap of dust and ruins, and such unconcern and apathy pervade the minds of the monarch and his ministry, that the wandering and ambitious Fellata has penetrated into the very heart of the country, made himself master of two of its most important and flourishing towns, with little, if any opposition, and is gradually, but very perceptibly gaining on the lukewarm natives of the soil, and sapping the foundations of the throne of Yarriba. The people, surely, cannot be aware of their own danger, or they never would be unconcerned spectators of the events, which are rapidly tending to root out their religion, customs, and institutions, and totally annihilate them as a nation. But since they have neither foresight, nor wisdom, nor resolution to put themselves in a posture of defence, and make at least a show of resistance, when danger real or imaginary menaces them; since neither the love of country, which stimulates all nations to heroic achievements in defence of their just and natural rights, and all that is truly dear to them in the world; and since neither affection for their defenceless wives and unprotected offspring, nor love of self can awaken a single spark of courage or patriotism in their bosoms, can scare away that demon sloth from among them, or induce them to make a solitary exertion to save themselves and posterity from a foreign yoke; why then, they are surely unworthy to be called a people; they deserve to be deprived of their effects, children, and personal liberty, to have their habitual sloth and listlessness converted into labour and usefulness, in tilling, improving, and beautifying for strangers, that soil, which they have neither spirit nor inclination to cultivate for themselves.

A market is held daily in different parts of Katunga, but there

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are two days in the week, in which it is much larger and more numerously attended than on any of the other days. One is styled the queen's market, but in the evening, when it is held in another place, it is called the king's market. To make a market profitable, the sellers and buyers should be equal, for where either predominate, the advantage cannot be mutual; if the buyers exceed the sellers, the articles sold will rise in price, and on the other hand, if the sellers exceed the buyers, a depreciation in the price will take place. The latter case was observed to prevail in the markets of Katunga, and which was in a degree a direct proof that the supply surpassed the population. The articles chiefly exposed for sale were, several different kinds of corn, beans, peas, and vegetables, in great abundance and variety; the butter extracted from the mi-cadama tree, country cotton cloths, red clay, ground or guinea nuts, salt, indigo, and different kinds of pepper; snuff and tobacco, trona, knives, barbs, hooks, and needles, the latter of the rudest native manufacture. There were also finger rings of tin and lead, and iron bracelets and armlets, old shells, old bones, and other venerable things, which the members of the society of antiquaries would estimate as articles of real *vertu;* a great variety of beads both of native and European manufacture, among the former of which was recognised the famous Agra bead, which at Cape Coast Castle, Accra, and other places, is sold for its weight in gold, and which has been in vain attempted to be imitated by the Italians and our own countrymen. One most remarkable thing was offered for sale, and that was a common blue English plate, the price of which was, however, too high for the individuals who frequented the market, although many there were, who cast a longing eye on so valuable a piece of property. Some of the people were disposed to look upon it as a fetish, and the seller was by no means disinclined to invest it with that character, as he then knew, he could demand for it whatever price he pleased. The owner of it, however, from the exorbitant price which he put upon the piece of English crockery, carried it home with him, and dearly did he repent that he did not accept of the highest offer that was made him, for on its reaching the ears of his majesty, the king considered that he had as good a right to the

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English plate, especially as it was a fetish, as he had to the scarlet cloth of his master of the horse, and therefore the owner of it had his option, to deliver it up for the use of royalty, as an appendage to the crown of Katunga, or to lose his own appendage of a head, under the sword of that skilful anatomist, Ebo. The owner of the plate adopted the same line of policy as the master of the horse, and the English plate became a part of the hereditary property of the kings of Katunga.

Some of the articles in the market were not of the most tempting nature, at least to a European appetite; for instead of the dainties of an English market, consisting of hares, rabbits, fowls, &c., the natives of Katunga feasted their looks upon an immense number of rats, mice, and lizards, some ready dressed for the immediate satisfaction of the appetite, with the skins on, and some undressed to be taken home, for the Glasses and the Kitcheners of Katunga to try their culinary skill upon. Little balls of beef and mutton were also to be had, weighing about two ounces, but the stomach must not have been of the squeamish kind, which could relish them.

On the return of the Landers from the market, where they were more gazed upon than any of the articles submitted for sale, they received a visit from their friend Ebo, who was the bearer of the unwelcome intelligence, that a body of Fellatas from Soccatoo had arrived at the Moussa, a river which divides Yarriba from Borgoo, and that they had attacked a town on its borders, through which their route would lie. Therefore, continued Ebo, the Yaoorie messenger will of necessity be compelled to wait here till authentic intelligence be received of the truth or falsehood of the rumour, before he sets out on his mission to Kiama. There was little doubt, Ebo said, but the truth or falsity of the statement would be ascertained in about three days, and the messenger then would be immediately despatched on his errand.

This intelligence bore in the eyes of the Landers the character of a complete fiction, but for what purpose it was so got up, they could not divine. The king could gain little or nothing by their protracted stay in his capital; he had received his presents, and therefore it was conjectured, that it might be the etiquette of the

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court of Katunga, not only for the king to receive some presents from strangers on their arrival, and especially from travellers of the character and importance which the Landers gave themselves out to be, as the accredited ambassadors of the king of England, but also that the departure was to be preceded by certain presents, as a kind of passport or purchase of his leave to travel through his dominions. It appeared also most strange to the Landers, that the very day after their arrival, the Fellatas should so opportunely seize upon a town, through which they were to pass, and that the information of the inroad of so dreaded an enemy should not have reached Katunga at an earlier period, when intelligence of no moment whatever flies through the country with the swiftness of an arrow from the bow. There was also another strong induce ment, which operated upon the mind of the Landers, to expedite their departure, and that was, that from some circumstances which had occurred, it was not beyond the range of probability, that the head of John Lander, if not of his brother also, might be severed by the skill of Ebo, the executioner. Love is certainly a most wondrous power, whether it shows itself in the bosom of the fair English girl, or in that of the sooty African; nor is it confined to times and places, to condition or to climate; for it grows and flourishes in the wigwam of the American, the coozie of the African, and the proud edifices of the Europeans. It, however, sometimes happens, that although one party may be in love, the other is as frigid, as if he were part and parcel of an iceberg, and so was it situated with John Lander. It has been already stated, that the communication between the yard which the Landers occupied, and that which was tenanted by the wives of Ebo, was uninterrupted, and of course in the absence of their husband, there was no impediment to any of them whispering their tale of love into the ears of the juvenile travellers, whenever they thought they were in a disposition to hear it. Some of the wives indeed, instead of being the nourishers and fosterers of love, were the veriest antidotes to it, that perhaps human nature could produce; on the other hand, there were some in the fulness and freshness of youth, who had just been selected or rather purchased by Ebo, as very proper persons to soothe and comfort him in his declining years. One of

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them in particular, had, by certain signs and gestures, given John Lander to understand, that although they might vary very much in colour, yet that a kind of sympathy might exist between their hearts, which would lead to a mutual communication of happiness, so much desired at so great a distance from his native land. John, however, either did not or would not understand the language, which the sable beauty spoke; still her conduct was not unnoticed by several other ladies of the seraglio, and particularly by the shrivelled and the wizened, who hesitated not to convey the intelligence to Ebo, who immediately paid a visit to the travellers, out of pure compliment and good-will, as he said, at the same time expressing his fears that the curiosity of his women might be troublesome to them, and as it was by no means his wish, nor that of his lord and sovereign, the king, that they should be subjected to any species of annoyance, he had given directions for the door-way to be instantly blocked up with mortar, which would effectually prevent any further unpleasant intrusion on the part of the women.

The Landers could evidently see the lurking motive for this extreme attention of Ebo, to promote their comfort, nor were they in reality displeased at it, for the society of the women was certainly at times very unpleasant and irksome, and as some of them evinced a strong disposition for intriguing, it was considered fortunate that the communication was closed, as the friendship and good-will of Ebo were particularly necessary to them, not only to secure their good treatment during their stay at Katunga, but also to expedite their departure from it.

Ebo had scarcely taken his departure, and they were rejoicing at the probability of not being again intruded upon, particularly as it was the Sabbath day, when, to their great annoyance, they were favoured with the company of several Houssa mallams, who, notwithstanding the irksome restraint to which they are subjected by the jealousy of the king and his people, are content to remain so far from their native country, and reside amongst strangers and pagans as long as they live. Whether the priests have taken this step purely from religious motives, or, which is the more likely reason of the two, that they have exiled themselves from their

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nome and families for the mere purpose of being enriched at the expense of the credulity and ignorance of the inhabitants, were questions, which could not at the time be solved. At all events, the institutions of these missionaries are effectually concealed under a cloak of piety and devotion; and thus they are tolerated by the common consent of the monarch and his subjects.

The practice of making presents is, in general, in the African cities, not confined to the sovereign and his immediate ministers, but it extends to every grade, in the least degree connected with the court. Thus the Landers supposed that when they had made their presents to the king and his chief eunuchs, no further demand would be made upon them in the way of presents; in this, however, they found themselves mistaken, for they now discovered that there were certain gentlemen, styled head men, who are the confidential advisers of the king, and lead his armies to battle. It was, however, necessary previously to sending the presents to the head men, to submit them to the inspection of the king, in order that nothing might be given them, which had not his approbation and consent. This was accordingly done, and the donors took particular care not to include any red cloth amongst their presents. It was rather laughable to see the presents undergoing the examination of Mansolah. Amongst them were three large clasp knives, one for each of the head men, but his majesty very unceremoniously delivered one of them, without speaking a word, into the hands of Ebo, who as unceremoniously put it into his belt, to be hereafter deposited amongst other valuables belonging to the sovereignty. This occasioned Richard Lander to return to his hut for another knife, for he easily foresaw that were he to make any distinction in the value or the number of the articles to the head men, it might be the cause of exciting jealousy and ill blood, and be greatly detrimental to his own interests, for as they were the advisers of the king, they were sure to make that one their enemy, who might look upon his present as less valuable, than those presented to their companions.

Towards evening, Richard Lander rode to the residence of the head men, by each of whom he was received in the most friendly manner. The presents were laid before them, and accepted with

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a profusion of thanks. One of them attempted to make a speech, but if he acquitted himself no better when giving his advice to his sovereign, than he did in the expression of his thanks, he could not be said to be a great acquisition to the councils of his king. The huts of the head men were larger and more carefully built, and their yards more commodious than even those of the king; all were kept in excellent order, clean and neat. These ministers of the crown, like the ministers of other countries, had contrived to appropriate to themselves the good things of the country, for they were in far more affluent circumstances than any of their neighbours; they had a wife for almost every week in the year, and large flocks of sheep and goats, in which the wealth of the natives principally consists. A goat, and two large pots of country beer, were laid at the feet of Richard Lander, and after expressing his acknowledgements, he returned home.

The Landers were of opinion, that it would require a long residence in this country, and a perfect acquaintance with its language to enable a foreigner to form a correct judgment of its laws, manners, customs, and institutions, as well as its religion and form of government. So innumerable are the mistakes, which the smattering of ignorant native interpreters never fails to occasion, that they despaired of obtaining any accurate information on any of those heads. Perhaps few despots sully their dignity, by condescending to consult the inclination of their subjects, in personally communicating to them their most private as well as public concerns. Yet the sovereign of Youriba appeared to be so obliging, as to make this a common practice. In return, however, the people are expected and compelled to satisfy the curiosity of their prince, by adopting a similar line of conduct towards him; and all the presents which they receive from strangers, however trifling they may be, are in every instance taken to his residence for inspection. Every thing, indeed, which relates to their personal interests, and all their domestic concerns, he listens to with the most patriarchal gravity. Thus, the presents of the Landers to the king, were exhibited two or three times. The presents to Ebo, and also to the head men, were also shown to the people, having been first submitted to the inspection of the king. The

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common people were all anxious to know, whether, amongst the other things they had received, any coral had been given to the king or his ministers; and their curiosity was immediately gratified without hesitation or remark. If a stranger from a remote part of the empire, wishes to visit Katunga, in order to pay his respects to the sovereign, the chief or governor of every town through which he may happen to pass, is obliged to furnish him with any number of carriers he may require; and in this manner his goods are conveyed from village to village, until he arrives at the capital. A similar indulgence is likewise extended to any governor who may have the like object in view.

The most laughable mistakes were frequently made here, by one of the Badagrian messengers, who acted also as an interpreter, as regards the gender and relationship of individuals, such as father for mother, son for daughter, boy for girl, and *vice versa*. He informed Richard Lander that a *brother* of his, who was the friend of Ebo, and resided with him, begged his permission to come and see them; of course they expected to see a gentleman of some consequence enter their yard, but to their surprise, the brother proved to be an old shrivelled woman, neither more nor less than one of the eunuch's wives.

Katunga by no means answered the expectations which the Landers had been led to form of it, either as regards its prosperity, or the number of its inhabitants. The vast plain also on which it stands, although exceedingly fine, yields in verdure and fertility, and simple beauty of appearance to the delightful country surrounding the less celebrated city of Bohoo. Its market is tolerably well supplied with provisions, which are, however, exceedingly dear, in so much so that with the exception of disgusting insects, reptiles, and vermin, the lower classes of people are almost unacquainted with the taste of animal food.

Owing to the short time that the Landers had been in the country, which had been chiefly employed in travelling from town to town, the manners of the people had not sufficiently unfolded themelves their observation, so that they were unable to speak of them with confidence, yet the few opportunities, which they had of studying their characters and disposition, induced them to be-

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lieve, that they were a simple, honest, inoffensive, but a weak, timid, and cowardly race. They seemed to have no social tenderness, very few of those amiable private virtues, which could win their affection, and none of those public qualities that claim respect or command admiration. The love of country is not strong enough in their bosoms to invite them to defend it against the irregular incursions of a despicable foe; and of the active energy, noble sentiments, and contempt of danger, which distinguish the North American tribes, and other savages, no traces are to be found amongst this slothlul people; regardless of the past, as reckless of the future, the present alone influences their actions. In this respect they approached nearer to the nature of the brute creation, than perhaps any other people on the face of the globe. Though the bare mention of an enemy makes the pusillanimous Mansolah, and his unwarlike subjects tremble in every limb, they take no measures to prevent whole bands of strangers from locating in the finest provinces of the empire, much less do they think of expelling them after they have made those provinces their own. To this unpardonable indifference to the public interest, and neglect of all the rules of prudence and common sense, is owing the progress, which the Fellatas made in gaining over to themselves a powerful party, consisting of individuals from various nations in the interior, who had emigrated to this country, and the great and uniform success which has attended all their ambitious projects. At the time of the visit of the Landers, they were effectually in the heart of the kingdom, they had entrenched themselves in strong walled towns, and had recently forced from Mansolah a declaration of their independence, whilst this negligent and imbecile monarch beheld them gnawing away the very sinews of his strength, without making the slightest exertion to apply a remedy for the evil, or prevent their future aggrandizement. Independently of Raka, which is peopled wholly by Fellatas, who have strengthened it amazingly, and rendered it exceedingly populous, another town of prodigious size, had lately sprung into being, which already surpassed Katunga in wealth, population, and extent. It was at first resorted to by a party of Fellatas, who named it Alorie, and encouraged all the slaves in

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the country to fly from the oppression of their masters, and join their standard. They reminded the slaves of the constraint under which they laboured; and tempted them by an offer of freedom and protection, and other promises of the most extravagant nature, to declare themselves independent of Yarriba. Accordingly, the discontented many miles round, eagerly flocked to Alorie in considerable numbers, where they were well received. This occurrence took place about forty years ago, since which, other Fellatas have joined their countrymen from Sockatoo and Rabba; and notwithstanding the wars, if mutual kidnapping deserves the name, in which they have been engaged, in the support and maintenance of their cause, Alorie is become by far the largest and most flourishing city in Yarriba, not even excepting the capital itself. It was said to be two days journey, that is, forty or fifty miles in circumference, and to be fortified by a strong clay wall, with moats. The inhabitants had vast herds and flocks, and upwards of three thousand horses, which last will appear a very considerable number, when it is considered that Katunga does not contain more than as many hundreds. The population of Alorie has never been estimated, but it must be immense. It has lately been declared independent of Yarriba, and its inhabitants are permitted to trade with the natives of the country, on condition that no more Fellatas be suffered to enter its walls. It is governed by twelve rulers, each of a different nation, and all of equal power; the Fellata chief not having more influence or greater sway than the other. Raka is but one day's journey north-east of Katunga, and Alorie three days journey to the south-west. The party of Fellatas, which were reported to have taken possession of a Yarriba town, on the banks of the Moussa, were said to have abandoned it, and to have joined their countrymen at Raka. This intelligence was brought to Katunga by market people, no one having been sent by the king to ascertain the number of the adventurers, or the object of their visit.

The king of Katunga, since the arrival of the travellers in his capital, had been very niggardly in his presents, as coming from a monarch of a large and mighty kingdom. Nor in other respects was the conduct of Mansolah, such as to impart to them much

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pleasure, nor could they in any wise account for it, than by supposing that their own present had fallen short of his expectations, and thereby failed to awaken those good-natured qualities, which were displayed at sight of the infinitely more valuable, as well as showy one of Captain Clapperton. But whatever might have been the reason, certain it is that Mansolah and his subjects had seen quite enough of white men, and that the rapturous exultation which glowed in the cheeks of the first European that visited this country, on being gazed at, admired, caressed, and almost worshipped as a god; joined to the delightful consciousness of his own immeasurable superiority, will in the present, at least, never be experienced by any other. "Alas!" says Richard Lander, "what a misfortune; the eager curiosity of the natives has been glutted by satiety, a European is shamefully considered no more than a man, and hereafter, he will no doubt be treated entirely as such; so that on coming to this city, he must make up his mind to sigh a bitter farewell to goats' flesh and mutton, and familiarize his palate to greater delicacies, such a lizards, rats, and locusts, caterpillars, and other dainties, which the natives roast, grill, bake, and boil, and which he may wash down, if he pleases, with draughts of milk white water, the only beverage it will be in his power to obtain."

On the morning of Wednesday the 19th of May, Richard Lander was desired by a messenger to visit the king at his residence, and on his arrival there, he found a great number of people assembled. The object of this summons was explained by Ebo, who said that Lander had been sent for, that the present which he, the eunuch had received, should be shown to the people without any reservation whatever. It was accordingly spread out on the floor, together with the presents made to the king. Even a bit of English brown soap, which had been given to Ebo a short time before, was exhibited along with the other things; for so great a degree of jealousy exists among the eunuchs and others, arising from the apprehension that one might have received more than another; that Ebo himself, powerful as he is, would dread the effects of it on his own person, should he have been found to have concealed a single thing. They all in fact endeavour to disarm censure by an appearance of openness and sincerity.

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On the night of Thursday the 20th, to their infinite surprise and pleasure, Ebo entered their yard in a great hurry, with the pleasant information, that the king, as nothing more was to be got from them, had consented to their departure on the following morning; and that it was his wish they would get their things in readiness by that time. So confident were they that they would be unable to start from Katunga, for a month to come at the earliest, that they had not only sowed cress and onion seed the day after their arrival, which were already springing up, but they had actually made up their minds to abide there during the continuance of the rains. But now they were in hope of reaching Yaoorie in twelve or fourteen days, in which city they intended to remain for a short time, before proceeding further into the interior. The only drawback to their pleasure, was the misfortune of having all their horses sick, which might seriously inconvenience them in their progress.

The old route to Kiama was considered so dangerous, that it was understood they were to be sent back to Atoopa, which was two long days' journey from Katunga, and they were to proceed in a safer path. Although they now required but five men besides their own to carry the luggage, the king scrupled and hesitated to supply them with them, and the youngest of their Jenna messengers was nominated to fill the place of one of them. They were told that it was on account of the vast number of people that have emigrated from Katunga to Raka and Alorie, that a sufficient number of carriers could not be procured for them; but in so large a place as Katunga, where two thirds of the population are slaves, their reason seemed quite ridiculous, and they suspected the real one to be the same original sin, viz. the humble character of their present. The king, however, promised to take his farewell of them on the following morning, and they being in good health, they hoped soon to accomplish the object of their undertaking, and return in safety to Old England.

On the following day, instead of the visit from the king, which they were told on the preceding day he was to honor them with, they were requested to repair to his residence. Accordingly, having first saddled their horses, and packed up their luggage between six and seven o'clock A. M., the two brothers walked to the royal resi-

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dence. On their arrival they were introduced without any ceremony into a private yard, wherein the king had been patiently waiting their coming for some time previously. He was rather plainly dressed in the costume of the country, namely a tobe, trousers, and sandals, with a cap very much resembling in shape those, which were worn by elderly ladies in the time of queen Elizabeth, and which are still retained by some in the more remote parts of England. On his right the eunuchs were reposing their huge limbs on the ground, with several of the elders of the people, and his left was graced by a circle of his young wives, behind whom sat the widows of more than one of his predecessors, many of whom appeared aged. A performer on the whistle was the only musician present. So that during a very long interview, a little whistling now and then was the only amusement which the prince could afford them. A good deal of discussion ensued, and much serious whispering between the monarch and his wives, in the course of which both parties quitted the yard two or three times to hold a secret conference; followed by the eunuchs with their hands clasped on their breast. Mansolah at length scraped together two thousand kowries, about three shillings and sixpence sterling, which he presented to the four men that had accompanied the travellers from Badagry and Jenna as guides, messengers, &c., to enable them to purchase provisions on their journey homeward. This sum had been collected from amongst the king's wives, each having contributed a portion, because their lord and master did not happen to be in a liberal mood. Poor souls! they possess scarcely the shadow of royalty, much less the substance; the exterior forms of respect which they receive from the male portion of the people alone distinguishing them from their less illustrious countrywomen. They are compelled to work in order to provide themselves with food and clothing, and besides which, part of the earnings is applied to the king's use. To effect these objects, they are necessitated to make long and painful journeys to distant parts of the empire, for the purpose of trading. They have, however, the privilege of travelling from town to town, without being subjected to the usual duty, and can command the use of the governor's house wherever they go. The boasted industry of ancient queens and

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princesses in more classic regions, sinks into nothing when compared to the laborious life, which is led by the female branch of the royal family at Yarriba.

Mansolah, after some time beckoned to them to draw near him, for they were sitting at some distance on a bundle of sticks, and with a benevolent smile playing upon his wrinkled features, he slowly and with great solemnity placed a goora nut in the right hand of each of them, and then asked their names. Richard and John, they replied, "Richard-*ee* and John-*ee*," said the king, for he was unable to pronounce their christian names without affixing a vowel to the end of them, "you may now sit down again." They did so, and remained in that posture until they were both completely wearied, when they desired Ebo to ask the king's permission for them to go home to breakfast, which was granted without reluctance. Then, having shaken hands with the good old man, and wishing a long and happy reign, they bade him farewell for the last time, bowed to the ladies, and returned with all haste to their hut.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

EVERY thing was now ready for their departure from Katunga, but some considerable time elapsed before the carriers were ready to take up their loads, and much murmuring was occasioned by their size and weight. They then left the city, and returned to Eetcho by the way they had come. One of their horses became so weak on the road, that he was unable to carry his rider, old Pascoe, so that they were obliged to drive him along before them, which was a tiresome and unpleasant occupation. The journey from Katunga was long, and owing to the ruggedness of the path, was very fatiguing, and as they were much in advance of the remainder of the party, they halted at Eetcholee, until they joined them. Here they let their horses graze, partook of some beer and other refreshment, and sat down on the turf to enjoy themselves, for the day had been sultry, and the heat oppressive, and their whole party were nearly exhausted.

On Saturday May 22nd, an unexpected obstacle presented itself to the prosecution of their journey, as the Katunga carriers all complained of pains in their limbs, and on reaching Leoguadda, which lies midway between Eetcho and Atoopa, they placed their burdens on the ground, and to a man, stoutly refused to take them any further until the following day. Their own men also, who were still more heavily laden than the Katunga men, had suffered so much from the long and irksome journey of yesterday, particularly Jowdie, who was the strongest and most athletic of them

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all, that they greatly feared that all of them would have been taken seriously ill on the road. They, therefore, lightened their burdens, and distributed a portion of what they had taken out of them into the boxes, &c., of their already overladen Katunga associates, without, however, permitting the latter to know any thing of the circumstance. Among the carriers was a very little man, called Gazherie, (small man,) on account of his diminutive stature; he was notwithstanding very muscular, and possessed uncommon strength, activity, and vigour of body, and bore a package containing their tent, &c., which though very heavy, was yet by far the lightest load of the whole. Conceiving that corporeal strength, rather than bulk or height, should in this case be taken into the account, a bag of shot weighing 28lbs, was extracted from Jowdie's burden, and clandestinely added to his. The little man trudged along merrily, without dreaming of the fraud that had been practised on him, till they arrived within a short distance of Leoguadda, when imagining that one end of the tent felt much heavier than the other, he was induced to take it from his head, and presently discovered the cheat, for the bag having been thrust simply inside the covering, it could be seen without unlacing the package. He was much enraged at being thus deceived, and called his companions around him to witness the fact, and said he was resolved to proceed no further than Leoguadda. He then succeeded in persuading them to follow his example, and thus a kind of combination was instantly formed against the travellers.

As was usual with them on entering a village, they rested a little while under a shady tree in Leoguadda, and here they were presently surrounded by the murmuring carriers, with the little man at their head. They were furious at first, and gave them to understand that they would go no further, and were determined, let the consequence be what it might, to remain in the town all night. Leoguadda contained no accommodations whatever for them, and a storm seemed now to be gathering over their heads. Atoopa was the town in which the king of Katunga had advised them to spend the night; they therefore resolved to go on to that town, and strenuously endeavoured by gentle means to bring over the carriers to their views, but, these failing, they resorted to their

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own mode of argument, namely, fierce looks, violent action, vociferous bawling, and expressive gesture, which intimidated them so much, that they snatched up their burdens, without saying a word, and ran away with alacrity and good humour. These carriers were to accompany them as far as the frontier town of the kingdom.

It was market day at Atoopa, and at a distance of some miles from the town, the hum of human voices could be distinctly heard. Just after their arrival, a man of note, who was a public singer and dancer, stood before the door of their hut to entertain them with a specimen of his abilities, and he entered with so much warmth and agility into the spirit of his profession, that his whimsical performance really afforded them much diversion. The musician had two assistant drummers in his train, whose instruments were far from being unmusical, and likewise several other men, whose part was to keep time by clapping with their hands. The dancing was excellent of its kind, and resembled more the European style, than any they had before seen in the country. The singing was equally good, the voices of the men being clear and agreeable; they sang the responses, and likewise accompanied the chanting of their master with their voices; in fact, they performed their part of the entertainment to admiration. A *Fatakie*, a smaller number than a coffle of merchants, left Atoopa on the preceding day for Kiama, and it was most likely that they would overtake them at the next town.

On Sunday morning, though their horses were in a very weak condition, and all looked extremely sorrowful, yet they quitted Atoopa at an early hour and in good spirits, and journeying in a westerly direction, in two hours time they entered a lively little walled town, called Rumbum. Here they dismounted, and took a slight refreshment of parched corn and water, on the trunk of a fallen tree. Rumbum is a great thoroughfare for fatakies of merchants, trading from Houssa, Borgoo, and other countries to Gonga; and consequently a vast quantity of land is cultivated in its vicinity with corn and yams, to supply them with provisions.

On quitting this town, their course altered to N.W., and continued so till their arrival at the large and important town of Kee-

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shee, which is on the frontiers of the kingdom, and distant from Atoopa only about twelve miles. It is surrounded by a double strong clay wall, and is an excellent situation as a place of security from the attacks of the enemy. Before entering this place, and at the distance of a mile from it, they passed through a clean, extensive, and highly-flourishing Fellata village, called Acba, which, like most other places in Yarriba inhabited by Fellatas, was well stocked with sheep and cattle.

The governor of Keeshee having died only ten days previously to their arrival, they were well received by his successor, who was an elderly and respectable-looking man. Shortly after their arrival, he sent them a present of a fine young bullock, a quantity of yams, and more than a gallon of excellent strong beer. In the centre of the town is a high stony hill, almost covered with trees of stinted growth, to which, in case of an invasion by the enemy, the inhabitants fly for refuge. As soon as they have reached its summit, it is borne, they say, by a supernatural power above the clouds, where it remains till the danger is over. Some years have elapsed since this miracle last took place, yet the story is told with a serious belief of its truth, and with the most amusing gravity. About a quarter of a mile to the north-east of this marvellous hill, rises another, which very much resembles it in shape and appearance, but the latter is rather larger and higher, and overlooks the country for many miles round.

A number of emigrants from different countries reside in this place; there are not a few from Borgoo, Nouffie, Houssa and Bornoo, and two or three Tuaricks from the borders of the Great Desert. To the west of the town is a picturesque hill of a gentle ascent, on which are several small hamlets; these hamlets have a rural and eminently beautiful appearance. In no town through which they had hitherto travelled, had they seen so many fine tall men, and good-looking women, as at this place; yet several individuals of both sexes were to be met with, who had lost the sight of one eye, and others who had unseemly wens on their throats, as large as cocoa nuts. They saw a cripple to-day for the first time, and a female dwarf, whose height scarcely exceeded thirty inches, and whose appearance bespoke her to be between thirty and forty

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years of age. Her head was disproportionately large to the size of her body; her features, like her voice, were harsh, masculine, and unpleasant in the extreme. It would have been ridiculous to to be afraid of such a diminutive thing, but there was an expression in her countenance so peculiarly repulsive, unwomanly, and hideous, that on approaching their hut, they felt a very unusual and disagreeable sensation steal over them. The descriptions of an elf or a black dwarf in the Arabian Nights Entertainments, or modern romances, would serve well to portray the form and lineaments of this singular little being.

It was market day, and Richard Lander took a walk in the evening to the place where the market was held, but the crowd that gathered round him was so great, as to compel him to return home much sooner, than he had intended. If he happened to stand still even for a moment, the people pressed by thousands to get close to him, and if he attempted to go on, they tumbled over one another to get out of his way, overturning standings and calabashes, throwing down their owners, and scattering their property about in all directions. The blacksmiths in particular, welcomed him by clashing their iron tools against each other, and the drummers rejoiced by thumping violently upon one end of their instruments. A few women and children ran from him in a fright, but the majority less timid, approached as near as they could, to catch a glimpse of the first white man they had ever seen. His appearance seemed to interest them amazingly, for they tittered and wished him well, and turned about to titter again. On returning, the crowd became more dense than ever, and drove all before them like a torrent, dogs, goats, sheep, and poultry were borne along against their will, which terrified them so much, that nothing could be heard but noises of the most lamentable description; children screamed, dogs yelled, sheep and goats bleated most piteously, and fowls cackled, and fluttered from among the crowd. Never was such a hubbub made before in the interior of Africa, by the appearance of a white man, and happy indeed was that white man to shelter himself from all this uproar in his own yard, whither the multitude dared not follow him.

The widows of the deceased chief of Keeshee, daily set apart a

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portion of the twenty-four hours to cry for their bereavement, and pray to their gods. On this evening, they began in the same sad, mournful tone, which is commonly heard on similar occasions all over the country. Richard Lander asked their interpreter, why the women grieved so bitterly, he answered quickly, "What matter! they laugh directly." So it was supposed, that they cried from habit, rather than from feeling, and that they can shed tears and be merry in the same breath, whenever they please. About seven o'clock this evening, they heard a public crier, proclaiming with a loud voice, that should any one be discovered straggling about the streets after that hour, he would be seized and put to death. Many houses in the town had lately been set on fire by incendiaries, and this most likely gave rise to the above precautionary measure.

They were compelled to remain the whole of the following day, on account of the inability of the governor to procure them carriers for their luggage, The number of people who visited them to-day was so great, and their company so irksome, that they were perplexed for some time how to get rid of them without offence. One party in particular was so unpleasant, and they so seriously incommoded them, that they had recourse to the unusual expedient of smoking them off, by kindling a fire at the door of their hut, before which they were sitting. It succeeded agreeably to their wishes.

A company of women and girls from the Fellata village of Acba, impelled by a curiosity so natural to their sex, came likewise to see them in the afternoon, but their society, instead of being disagreeable, as the company of all their other visiters proved to be, was hailed by them with pleasure. For these females were so modest and so retiring, and evinced so much native delicacy in their whole behaviour, that they excited in the breast of the travellers the highest respect: their personal attractions were no less winning; they had fine sparkling jetty eyes, with eyelashes as dark and glossy as the ravens' plume; their features were agreeable, although their complexions were tawny; their general form was elegant; their hands small and delicate, and the peculiar cleanliness of their persons, and neatness of dress added to these, rendered their society altogether as desirable as that of their neighbours was disagreeable.

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The Fellatas inhabiting Acba were all born and bred in that town, their ancestors settled in the country at so remote a period, that although some inquiries were made respecting it, all their questions were unavailing, and in fact, not even a tradition has been preserved on the subject. These "children of the soil," lead a harmless, tranquil, and sober life, which they never suffer passing events to disturb; they have no ambition to join their more restless and enterprising countrymen, who have made themselves masters of Alorie and Raka, nor even to meddle in the private or public concerns of their near neighbours of Keeshee. Indeed, they have kept themselves apart and distinct from all; they have retained the language of their fathers, and the simplicity of their manners, and their existence glides serenely and happily away, in the enjoyment of domestic pleasures and social tenderness, which are not always found in civilized society, and which are unknown among their roving countrymen. They are on the best possible terms with their neighbours like the Fellatas at Bohoo and by them are held in great respect.

The governor of Keeshee was a Borgoo man, and boasted of being the friend of Yarro, chief of Kiama, but as the old man told them many wonderful stories of the number of towns under his sway, his amazing great influence, and the entire subjection in which his own people were kept by his own good government, all of which was listened to with patience; they were inclined to believe that the pretensions of the governor were as hollow as they were improbable. As to his government, he gave them a specimen of it, by bawling to a group of children that had followed their steps into the yard, ordering them to go about their business. But every one in this country displayed the same kind of ridiculous vanity, and in the majority of towns which they visited, it was the first great care of their chiefs, to impress on their minds an idea of their vast importance, which in many instances was contradicted by their ragged tobes and squalid appearance. Yet, if their own accounts were to be credited, their affluence and power were unbounded. All truth is sacrificed to this feeling of vanity and vain glory; and considering that in most cases they hold truth in great reverence, they render themselves truly ridiculous by their absurd

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practice of boasting; every circumstance around them tending to contradict it. In the case of the Landers, however, these boasters had to deal with strangers, and with white men, and perhaps it may be considered as natural, amongst simple barbarians, to court admiration and applause, even if no other means were employed than falsehood and exaggeration. After a deal of talking, tending to no particular subject, from which any useful information could be obtained, the governor of Keeshee begged the favour of a little rum and medicine to heal his foot, which was inclined to swell and give him pain; and another request which he made was, that they would repair a gun, which had been deprived of its stock by fire. He then sung them a doleful ditty, not in praise of female beauty, as is the practice with the songsters of England, but it was in praise of elephants and their teeth, in which he was assisted by his cane bearer, and afterwards took his leave. They received little presents of goora nuts, salt, honey, mi-cadamia, butter, &c., from several inhabitants of the place.

Some mallams and others, who wished to accompany the Landers to Kiama, whither they were going for the purposes of trade, persuaded the easy-minded governor on the preceding night, to defer getting their carriers until the following day, because, forsooth, they were not themselves wholly prepared to travel on that day. They were, therefore, obliged to wait the further pleasure of these influential merchants. Thus balked in their expectations, after their luggage had all been packed up for starting, Richard Lander attempted to amuse himself early in the morning, by scrambling to the top of the high and steep hill, which stood in the middle of the town. In his progress, he disturbed a tiger-cat from his retreat amongst the rocks, but he was rewarded for his labour by an extensive and agreeable prospect from the summit of the mountain, which he found to consist of large blocks of white marble. The town with its double wall, perforated with holes for the bowmen to shoot through, lay at his feet, and several little rural villages studded the country on every side.

The governor of Keshee was so old and infirm, that it was evident he had not many years to live. A lotion was given him for his swollen foot, which greatly elated a few of his attendants,

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and their animated looks and gestures bespoke hearts overflowing with gratitude, so much so indeed, that it was remarked as a circumstance of very rare occurrence. The cause of these grateful feelings was, however, soon explained to them, for early in the morning, they were visited by a young man, who had particularly distinguished himself in his expressions of gratitude, but who now put on such a rueful countenance, and spoke in a tone so low and melancholy, that his whole appearance was completely altered, insomuch that it was supposed some great calamity had befallen him. The cause of it was soon explained, by his informing them that he would be doomed to die, with two companions, as soon as their governor's dissolution should take place; and as the old man had already one foot in the grave, the sadness of the poor fellow was not to be wondered at. When this same individual and his associates observed Richard Lander giving the lotion to their master on the preceding day, they imagined it would prolong his existence, and consequently lengthen their own, and hence arose that burst of feeling which had attracted their attention. The people here imagined that the Landers could do anything, but more especially that they were acquainted with, and could cure all the complaints and disorders to which man is liable.

During the day, the governor solicited from Richard Lander a charm to protect his house from fire, and to enable him to amass riches, while one of his elderly wives made a doleful complaint of having been likely to become a mother for the last thirty years, and begged piteously for medicine to promote and assist her accouchement. It was easy enough to satisfy the old man; but it was conceived that the hypochondriacal complaint of his wife, was too dangerous to be meddled with by unprofessional hands. Poor woman! she was much to be pitied, for the odd delusion under which she had been labouring for some time, had given her considerable uneasiness, so that life itself became a burden to her. All that Richard Lander, her medical adviser, could do for her, was to soothe her mind, by telling her that her distemper was very common, and not at all dangerous; and he promised her that on their return to Keeshee, should nothing transpire in her favour in the mean time, he would endeavour to remove the cause of her

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complaint. This comforted the aged matron exceedingly, and in the fulness of her heart, she burst into tears of joy, dropped on her knees to express her acknowledgments, and pressed them to accept a couple of goora nuts.

Their engaging female friends, the Fellatas, paid them a second visit this morning, with bowls of milk and foorah; and in the evening, a few of their male companions also came, and remained with them a considerable time. Both sexes displayed the same timid reserve in their presence, and deported themselves in the same respectful manner as they did on the preceding day. It appeared that the Fellatas inhabiting Acba, though very numerous, are but one family, for the Landers were informed, that their ancestor separated himself from his friends, relatives, and acquaintances, and exiling himself for ever from his native country, he travelled hither with his wives and children, his flocks and herds. The sons and daughters of his descendants intermarry only among their own kindred, and they are betrothed to each other in infancy and childhood. The little that they saw of the Fellatas in Yarriba, soon convinced them that in all things they were much, very much superior to the loveless and unsocial proprietors of the soil. Their countenances bespoke more intelligence, and their manners displayed less roughness and barbarism. The domestic virtues of the Fellatas are also more affectionate and endearing, and their family regulations more chaste and binding.

On Wednesday the 26th May, they rose before sunset, and having little to do in the way of preparation for setting out, they took a hasty breakfast, and afterwards went to pay their respects to the governor, and thank him for his hospitality and kindness to them. The parting with the interesting female natives, shall be related in Lander's own words. "On returning to our lodgings, we had the pleasure of receiving the morning salutation of our fair friends, the Fellatas, on bended knee. Resolved to have another and a last chat with the white strangers, these females had come for the purpose of offering us two calabashes of new milk. This, and former little acts of kindness, which we have received from these dark-eyed maidens, have effectually won our regard, because we know they were disinterestedly given, and the few minutes which

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we have had the happiness of spending in their company, and that of their countrymen, have redeemed many hours of listlessness and melancholy, which absence from our native country, and thoughts of home and friends but too often excite in our breasts. It was not, therefore, without a feeling of sorrow that we bade them adieu. For my own part, when they blessed me in the name of Allah and their prophet, and implored blessings on my head, and when I gazed upon the faces of the simple-hearted and innocent females, who had so piously and fervently invoked the benediction, with the consciousness of beholding them no more in this life, my heart was touched with sorrow, for of all reflections, this is certainly the most melancholy and dispiriting."

> "Ye, who have known what 'tis to dote upon
> A few dear objects, will in sadness feel
> Such partings break the heart they fondly hoped to heal."

There was far less feeling and tenderness, though more words and much greater noise in taking their farewell of the two old messengers that had accompanied them from Badagry, and who, with their Jenna guides, were to return home on the following day. They had behaved throughout the whole of the journey to the entire satisfaction of the Landers, and because they had been their companions on a long and painful journey, and because their faces had become familiarized to them, that they left them behind with sincere regret.

Although they left Keeshee between six and seven in the morning, they were obliged to seat themselves on a green turf in the outskirts of the town, and wait there till a quarter after nine before the carriers with the luggage made their appearance. Here they were joined by a Borgoo fatakie, and their ears were saluted with the hoarse, dull sounds of their drum, which was played by a ragged young Yarribean, long after they were on their journey. A company of merchants travelling through the country has always a drummer in their pay, who walks at the head of the party, and performs on his instrument continually, be the journey ever so long, for the purpose of animating the slaves to quicken their steps.

Their route lay through a vast and lonely forest, infested by a

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band of robbers and in which there is not a single human habitation. John Lander went unarmed before the fatakie, and travelled alone, whilst Richard remained behind to defend the carriers, in case of necessity. He had already ridden some distance in advance of them, when about twenty very suspicious-looking fellows, armed with lances, bows, and arrows, suddenly made their appearance from behind the trees, where they had concealed themselves, and stood in the middle of the path, before the men with the luggage, who were so terrified that they were prepared to drop their burdens and run away. His gun being loaded, Richard Lander levelled it at them, and had nearly discharged it at their leader, which intimidated them all so much, that they retreated again into the heart of the forest. When the people of Yarriba observe any one approaching them on the road, whose appearance inspires them with apprehension as to the honesty of their intentions, they fling off their loads without waiting the result of the meeting, and take to their heels without venturing to look behind them. The robbers, therefore, when they saw the fatakie, no doubt expected to obtain an easy booty, not anticipating to find a white man amongst them, nor thinking that their carriers would have made a stand.

They journeyed fifteen miles through this dreaded forest, which occupied them five hours and three quarters, owing to the weakness of their horses, and want of water, but above all to the oppressive heat of the weather, from which they all suffered more or less. They then arrived at the Moussa, which is a rivulet, separating the kingdom of Yarriba from Borgoo. Having satisfied their thirst and bathed, they crossed the stream, and entered a little village on the northern bank, where they halted for the day.

When travelling in the bush, several men in the train of a fatakie wear a large iron ring on the thumb and middle finger; to the latter a piece of plate iron is attached, with which they make signals to each other, and the fatakie, when apart, by clinking the rings. This method of communication is very significant, and it is understood as well, and is as promptly answered or obeyed, as the boatswain's whistle on board a ship. The collision of the

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rings produces a harsh, grating noise, loud enough to be heard at a considerable distance.

The mere crossing of a little stream, which a person might almost have jumped over, introduced them into a country very different from Yarriba, which was inhabited by a different people, speaking a different language, professing a different religion, and whose manners, customs, amusements, and pursuits were altogether different.

The village in which they halted was called Moussa, after the river, and is distant from Keeshee, in a northerly direction, as nearly as they could guess, about sixteen miles. The Landers occupied a large round hut, called by the natives of that country *catamba*, in the Houssa language *sowley*, and in the Bornou *coozie*. In the centre of it is the trunk of a large tree, which supports the roof; it has two apertures for doors, which are opposite each other, and directly over them, suspended from the wall, are a couple of charms, written in the Arabic character on bits of paper, which are to preserve the premises from being distroyed by fire.

It was now eleven o'clock at night; their attendants were reposing on mats and skins in various parts of the hut. Bows and arrows and quivers ornamented with cows' tails, together with muskets, pistols, swords, lances, and other weapons, were either hanging on the wall or resting against it. The scene was wild and singular, and quite bordering on, if not really romantic. Outside the hut it was still more striking: there, though it rained and thundered, the remainder of the fatakie, consisting of men, women, and children, were sitting on the ground in groups, or sleeping near several large fires, which were burning almost close to the hut, whilst others were lying under the shelter of large spreading trees in its immediate vicinity. The only apparel which they wear, was drawn over their half-naked persons, their weapons were at their sides, and their horses were grazing near them. Most of the people retired to rest without food, yet they slept soundly, and appeared quite happy and comfortable after their day's exertion and fatigue. One of the men fainted on the road from exhaustion, and remained very feverish and unwell.

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At day break on the following day, the travellers pursued their course, and as Lander expresses himself, there were a sweetness in the mountain air, and a freshness in the morning, which they experienced with considerable pleasure, on ascending the hills, which bordered the northern side of the pretty little Moussa. When wild beasts tired with their nightly prowling, seek retirement and repose in the lonely depths of these primeval forests, and when birds perched in the branches of the trees over their heads, warbled forth their morning song, it is the time, that makes up for the languid, wearisome hours in the heat of the day, when nothing could amuse or interest them. It is in the earlier part of the morning too, or in the cool of the evening, that nature can be leisurely contemplated and admired in the simple loveliness of a verdant plain, a sequestered grotto, or a rippling brook, or in the wilder and more mysterious features of her beauty in the height of a craggy precipice, the silence and gloom of vast shady woods, or when those woods are gracefully bending to the passing gale.

An hour's ride brought them near to the site of a town, which was formerly peopled only by robbers. It was, however destroyed some years ago, and its inhabitants either slain or dispersed, by order of the spirited ruler of Kiama, since which time the road has been less dreaded by travellers. Their path lay through a rich country covered with luxuriant grasses and fine trees, but very little underwood could be seen. It abounded with deer and antelopes, and other wild animals of a more ferocious nature; such as the lion, the leopard, the elephant, the wild ass, &c., but the solitary lowing of the buffalo was the only sound that was distinguished in the forest, although they had not the pleasure of meeting even with that animal.

At eleven o'clock, they entered a very small, cleanly-looking village, where they halted for the day. Unfortunately the governor with most of his people were at work in the fields at some distance, so that they could not get any thing to eat till rather late in the evening. It appeared that these poor villagers were forced to supply the soldiers of their sovereign with provisions, gratis, whenever business led them so far that way from the capital; and that in order to avoid the rapacity of these men, they built for them-

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selves another hamlet in the woods, far out of the way of the path, whither they carry their goats, &c. and the corn of which they may not be in immediate want.

On their arrival they were introduced into a small grass hut, which the smoke had changed into the most glossy black, which could possibly be seen; the interior of the roof was also ingeniously decorated with large festoons of cobwebs and dust, which must have been allowed to accumulate for a number of years. Its fetish was a dried grasshopper, which was preserved in a little calabash, but upon the supposition that this was insufficient to protect it from all the danger to which huts in that country are constantly exposed, auxiliary charms of blood and feathers are likewise stuck inside of the wall. At sun-set, not having any thing to eat, Richard Lander went out with his gun into the woods, and was fortunate enough to shoot a few doves, and Pascoe, who went in a different direction, shot a guinea hen, which made them an excellent supper. Hunger had driven back their Keeshee carriers, who were to have accompanied them to Kiama, and therefore they were obliged to send a messenger to Yarro for men to supply their place. Late in the evening, the governor of the village returned from his labour in the fields, and presented them with corn and honey.

On the forenoon of Friday the 28th, the musical jingling of little bells announced the approach of a body of horsemen, who in less than a minute galloped up to their hut, and saluted them one after another with a martial air, by brandishing their spears, to their great discomfiture, within a few feet of their faces. To display their horsemanship more effectually, they caused their spirited steeds to prance and rear in their presence, and when they imagined they were convinced of their abilities, they dismounted to prostrate themselves before them, and acquainted them of the welfare of their prince. The carriers who had arrived from Kiama, had preceded them on the road, and the whole of the men then sat down to partake of a little refreshment. It was twelve o'clock exactly when they set out on their journey, and the day being so far advanced, they wished to make all the haste possible, but the weather was extremely warm, and their horses were hardly strong enough to carry

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their riders, so that they were obliged after all to travel very slowly. At five o'clock in the afternoon, they reached the ruins of a small town. The path was through the same forest as they had travelled through on the preceding day, but this part of it was less thickly wooded. At one place they remarked two immensely large trees, springing up almost close together, their mighty trunks and branches were twisted, and firmly clasped round each other, like giants in the act of embracing, and presented an appearance highly novel and singular. Ant hills were numerous on the road; and a few paces from it, they observed, as they rode along, little cone-shaped mud buildings, erected by the natives for the purpose of smelting iron ore, which is found in abundance in different parts of the country.

At sunset they arrived at a village called Benikenny, which means in the language of the people, (a cunning man;) and they found there three women waiting their arrival, with corn and milk from the king of Kiama: this was very acceptable, for they had been without food for thirteen hours. They rested at Benikenny a little while, and fully expected to have slept there, for the afternoon had been excessively warm, and they were all much fatigued. It appears, however, that their armed escort were not in the same way of thinking as themselves, and they encouraged them to proceed to another village, which they said was at no great distance. They, therefore, quitted Benikenny, yet no village could be seen, and then the escort confessed that they had deceived them, in order that they might arrive at Kiama before night.

The sun had gone down on their quitting the halting place, but the moon and stars supplied them with a cooler and more agreeable light, and they journeyed on through the forest more slowly than before. In spite of their fatigue, they could not help admiring the serenity and beauty of the evening, nor be insensible to the delicious fragrance shed around from trees and shrubs. The appearance of their warlike and romantic escort, was also highly amusing. They were clad in the fashion of the east, and sought their way between the trees on their right and left; but sometimes they fell in their rear, and then again dashed suddenly by them with astonishing swiftness, looking as wild as the scenery through

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which their chargers bounded. The effect was rendered more imposing by the reflection of the moon-beams from their polished spears, and the pieces of silver which were affixed to their caps; while the luminous firefly appeared in the air like rising and falling particles of flame.

John Lander's horse was unable from weakness and exhaustion to carry him further than Benikenny, so that he was obliged to walk the remainder of the journey to Kiama, which was full six miles. About eight o'clock, Kiama appeared before them, and in a few minutes they entered the city, and rode directly to the king's house. He came out to receive them, after having waited outside a very short time, and welcomed them with much satisfaction and good will. He was an elderly man, almost toothless, and had a beard as white as wool. Nothing remarkable was observed in his dress or appearance. His first question was respecting the health of their sovereign, and his second and last respecting their own welfare. He seemed to be exceedingly well pleased at seeing Richard Lander again. They then took their leave, and were conducted by one of his slaves to a hut, or rather an assemblage of huts, adjoining his own residence. The huts, however, were not entirely to their satisfaction, for many of them had only one aperture in each, which was scarcely three feet square, so that they could not get into them excepting on their hands and knees. They were, besides, so very warm and close, that they found great difficulty in breathing, and in consequence they preferred a hut which was cooler and better ventilated, though it had the inconvenience of a thoroughfare. No sooner were they securely housed, than half a dozen of the king's wives introduced themselves with huge calabashes of sour milk, fried pancakes, and beef stewed in rice, the first they had yet seen. Variously coloured mats, of excellent workmanship, were afterwards brought for their use, and with thankful hearts and comfortable feelings, they laid themselves down to rest.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

FATIGUED with the journey of the preceding day, the travellers lay on their mats rather later than usual, and before they had risen, the king's messengers and others entered their hut to give them the salutations of the morning. Richard Lander returned Yarro's compliment, by calling to see him at his own house, while his brother remained at home to take care of the goods. The natives of the country having a very indifferent reputation for honesty, compelled them to keep a watchful eye over all their actions. A number of mallams from Houssa paid them a visit about the middle of the day, but a body of more ignorant Mahommedans, it was supposed, could no where be found, for not one of them, even to their chief, who had a youthful appearance, understood a word of Arabic.

Just before sunset, John Lander selected a present, consisting of the following articles for the king: viz. six yards of red cloth, a quantity of printed cottons, a pair of silver bracelets, a looking-glass, two pair of scissors, a knife, two combs, and a tobacco pipe. The goods having been properly secured, they repaired with this present to the king, who received it with much apparent satisfaction.

Yarro professed the mahommedan faith, yet it was easy to perceive the very slender acquaintance he had obtained of the precepts of the Koran, by the confidence which he placed in the religion of

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his fathers, in placing fetishes to guard the entrance of his houses, and adorn their half-naked walls. In one of these huts, they observed a stool of very curious workmanship. The form of it was nearly square; the two principal figures were each supported by four little wooden figures of men, and another of large dimensions, seated on a clumsy representation of a hippopotamus, was placed between them. These images were subsequently presented to the Landers by Yarro; and they learnt that the natives, before undertaking any water excursion, applied for protection to the hippopotami, and other dangerous objects of the river, to the principal figure, which was mounted on one of those creatures. This important personage was attended by his musicians, and guarded by soldiers, some armed with muskets, and others with bows and arrows, who formed the legs of the stool.

In the inner apartment they discovered Yarro sitting alone, on buffalo hides, and they were desired to place themselves near him. The walls of this apartment were adorned with very good prints of George IV., the Duke of York, Lord Nelson, the Duke of Wellington on horseback, together with an officer of the light dragoons, in company with a smartly dressed and happy looking English lady. Opposite to them were hung horse accoutrements, and on each side were dirty scraps of paper, containing select sentences from the Koran. On the floor lay muskets, several handsomely ornamented lances, and other weapons, all confusedly heaped together, by the side of a large granite stone used for pounding pepper. These were the most striking objects they observed in the king's hut, adjoining which were others, through whose diminutive doors, the wives of Yarro were straining their eyes to catch a glimpse of the white men.

When Lander spoke of proceeding to Yaoorie by way of Wowow and Boussa, the king objected to their visiting the former state, under any condition whatever; alleging that three of the slaves who carried the goods for Captain Clapperton, had never returned to him again, but had remained at Wowow, where they were protected by the governor Mahommed, and that if he should send others with them to that place, they might do the same thing. He, therefore, promised to send them

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to Boosa in four days by another road. Independently of the above considerations, the king was highly incensed against the ruler of Wowow for his harsh treatment of the widow Zuma, who was his friend and relative, and who had lately fled to Boosa for the purpose of claiming the protection of the king of that country.

It was reported that Yarro's father, the late king of Kiama, during his life time had enjoyed the friendship of an Arab from the desert, which was returned with equal warmth and sincerity. A similarity of dispositions and pursuits produced a mutual interchange of kind actions; their friendship became so great that the king was never happy except when in the Arab's company, and as a proof of his esteem and confidence, he gave him his favourite daughter in marriage. The fruit of this alliance was the restless widow Zuma, and hence her relationship to the then reigning monarch of Kiama. The friendship of his father and the Arab lasted until the death of the latter. The king, however, was inconsolable for his loss, and looked round him in vain for some one to supply the place of his friend, but the ardour of his affection was too strong, and held by the hope of following his friend to another world, he committed suicide. This was the most affecting instance of genuine friendship, and indeed the only one, that came to the hearing of the travellers since they had been in the country. Yarro was much attached to the widow Zuma, and she would have fled to Kiama, instead of going to Boosa, if her intentions had not been suspected, and her actions narrowly watched by the ruler of Wowow.

Unwilling as the Landers always were to infringe upon the observance of the Sabbath, they were nevertheless compelled on Sunday, May 30th, to submit to the mortification of cleaning and polishing a sword and pistol, which were sent them for that purpose by the king, against the approaching mahommedan festival. Yarro shortly afterwards sent them a turkey, and one of his women presented them with a roasted badger, a quantity of yams, &c. for the use of one of their people. On this evening, the wives of the king unanimously bestowed a severe reprimand on their royal husband for neglecting to offer them a portion of a bottle of rum, which was given to him on the preceding day. The ladies scolded

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so lustily, that the noise was heard outside the wall surrounding their huts, which led them to make the discovery. To appease the indignation of the irascible ladies, and to reconcile them to the loss of so great a dainty as a glass of rum, they were presented with a few beads, and some other trifles, but still it was evident that these fancy articles bore no comparison in the eyes of the ladies with the exquisite relish of the spirituous liquid.

It was generally supposed that the ruler of Wowow would make war on this state, as soon as he should be made acquainted with the fact of the Landers being at Borgoo, without having paid him a visit. Although it was within the dominions of the king of Boossa, who was acknowledged to be the greatest of the sovereigns of Borgoo, Wowow was reported to have lately received a body of Nouffie horse soldiers, consisting of eight hundred men, which rendered its chief more powerful than either of his neighbours. These soldiers were the remnant of the army of Ederisa, (the Edrisi of Clapperton) who was the rightful heir to the throne of Nouffie; they deserted nim in his misfortunes, and sought a refuge in Wowow from the fury of their successful countrymen, leaving their leader to his fate. Shortly after the return of Richard Lander to England from his expedition with Captain Clapperton, it was reported that Magia, who was a younger son of the late king of Nouffie, was reinforced by the soldiers from Soccatoo; that he took immediate advantage of the panic into which this intelligence had thrown his brother, by attacking and routing his army, and expelling both him, and them from their native country. Ederisa was for some time after a wanderer, but at length he was said to have found an asylum with one of the chiefs of a state near the kingdom of Benin where he continued to reside in tranquillity and retirement.

They received visits almost every hour of the day from a number of mahommedan mallams residing at Kiama, as well as from those merchants, who formed part of the fatakie that accompanied them through the forest from Keeshee. The former sent two boys to pray for them, in the expectation, it was supposed, of obtaining something more substantial than thanks, for the good that might result to them from their charitable remembrance of the frailty of their nature. The boys dropped on their knees, and recited the

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lesson that they had been taught, without committing a single blunder. A few needles were, however, the only recompence it was thought proper to make them, so that it was not likely their masters would desire any more prayers to be offered up at the shrine of their prophet, for Christians so illiberal and irreligious. Of all the vices of which these mahommedan priests were guilty, and by all accounts they were not a few, slander and defamation appeared to be by far the most general. Never did they hear a mallam speak of his neighbours in terms of common respect. According to his account they were all the vilest creatures under the sun, not one escaping the lash of his censure. "Avoid that man," said a complaisant and comfortable looking old Mahommedan, pointing to one of his companions, as he quitted the hut, after having just blessed him in the name of Allah, "for believe me, he will take every opportunity of deceiving you, and if you go so far as to trust him with any of your property, he will cheat you of every kowrie."

The venerable speaker had a number of gilt buttons, nearly new, in his possession, which they had given him to sell, for they were frequently obliged to make such shifts for a meal, and when his invective was finished, he arose to take his leave, but the self-righteous priest had neglected, in the hurry of discourse, to secure a few buttons which he had purloined, for as he stood up they dropped from the folds of his garment on the floor. The man's confusion was immediately apparent, but they did not wish to punish him further by increasing his shame, and they suffered him to go about his business, in the belief that the circumstance had wholly escaped their observation. Gilt buttons fetch a high price at Kiama, from two to three hundred kowries each, and as they had a great number of them, it was likely that from henceforth they would be of infinite service to them. Women use buttons to ornament their fingers, necks, and wrists, and they imagine that the brightest of them are made of gold.

A messenger arrived this day at the king's house with the information, that Doncassòn, the ex-king of Houssa, had recently taken no less than twelve towns in that empire from the Fellatas, in which he had been greatly assisted by the sheik of Bornou. The

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Fellatas have a tradition, that when Danfodio, Bello's father, and the first king of Soccatoo, was a simple shepherd, he made a vow to the great author of evil, that if he would assist him in the subjugating the kingdom of Houssa, he would be his slave for ever after. The request of Danfodio, it is reported, was complied with on his own conditions, but for no longer than thirty years, after which the aborigines of the country were to regain their liberty, and re-establish their ancient laws and institutions. The term was now nearly expired, and the Fellatas began already, said the Houssa men, to tremble with apprehensions at the prospect of this tradition being realized.

June 1st, was the eve of the Bebun Sálah, or great prayer day, and which is generally employed by the Mussulmans in Kiama, in making preparations for a festival which was to commence on the following day, and to be continued till the evening of the ensuing day. Every one in the town, who is in possession of the means, is obliged to slaughter either a bullock or a sheep on the anniversary of this day, and those who are not in possession of money sufficient to procure a whole bullock or sheep, are compelled to purchase a portion of the latter, at least, for the purpose of showing respect and reverence for the "Bebun Sàlah." The Mahommedans make a practice on this occasion of slaughtering the sheep, which may have been their companion in their peregrinations during the past year, and as soon as the holidays are over, they procure another to supply its place, and at the return of the festival, to undergo a similar fate. The company of one of these animals is preferred by the natives to that of a dog.

On the following morning a company of eight or ten drummers awoke them by the dismal noise of their drums, and by the exclamation of "*turawa auashie*," signifying, "white men, we wish you fortune," which was repeated in a high shrill tone every minute.

During the night, Kiama was visited by a thunder storm, which continued with dreadful violence for many hours, and the torrents of rain which fell, threatened to overwhelm them in their huts. Before they were aware of it, the water had rushed in at the door, and had completely soaked their mats and bedclothes, setting every

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light article in the room afloat. After much trouble they succeeded in draining it off, and prevented its further ingress, when they lit a large fire in the centre of the hut, and laid themselves down by the side of it to sleep. Towards morning it also rained heavily again, and to all appearances the wet season had at length fairly set in. Under those circumstances, it would be found almost next to impossible to travel much further, and if they were fortunate to reach Yaoorie, they would be obliged to remain there some time, till the roads should have become sufficiently hard and dry for their future progress. Their chief hope was, that the rains might not be so incessant at their commencement, so as to render the path to Yaoorie impassable.

On Wednesday June 2nd, the threatening appearance of the weather prevented the Mahommedans from repairing to the spot, which they had selected for the purposes of devotion, so early in the morning as they could have wished, but the clouds having dispersed, they had all assembled there between the hours of nine and ten.

The worshippers arranged themselves in six lines or rows, the women forming the last, and sat down on as many ridges of earth, which had apparently been thrown up for the purpose. The chief mallam no sooner began a prayer, than the talking and noise of the multitude ceased, and the deepest attention seemed to be paid by every one, though the substance of what he said could only be guessed at, because it was in Arabic, which none of them understood a word of. The ceremony much resembled that which was performed at Badagry; and the forms, which are generally practised, it is supposed, on all public religious meetings in mahommedan countries, such as ablution, prostration, &c., were observed on this occasion. The king, however, did not rise, as he should have done, when the worshippers stood up, but satisfied himself with uttering the name of Allah, and by simple prostration only. When the usual form of prayer had been gone through, the chief mallam placed himself on a hillock, and for about five minutes read to the people a few loose pages of the Koran, which he held in his hand. While thus engaged, two priests of inferior order knelt beside him

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to hold the hem of his tobe, and a third, in the same position, held the skirts from behind. After he had finished reading, the priest descended from the hillock, and with the help of his assistants, slaughtered a sheep which had been bound and brought to him for sacrifice. The blood of the animal was caught in a calabash, and the king and the more devoted of his subjects washed their hands in it, and sprinkled some of it on the ground. The conclusion of the ceremony was announced by the discharge of a few old muskets, and with drums beating and fifes playing, the people returned to their respective homes. The majority of them were smartly dressed in all the finery they could procure. About a hundred of the men rode on horseback, with lances and other weapons in their hands, which, with the gay trappings of the horses, gave them a respectable appearance.

In the afternoon, all the inhabitants of the town, and many from the little villages in the neighbourhood, assembled to witness the horse racing, which always takes place on the anniversary of the Belun Sàlah, and to which every one had been looking forward with the greatest impatience. Previously to its commencement, the king with his principal attendants rode slowly on round the town, more for the purpose of receiving the admiration and plaudits of his people, than to observe where distress more particularly prevailed, which was his avowed intention. In this respect we do not see that the African kings are a jot worse than the Europeans; it is true, indeed, that the African monarch has in some measure the advantage over the European, for we have never heard that any European king, particularly an English one, ever even conceived the idea of parading the town in which he might reside, for the purpose of finding and relieving the distressed, but when he does condescend to show himself amongst the people, to whom he is indebted for the victuals which he eats, it is for the purpose of attending some state mummery, or seeing a number of human beings standing in a row, with the weapons of murder in their hands, but which, when called into action to gratify the senseless ambition of the said king, is called privileged homicide. An inspection of these human machines is called a review; were some kings to in-

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stitute a review of their own actions, it would be better for themselves, and better for the people, to whom a blind and stupid fortune has given him as their log.

The kings of Africa, like other kings, attach a great importance to a great noise, called a salute, and, therefore, a hint was given to the Landers to bring their pistols with them to the race course, that they might salute the king as he rode by them; a salute is the same thing, whether it be from a pop-gun or a two and thirty pounder, for all salutes generally end in smoke, which shows their folly and insignificance. The Landers felt a strong inclination to witness the amusements of the day, and they arrived at the course rather sooner than was necessary, which, however, afforded them a fairer opportunity of observing the various groups of people, which were flocking to the scene of amusement.

The race course was bounded on the north by low granite hills, on the south by a forest, and on the east and west by tall shady trees; amongst which, were habitations of the people. Under the shadow of these magnificent trees, the spectators were assembled, and testified their happiness by their noisy mirth and animated gestures. When the Landers arrived, the king had not yet made his appearance on the course, but his absence was fully compensated by the pleasure they derived from watching the anxious and animated countenances of the multitude, and in passing their opinions on the taste of the women in the choice and adjustment of their fanciful and many coloured dresses. The wives and younger children of the chief, sat near them in a group by themselves, and were distinguished from their companions by their superior dress. Manchester cloths of an inferior quality, but of the most showy patterns, and dresses made of common English bed-furniture, were fastened round the waist of several sooty maidens, who, for the sake of fluttering a short hour in the gaze of their countrymen, had sacrificed in clothes the earnings of a twelve months labour. All the women had ornamented their necks with strings of beads, and their wrists with bracelets of various patterns, some made of glass beads, some of brass, and others of copper, and some again of a mixture of both metals; their

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ankles were also adorned with different sorts of rings, of neat workmanship.

The distant sound of drums gave notice of the king's approach, and every eye was immediately directed to the quarter whence he was expected. The cavalcade shortly appeared, and four horsemen first drew up in front of the chief's house, which was near the centre of the course, and close to the spot where his wives and children, and themselves were sitting. Several men bearing on their heads an immense number of arrows in large quivers of leopard's skin, came next, followed by two persons, who, by their extraordinary antics and gestures, were concluded to be buffoons. These two last were employed in throwing sticks into the air as they went on, and adroitly catching them in falling, besides performing many whimsical and ridiculous feats. Behind them, and immediately preceding the king, a group of little boys nearly naked, came dancing merrily along, flourishing cows' tails over their heads in all directions.

The king rode onwards, followed by a number of fine-looking men, on handsome steeds, and the motley cavalcade all drew up in front of his house, where they awaited his further orders without dismounting. This the Landers thought was the proper time to give the first salute, so they accordingly fired three rounds, and their example was immediately followed by two soldiers with muskets, which were made at least a century and a half ago, nevertheless, they yielded fire, smoke, noise, and a stink, which are in general the component parts of all royal salutes.

Preparations in the mean time had been going on for the race, and the horses with their riders made their appearance. The men were dressed in caps, and loose tobes and trousers of every colour; boots of red morocco leather, and turbans of white and blue cotton. Their horses were gaily caparisoned; strings of little brass bells covered their heads; their breasts were ornamented with bright red cloth and tassels of silk and cotton, a large quilted pad of neatly embroidered patchwork was placed under the saddle of each; and little charms, inclosed in red and yellow cloth were attached to the bridle with bits of tinsel. The Arab saddle and stirrup were

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in common use, and the whole group presented an imposing appearance.

The signal for starting was made, and the impatient animals sprung forward, and set off at a full gallop. The riders brandished their spears, the little boys flourished their cow's tail; the buffoons performed their antics, muskets were discharged, and the chief himself, mounted on the finest horse on the ground, watched the progress of the race, while tears of delight were starting from his eyes. The sun shone gloriously on the tobes of green, white, yellow, blue, and crimson, as they fluttered in the breeze; and with the fanciful caps, the glittering spears, the jingling of the horses' bells, the animated looks and warlike bearing of their riders, presented one of the most extraordinary and pleasing sights that they had ever witnessed. The race was well contested, and terminated only by the horses being fatigued and out of breath; but though every one was emulous to outstrip his companion, honour and fame were the only reward of the competitors.

The king maintained his seat on horseback during these amusements, without even once dismounting to converse with his wives and children, who were sitting on the ground on each side of him. His dress was showy rather than rich, consisting of a red cap, enveloped in the large folds of a white muslin turban; two under tobes of blue and scarlet cloth, and an outer one of white muslin; red trousers, and boots of scarlet and yellow leather. His horse seemed distressed by the weight of his rider, and the various ornaments and trappings with which his head, breast, and body were bedecked. The chief's eldest and youngest sons were near his women and other children, mounted on two noble-looking horses. The eldest of these youths was about eleven years of age. The youngest being not more than three, was held on the back of his animal by a male attendant, as he was unable to sit upright on the saddle without this assistance. The child's dress was ill suited to his age. He wore on his head a light cap of Manchester cotton, but it overhung the upper part of his face, and together with its ends, which flapped over each cheek, hid nearly the whole of his countenance from view; his tobe and trousers were made exactly in the same fashion as those of a man, and two large belts of blue

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cotton, which crossed each other, confined the tobe to his body. The little legs of the child were swallowed up in clumsy yellow boots, big enough for his father, and though he was rather pretty, his whimsical dress gave him altogether so odd an appearance, that he might have been taken for any thing but what he really was.

A few of the women on the ground by the side of the king wore large white dresses, which covered their persons like a winding sheet. Young virgins, according to custom, appeared in a state of nudity; many of them had wild flowers stuck behind their ears, and strings of beads, &c., round their loins; but want of clothing did not seem to damp their pleasure in the entertainment, for they entered with as much zest as any of their companions. Of the different coloured tobes worn by the men, none looked so well as those of a deep crimson colour on some of the horsemen; but the clear white tobes of the mahommedan priests, of whom not less than a hundred were present on the occasion, were extremely neat and becoming. The sport terminated without the slightest accident, and the king dismounting was a signal for the people to disperse.

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CHAPTER XXXV.

The travellers left Kiama on Saturday June 5th, and arrived at Kakafungi, the halting place, shortly after ten o'clock in the morning. The distance from Kiama was about ten miles. It was a straggling, but extensive and populous town, and was delightfully situated on an even piece of ground. The inhabitants were so clean and well behaved, and their dwellings so neat and comfortable, that before the Landers had spoken many words to one of them, they were prepossessed in their favour. Nor was this opinion in any degree lessened, when after they had been introduced into a commodious and excellent hut, they received the congratulations of the principal people. They came to them in a body, followed by boys and girls carrying a present of two kids, with milk and an abundance of pounded corn, and remained with them the greater part of the day.

John Lander was here taken seriously ill, and his fever was so severe that he was obliged to lie on his mat till the carriers were ready to depart, which took place at two P. M., their path lying through a perfect wilderness, and presenting a greater degree of barrenness, than any thing which they had hitherto met with. The length of the journey, the insufferable heat of the sun, combined with the speed with which they were obliged to travel, greatly increased the malady of John Lander. He was occasionally obliged to dismount, and lie on the ground for relief, being lifted off and

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replaced on his horse by their attendants. The two Landers were far behind the rest of the party, on account of the inability of John Lander to keep pace, and they discharged a pistol every now and then as a signal to the carriers of their approach. As each report echoed through the forest, it was answered by the increased howlings of wild animals, till at length, they gladly saw the gleam of a large fire, and arrived at the encampment, which had been prepared for them. Here they took possession for the night, of a few deserted huts, which were falling to decay.

The rest which John Lander had obtained during the night, appeared to have revived him, and he seemed in better spirits, with an abatement of his fever. They accordingly proceeded on their journey, and after bathing, crossed the Oly in a canoe, which they found tied to a tree. During the whole of the day, they travelled under a burning sun, and in the evening pitched their tent near a small stream. John Lander was very ill, his fever having returned with increased violence. A storm gathered over their heads a few minutes after the tent had been fixed, and presently burst with increased violence. While it lasted, they were occupied with the thoughts of their forlorn condition. The deafening noise of the thunder, as it echoed among the hills, the overpowering glare of the lightning, the torrents of rain, and the violence of the wind were truly awful. The whole of their party were collected in the tent for shelter from the storm, and in spite of the water which ran through it, contrived to sleep till morning.

They were obliged to lie the whole of the night in their wet clothes, the effects of which were visible in John Lander in the morning. His brother endeavoured, in vain, to rally him, but he was scarcely able to stand. The tent was packed up in its wet state, and the carriers hastened onwards as fast as they could, for the provisions were consumed, and they were anxious to get to their journey's end without delay. As they advanced, John Lander became worse, till at length, he was completely overcome, and to prevent falling off his horse, he dismounted and was laid down. There was not a tree near them, which could shelter them from the sun, so with the assistance of his people, Richard obtained a few branches, and formed a sort of bower, their horses' pads answer-

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ing the purpose of a bed. During the remainder of the day, John became worse, and the medicine chest had been sent with the other things. In this dilemma, with no food at hand, the condition of the travellers was most deplorable. Richard with the view of obtaining some refreshment for his brother, went into the wood and shot the only bird he saw, which was not much bigger than the sparrow. With this, he returned, made a fire, and prepared a little soup in a half-pint cup, which for want of salt, was rather unsavoury, nevertheless it was of service to his brother; the flesh of the bird, Richard divided between himself and his man, both of them being weak for want of food. They now contrived to make a more substantial habitation for the invalid, of some stout branches of trees, and thatched it with long grass; they also lighted large fires round it to keep off the wild beasts, but sleep was out of the question, for they were attacked by myriads of mosquitoes, and buzzing flies, attracted by the glare of the fires. A prowling tiger was the only savage animal that approached near enough to be seen during the night.

On the following morning, a considerable improvement having taken place in John Lander's health, they set forward in good spirits, and shortly after sunset arrived in the vicinity of Coobly, without experiencing so much fatigue as had been anticipated. Having waited on the governor, as a matter of courtesy, they were detained but a few moments, and then repaired to the hut assigned to them, where John was soon after seized with the return of the fever, more severe than the former. The governor sent them a bowl of rice, one of milk, two calabashes of butter, and a fine fat bullock.

The situation of Richard Lander was now distressing in the extreme, his brother became hourly worse, and every moment was expected to be his last. During the few intervals he had from delirium, he seemed to be aware of his danger, and entered into arrangements respecting his family concerns. At this moment Richard's feelings were of too painful a nature to be described. The unhappy fate of his late master, Clapperton, came forcibly to his mind. He had followed him into the country, where he perished; he had attended him in his parting moments; he had

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performed for him the last mournful office which our nature requires, and the thought that he should have to go through the same sad ceremony for his brother, overwhelmed him with grief.

Two messengers now arrived from Boossa with a quantity of onions as a present from the queen. They were commanded by the king to await their departure from Coobly, and escort them to the city of Boossa, which was said to be about two days journey from Coobly.

The illness of John Lander, to the great joy of his brother, now took a favourable turn, and he became more tranquil and freer from pain, and preparations were now made for their departure from Coobly. For some hours before their departure, Richard was greatly annoyed by an old woman, who applied to him for some medicine that would produce her an entire new set of teeth, or, said she, "if I can only be supplied with two large and strong ones, I shall be satisfied with them." The woman at last became rather impertinent, when Richard recommended her two iron ones from the blacksmith, which so much displeased her, that she went away in a pet. The governor supplied them every day with abundance of rice and milk, in fact, nothing could surpass his benevolence and general good humour.

They quitted Coobly on the 15th June, and on the following morning entered a snug pretty little town called Zalee, lying in a rich and romantic valley, formed by a gap in a triple range of elevated hills, which ran from east to west. The governor sent them a goat, a fowl, a calabash of rice, and a quantity of corn for the horses. Zalee contained about a thousand inhabitants.

Their course from Zalee was in a south-easterly direction, and shortly after leaving the town, they came to a fine extensive plain, on which stood a few venerable and magnificent trees. Numerous herds of antelopes were feeding, which on hearing the report of their guns, bounded over the plain in all directions. From this place they beheld the city of Boossa, which lay directly before them at the distance of two or three miles, and appeared to be formed of straggling clusters of huts. To their great astonishment, however, on a nearer approach, Boossa was found to be standing on the *main land*, and not on an island in the Niger, as described

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by Captain Clapperton. Nothing could be discovered, which could warrant the assertion as laid down by that traveller. At ten o'clock they entered the city by the western gateway, and discharged their pieces as the signal of their arrival.

After waiting a few minutes, they were introduced to the king, whom they found in an interior apartment of his residence, in company with the *Midikie*, the title bestowed on his principal wife or queen. They welcomed the travellers to Boossa, with every appearance of cordiality. They told them very gravely, and with rueful countenances, that they had both been weeping in the morning for the death of Captain Clapperton, whose untimely end they would never cease to lament. It is true, they might have been so engaged, but as on their entrance, no outward signs of tears appeared, they rather mistrusted the information which had been imparted to them.

On the day subsequently to their arrival, they were visited by the noted widow Zuma, who presented herself to them without the slightest pretensions to finery of any kind, either in her dress or ornaments, for she was clad in very humble apparel of country cloth. She related to them with great good humour, her quarrels with her prince, the ruler of Wowow, and her consequent flight from that city to escape his resentment. It appeared that in order to effect this, she was actually obliged to climb over the city wall in the night, and travel on foot to Boossa, which was a very long journey, and to a woman of her size, must have been an arduous task. She alleged that she had done nothing whatever to merit the displeasure of the Wowow chief, notwithstanding which, he had robbed her of all her household furniture and a number of her slaves. But from another quarter, they learnt that one of her sons had committed a theft in the city, for which he would have suffered death, if he had not made his escape with his mother, who, it was said, had instigated him to the deed. The widow complained sadly of poverty and the hardness of the times; she had fought with the Youribeans against Alorie, but instead of receiving a recompense for her bravery; she had lost half of her slaves in an engagement, which so disgusted her with the military profession,

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that she immediately abandoned it and returned home. Yet in spite of all her losses and misfortunes, she had gained so much in corpulency, that it was with the utmost difficulty she could squeeze herself into the doorway of their hut, although it was by no means small. The widow Zuma was a very good-looking person of matronly appearance, and her skin of a light copper colour.

After the widow had left them, Richard carried the presents which had been selected for the king and queen. Each appeared delighted with them, and the former more especially was extravagant in his expressions of admiration and thankfulness. A pair of silver bracelets, a tobacco pipe, and a looking-glass, seemed to rivet the attention of the king, who could not take his eyes off them for a full half hour, so much was he pleased with them.

The Landers now visited the far famed Niger or Quorra, which flowed by the city about a mile from their residence, and were greatly disappointed at the appearance of this celebrated river. In its widest part it was not more than a stone's throw across. The rock on which Richard Lander sat, overlooked the spot where Mr. Park and his associates met their untimely fate; he could not help meditating on that circumstance, and on the number of valuable lives that had been sacrificed in attempting to explore that river, and he secretly implored the Almighty, that he might be the humble means of setting at rest for ever the great question of its source and termination.

The queen of a country is generally the standard of fashion, and therefore some idea may be formed of the fashions of Boossa, by the following description of the dress in which the Midikie or queen of Boossa paid a visit to the Landers. Her majesty was clad in a common check shirt of Nooffie manufacture, a plain piece of blue cotton was fastened round her head, wholly concealing the hair, a larger piece of the same kind was thrown over her left shoulder, and a third tied round her waist, reached so far as the middle of the leg Her feet were bare, as were likewise her arms up to the elbow; a brass ring ornamented each great toe, and eight silver bracelets each wrist, the least of them weigh-

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ing little less than a quarter of a pound. Besides these ornaments, the queen wore a necklace of coral and bits of gold, and small pieces of pipe coral were stuck in the lobe of each ear.

It was the opinion of Lander that it would have been bad policy on his part, to have stated the true reason of his visiting this country, knowing the jealousy of most of the people with regard to the Niger; and, therefore, in answer to the king's inquiries, he was obliged to deceive him with the assertion, that his object was to go to Bornou, by way of Yaoorie, requesting at the same time, a safe conveyance through his territories. This answer satisfied the king, and he promised them every assistance in his power. In the course of conversation the king observed that he had in his possession a tobe, which belonged to a white man, who came from the north many years ago, and from whom it had been purchased by the king's father. The Landers expressed a great curiosity to see this tobe, and in a very short time after the departure of the king, it was sent to them as a present. Contrary to their expectations, they found it to be made of rich crimson damask, and very heavy from the immense quantity of gold embroidery with which it was covered. As the time, when the late king is said to have purchased this tobe, corresponds very nearly to the supposed period of Mr. Park's death, and as they never heard of any other white man having come from the north so far south as Boossa, they were inclined to believe it part of the spoil obtained from the canoe of that ill-fated traveller. Whether Mr. Park wore the tobe himself, which was scarcely possible on account of its weight, or whether he intended it as a present to a native chief, they were at a loss to determine. The king himself had never worn the tobe, nor did his predecessor, from a superstitious feeling; besides, observed the king, "it might excite the cupidity of the neighbouring powers."

King George the Third of England was a button-maker, and therefore no wonder need be excited at the information which was sent to the Landers from the king of Boossa, announcing to them that his majesty was a tailor, and that he would thank them much for some thread and a few needles for his own private use; the king also took it into his head that as he was a tailor, the Landers must be gunsmiths, and therefore he sent them his muskets to re-

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pair, but it being Sunday when the guns were sent, they declined the job until the following day.

Eager as they were to obtain even the slightest information relative to the unhappy fate of Mr. Park and his companions, as well as to ascertain if any of their books or papers were then in existence at that place, still they had almost made up their minds to refrain from asking him any questions on the subject, because they were apprehensive that it might be displeasing to the king, and involve them in many perplexities. Finding the king, however, to be an affable, obliging, and good-natured personage, they were emboldened to send Pascoe to him with a message expressive of the interest they felt on the subject, in common with all their countrymen, and saying, that if any books or papers which belonged to Mr. Park were yet in his possession, he would do them a great service by delivering them into their hands, or at least granting them permission to see them. To this, the king returned for answer, that when Mr. Park was lost on the Niger, he, the king, was a very little boy, and that he knew not what had become of his effects; that the deplorable event had occurred in the reign of the late king's predecessor, who died shortly after, and that all traces of the white men had been lost with him.

This answer disappointed the hopes of the Landers, for to them it appeared final and decisive. But in the evening their hopes were again excited by a hint from their host, who was the king's drummer, and one of the principal men in the country; he assured them, that there was at least one book saved from Mr. Park's canoe, which was then in the possession of a very poor man in the service of his master, to whom it had been entrusted by the late king during his last illness. He said moreover, that if but *one* application were made to the king on any subject whatever, very little was thought of it, but if a second were made, the matter would be considered of sufficient importance to demand his whole attention; such being the custom of the country. The drummer therefore recommended them to persevere in their inquiries, for he had no doubt that something to their satisfaction would be elicited. At his own request, they sent him to the king immediately, desiring him to repeat their former statement, and to assure the king, that

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should he be successful in recovering the book they wanted, their monarch would reward him handsomely. The king desired the drummer to inform them, that he would use every exertion, and examine the man, who was reported to have the white man's book in his possession.

On the following day, the king came to see them, followed by a man with a book under his arm, which was said to have been picked up in the Niger after the loss of their countrymen. It was enveloped in a large cotton cloth, and their hearts beat high with expectation, as the man was slowly unfolding it, for by its size they guessed it to be Mr. Park's journal, but their disappointment and chagrin were great, when on opening the book, they discovered it to be an old nautical publication of the last century. The title page was missing, but its contents were chiefly tables of logarithms. It was a thick royal quarto, which led them to conjecture that it was a journal. Between the leaves they found a few loose papers of very little consequence indeed; one of them contained two or three observations on the height of the water in the Gambia; one was a tailor's bill on a Mr. Anderson, and another was addressed to Mr. Mungo Park, and contained an invitation to dine. The following is a copy of it:

"Mr. and Mrs. Watson would be happy to have the pleasure of Mr. Park's company at dinner on Tuesday next, at half past five o clock.

An answer is requested.

Strand, 9th Nov. 1804."

The king, as well as the owner of the book, looked as greatly mortified as they themselves did, when they were told that the one produced, was not that of which they were in quest, because the reward promised would not of course be obtained. As soon as their curiosity had been fully satisfied, the papers were carefully collected and placed again between the leaves, and the book as carefully folded in its envelope as before, and taken away by its owner, who valued it as much as a household god. Thus all their hopes of obtaining Mr. Park's journal or papers in the city of Boossa were entirely defeated.

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At an early hour of Wednesday June 23rd, the king and queen paid the travellers a farewell visit, when the former particularly cautioned them against poison. They then expressed their acknowledgements to both the royal personages for all their favours, and an hour or two after they had taken their departure, the Landers rode out of the city, accompanied by two horsemen as an escort, and a foot messenger to the sultan of Yaoorie. They journied along the banks of the Niger at an easy pace, and two hours afterwards entered a pleasant little walled town called *Kagogie*, where they were desired to halt until the following day. Although the governor of Kagogie had been made acquainted with their intention, no less than three days before their arrival, yet no canoe had been got ready for their use, and when they expected to embark, "the king of the canoe," as the person who has the care of it, is ridiculously styled, informed them with the utmost unconcern, that it was out of repair, and that it would not be fit for their reception for some hours at least. In the course of the afternoon they repaired to the side of the river, for the purpose of endeavouring to encourage and hurry the workmen in their labour about the canoe. Promises and threats were employed to effect this object, but the men would neither be coaxed nor intimidated—they would not overwork themselves, they said, for all the riches in their possession, so that they were obliged to leave them and exercise their patience. The branch of the Niger which flows by Kagogie, is about a mile in width, but it is rendered so shallow by large sand banks, that except in one very narrow place, a child might wade across it without difficulty.

About mid-day the workmen having finished the canoe, the luggage was presently put into it, and between twelve and one they embarked with their people, and were launched out into the river. The direction of this branch was nearly east and west, and they proceeded some distance down the stream for the purpose of getting into the main branch of the Niger, where there was deeper water.

Having encountered a dreadful storm, which threatened to swamp the canoe, and which obliged them ultimately to take refuge on land, for the purpose of sheltering themselves from the

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violence of the tornado, they came to a place, where, a short distance from the water's edge, the country was thickly studded with clusters of huts, which altogether are called the village of Sooloo. They took up their quarters in a large hut, which was nearest the landing place. They were treated with much hospitality by the natives, who did all in their power to render their short stay as agreeable as possible. The old chief of the village accompanied them to the water's edge, when they quitted their hut for the purpose of embarking, and enjoined "the king of the canoe," to be particularly careful of his charge. "Careful," answered the man, "to be sure I will, do I not know that white men are more precious than a boat load of eggs, and require as much care to be taken of them." The Landers entreated the same man a short time afterwards, to be more active and diligent in the management of his canoe, for he was rather inclined to be lazy, and suffered every canoe to go before their own, but he replied gravely, "Kings do not travel so fast as common men, I must convey you along as slowly as possible."

About eleven A.M. on the following day, they landed at the foot of a small village, on the east bank of the river, where the horses and men had arrived before them. They rested under a large tree an hour or two, awaiting the arrival of the carriers from the city of Yaoorie, who had been sent for on the preceding day, by one of the Boossa messengers that had charge of their horses. These men arrived at the village, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, and they immediately mounted and rode onwards. On a taining the summit of a steep hill, they rode over a very narrow pathway so much overhung by an impenetrable thorny shrub, that there was no room for more than one man to walk. This led them to the wall of Yaoorie, and they entered the city through an amazingly strong passage, in which was an immense iron door, covered with plates of iron, rudely fastened to the woodwork. They were almost exhausted with fatigue on their arrival, insomuch that they excused themselves from visiting and paying their respects to the sultan, and they were conducted to a convenient habitation, which had been prepared for them. They soon obtained an intro-

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duction to the prince, whom they had been so desirous to visit. After passing through a low dark avenue, and being kept long standing in a yard, they were conducted into another area, resembling that of a farm establishment. Here they discovered the sultan sitting alone in the centre of the square, on a plain piece of carpeting, with a pillow on each side of him, and a neat brass pan in front. His appearance was not only mean, but absolutely squalid and dirty. He was a big-headed, corpulent, jolly-looking man, well stricken in years, and though there was something harsh and forbidding in his countenance, yet he was generally smiling during the conference. He showed considerable dissatisfaction, because neither Clapperton nor Lander had paid their court to him on their previous journey, and still more on being informed that their means of making a present had been reduced very low by the rapacity of the chiefs already visited. In regard to Park's papers, he merely replied, with an affected laugh, "How do you think that I could have the books of a person that was lost at Boossa?" Afterwards being pressed upon the subject, he despatched an Arab to inform them, that he declared to God in the most solemn manner, that he had never had in his possession, nor seen any books or papers of the white travellers that perished at Boossa. Thus it appeared, that his overture upon that subject to Clapperton, by which the Landers had been so unguardedly lured, was a mere pretext to induce them to visit him, and bestow a portion of the valuable articles with which they were understood to be provid d. His whole conduct was in perfect unison with this first specimen of it. He did not, indeed, absolutely rob them, but there was no artifice so petty that he did not employ it, in order to obtain the few commodities which still remained in their possession. Wishing to purchase some things, he induced the Landers to send them, desiring that they should affix their own price; he then said they asked too much, on which pretext he delayed, and in a great measure evaded paying for them at all. The travellers, in their ill-judge l confidence in his friendship, requested him to furnish a boat, in which they might descend the Niger. He replied, they might have one for a hundred dollars, but being unable to command that sum

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they were finally obliged to apply to their friend, the king of Boossa, whom they had so unreasonably distrusted, and who cheerfully undertook to supply their wants.

The city of Yaoorie is of prodigious extent, and is supposed to be as populous as any other in the whole continent, or at least that part of it which is visited by the trading Arabs. Its wall is high and very excellent, though made of clay alone, and may be between twenty and thirty miles in circuit, and it has eight vast entrance gates or doors, which were well fortified after the manner of the country. The residence of the sultan, as well as the houses of many of the principal inhabitants of the city, are two stories in height, having thick and clumsy stairs of clay, leading to the upper apartments, which are rather lofty, and, together with rooms on the ground floor, have door-ways sufficiently large to enable a person to enter without putting himself to the inconvenience of stooping. The principal part of the houses is built in the circular or coozie fashion, but the inhabitants have a few square ones, and the sultan's are of no regular form whatever. It may be considered somewhat singular, that the majority of the natives of western and central, and it may be said, also of northern Africa, moisten the floors of their huts, and the inside of their walls with a solution of cowdung and water, two or three times a day, or as often as they can find the materials. Though disagreeable to the smell of an European, this keeps the interior of a dwelling as cool as it is dark.

The Landers were anxious to expedite their departure, but the sultan sent word to inform them that he would be occupied *three days* in writing to the king of England, and he would, therefore, thank them to remain in Yaoorie till the expiration of that period. On the following day, however, the sultan told them in plain and decisive terms, that he could not send them either by way of Koolfu or Guarie, because the Fellatas were in both of those places, and their fate then would soon be decided. He wished, however, to be expressly understood, that it was from no disinclination on his part to send them to either of those places, but that his great regard for them would not permit him to lead them into danger. Now the Landers knew very well that the Fellatas had

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not the superiority either in Koolfu or Guarie; the natives of the latter place, in particular, having long since cut off the heads of all the Fellatas that could be found in their country, and from that time they had enjoyed the most perfect independence. The sultan of Yaoorie further said, that the best thing he could do, was to send them back again to Boossa, and from thence he was certain they might have liberty to go anywhere. The moment they found this to be his intention, they returned to their house, and having formed their resolution, they instantly despatched one of their men with a message to the king of Boossa, to the following effect:

"That finding their presents insufficient to defray their expenses on the road to Guarie and Bornou, they were under the necessity of returning to the salt water to obtain more. That the chief of Badagry, who is governor of that part of the coast, at which they had landed, had treated them so very ill, while they were with him, that he would detain them in his town for the remainder of their lives, if they were to return by the way they had come, and by so doing, tha they should be unable to avoid falling into his power. Besides which, the journey thither was so long that they should experience the same, or even greater inconvenience than if they were to proceed to Bornou through Catsheenah. Under these circumstances, they were extremely desirous of travelling to the salt water by a shorter and safer route, and would therefore prefer going by Fundah, as the easiest and likeliest means of accomplishing that end. But as they had heard that the road to that kingdom by land was infested with Fellatas, who live by plunder and violence, they should feel infinitely obliged to him (the king of Boossa,) if he could either sell or lend them a canoe to proceed thither by water, and if so, that they would remunerate him to the utmost of their ability."

They awaited the return of their messenger with considerable anxiety, and if an unfavourable answer were returned, they were resolved, instead of proceeding to Boossa, to push on to Guarie, and thence to Funda, as they originally intended, whatever might be the consequence.

After the usual lapse of time, the Boossa messenger returned, and to their unspeakable joy, informed them that the king had consented

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to procure for them a canoe, to proceed to Funda, provided the road by land could not be depended on. He, however, candidly stated his inability to protect their persons from insult and danger beyond his own territories, and that they must solicit the good will of the prince of Wowow, and the other rulers on the banks of the Niger, and further, that their own men alone must manage the canoe, because no one at Boossa would be willing, for various reasons, to accompany them on the journey. They were, therefore, in a fair way of accomplishing the object of the expedition.

The sultan of Yaoorie, however, put off their departure from day to day, and from week to week, under a variety of nonsensical excuses, and they were persuaded that it was his intention to detain them, until he had drained them of every thing that was valuable. On Monday the 26th of July, however, to their surprise and pleasure, a messenger from the king of Boossa arrived, to ascertain the reason of such unwarrantable conduct on the part of the sultan, and to request their immediate release. One of the inducements urged by this monarch for their longer stay with him, was rather whimsical. He had made them a present of a quantity of worthless feathers, which he had caused to be plucked from the body of a live ostrich, and because he entertained an opinion that if others were added to them, they would altogether form a very acceptable present to the king of England, he informed them that it would be necessary they should wait till such time as the ostrich should regain its plumage, in order for that part of its body, which had not been previously plucked, to undergo a similar operation, for the weather, he asserted, was much too cold for the bird to lose all its feathers at one and the same time, and further to encourage their growth, he would order that two thousand kowries worth of butter, (about twelve pounds weight,) should be diligently rubbed into the skin of the animal. This was, however, an arch trick on the part of the sultan, for he was indebted to the Landers in a considerable sum for some buttons, which he had purchased of them, and this butter affair was intended as a kind of set-off, as the sultan said he did not approve of paying for the butter out of his own pocket.

On the 1st August, the sultan sent a messenger to inform them that they were at liberty to pay their respects, and take their fare-

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well of him previously to their departure from the city, which they were assured should take place on the following day, without any further procrastination or delay. They were glad to obey the summons, for such they considered it, and on their arrival at his residence, they were introduced into a large, gloomy, uncomfortable apartment; a number of swallows' nests were attached to the ceiling of the room, and their twittering owners, which were flying about in all directions, fed their young without interruption, and added not a little to the filthiness of the unswept and unclean apartment. The conversation during the interview was as uninteresting and spiritless, as their conversations with other native rulers had always been. The sultan, however, could not pay his debt, but by way of another set-off he offered them a female slave, which was just as much use to them as the ostrich feathers, however, the sultan was resolved to pay them in that species of coin, and therefore they took the lady, and old Pascoe immediately adopted her as his wife.

On Monday the 2nd, all was hurry, bustle, and confusion, in getting their things ready for their departure, and after the beasts had been laden, and the people had their burdens on their head, they had to wait for the sultan's long expected letter to the king of England. A mallam was at length perceived hurrying towards them with it, and after him came the venerable Arab chief, to honour them with his company a little way on their journey. This crafty old man was not their friend, for he had used them deceitfully, and misrepresented them and their goods to his master, and they enjoyed an innocent kind of revenge, in administering to him, after repeated applications, a powerful dose of medicine, which though harmless in its effects, had yet been very troublesome to him. Indeed it was not till they had "jalaped" the sultan, his sister, and all the royal family, that they were permitted to take their farewell of Yaoorie.

The following is the letter of the sultan of Yaoorie, as it was translated into English by A. O. Salame:

"Praise be to God, and blessings and salutations be unto that (prophet), since whom there has been no other prophet.

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"To our friend in God, and his apostle (Mahommed), the prince of the English christians; salutation and mercy, and blessings of God, be unto you, from your friend, the sultan of Yaouri, whose name is Mahommed Ebsheer. Perfect salutation be unto you, (and) may God cause your mornings and evenings to be most happy, with multiplied salutations (from us).

"After our salutation unto you (some) ostrich feathers will reach you, (as a present,) from the bounty and blessings of God (we have in our country), and we, together with you, thank God (for what he has bestowed). And salutation be unto your hired people, (your suite) and peace be unto our people, who praise God.

(Signed,) From the
PRINCE OF YAOURI."

Of this letter, Mr. Salame says, that it is the worst of the African papers which he had seen, both as to its ungrammatical and unintelligible character. Indeed, his Yaourick majesty seemed to be sadly in need of words to make himself intelligible. It must be remarked, that the words between parentheses are not in the original, but supplied by the translator for the purpose of reducing the letter to some kind of meaning.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

Owing to the reputed badness of the path, that by which the Landers had entered Yaoorie, was rejected for a more northerly one, leading in almost a direct line to the river Cubbie. About mid-day they arrived at the walls of a pretty considerable town, called Guàda, and halted near a small creek of a river flowing from Cubbie, and entering the Niger a little lower down. Here, as soon as they had taken a slight refreshment, they sent their beasts across the Niger to proceed by land to Boossa, and embarked in two canoes, which were each paddled by four men. On entering the Niger, they found it running from two to three miles an hour, and they proceeded down the river till the sun had set; and the moon was shining beautifully on the water, as they drew near to a small Cumbrie village on the borders of the river, where they landed and pitched their tent. The inhabitants of many of the numerous walled towns and open villages on the banks of the Niger, and also of the islands, were found to be for the most part Cumbrie people, a poor, despised, and abused, but industrious and hard-working race. Inheriting from their ancestors a peaceful, timid, passionless, incurious disposition, they fall an easy prey to all who choose to molest them; they bow their necks to the yoke of slavery without a murmur, and think it a matter of course; and perhaps no people in the world are to be found who are less susceptible of intense feeling, and the finer emotions of the human mind, on being stolen away from their favourite amusements and

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pursuits, and from the bosom of their wives and families, than these Cumbrie people, who are held in general disesteem. Thousands of them reside in the kingdom of Yaoorie, and its province of Engarski, and most of the slaves in the capital have been taken from them.

As they proceeded down the Niger by a different channel from that by which they had ascended it to Yaoorie, they had fresh opportunities of remarking the more striking features on its banks. The river, as might naturally be expected, was much swollen, and its current more impetuous, than when they passed upon their voyage to Yaoorie. In the earlier part of the evening they landed at a small Cumbrie village, and their canoes were pulled upon a sandy beach for the night in security.

At seven o'clock on the following morning, they were once more upon the Niger, and about noon they observed a herd of Fellata cows grazing on the banks of the river, and a very short distance from them, they saw an immense crocodile floating on the surface like a long canoe, for which it was at first mistaken, and watching an opportunity to seize one of the cows, and destroy it by dragging it into the river. As soon as the terrific reptile was perceived by the canoemen, they paddled as softly as possible towards him, intending to wait at a short distance till the crocodile should have accomplished his object, when they agreed to pull rapidly towards the shore, and reap the fruit of the reptile's amazing strength, by scaring him off from his prey, or destroying him with harpoons, for the skin of the crocodile is not in this country considered impenetrable. Their intentions were, however, frustrated by the sudden disappearance of the crocodile, which dived the moment he perceived the canoe so near him, making a loud plashing noise, and agitating the water in a remarkable manner in his descent. They waited some time, in hopes he would rise again, but they were not again gratified with the sight of the monster.

A short time afterwards, they landed at Warree, which is the most celebrated market town in the dependency of Engarski, and consists of several clusters of huts, encircled by a dwarf clay wall. The market was attended by many thousands of people from dif-

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ferent parts of the country. Vast numbers of canoes, filled with people and goods, were passing from one side of the Niger to the other, and the countenances of both buyers and sellers betrayed a very anxious and business-like expression. As soon as the curiosity of the Landers was fully satisfied, they crossed over to the Boossa side of the river, and landed at a small walled town called Garnicassa, which was inhabited by the Cumbrie people, and situated about five miles north of Boossa. At no great distance from this place, and within sight of it, all the branches of the Niger meet, and form a beautiful and magnificent sheet of water, at least seven or eight miles in breadth, and it excited the surprise of the Landers, to know what became of so extraordinary a body of water, for at Boossa, the river is no more than a stone's throw across, and its depth is in proportion to its narrowness, but about an hour's walk from thence, it again becomes a noble river, and maintains its width, it was reported, even to Funda. This singular fact favours the opinion, that a large portion of the waters of the Niger is conveyed by subterraneous passages from the town of Garnicassa to a few miles below Boossa.

The travellers pursued their journey along the banks of the Niger, although the path was filled with water, and broken up by the force of the rains. After an hour's ride they drew near to the walls of Boossa, and soon arrived at the drummer's house, which had been their former residence. Here they found the midiki on her knees to receive and welcome them back again to Boossa in the name of the king, but they were not permitted to enter and take possession of their old apartments, for the queen conducted them to other huts, which formed part of the cluster inhabited by the Fellatas. In the evening they were visited by the king, who said, he had been apprehensive that they required a little repose and quietness after their journey, and therefore he did not like to intrude on them before. They were not long domiciliated in their new dwelling, before they were informed that the drummer's wife had excited the envy of the queen, by wearing round her neck a smart gilt button, which had been given to her, and that was the only reason why they were not allowed to occupy their former lodgings in her house. Yet to be even with her *fair* rival, the queen had extracted from

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her little sheep-skin box, wherein they had been confined for a quarter of a century, a small number of round and flat golden ornaments, with which she adorned her sable bosom, and thereby totally eclipsed the transitory splendour of the button belonging to the drummer's wife.

In a conversation with the king, he intimated to them that it would be necessary for them to visit Wowow, previously to their going to Funda, because the prince of that state had already made war on Kiama on their account, and captured a few of the people. The king, himself, repeated to them the promise which he had made to their messenger, that he would furnish them with a canoe sufficiently large to contain the whole of their people and themselves; but still some doubts arose in their minds, and should a canoe be denied them, after all that the monarch had said, it was their determination to take a canoe of their own accord, and steal away from Boossa by night. The king expressed his fears that the personal safety of the travellers would be endangered by the Fellatas, who resided on each side of the river; but Pascoe answered his majesty by telling him, that the English were the gods of the waters, and no evil could befal them in boats, even though all Africa, or the whole world should fight against them. "I will, however," said the king, in reply, "go down and ask the *Becken ronah* (dark or black water, which the Niger is every where emphatically styled) whether it will be prudent and safe for the white men to embark on it or not, and I will be sure to acquaint you and them of my success, be it good or bad."

The following day the king intended to question the Niger, and the great hope of the Landers was, that the river would return a favourable answer.

The Landers were not ignorant that a present to an African king will generally effect wonders, it will even make the Niger return a favourable answer to an inquiry which, but for the present, would have been adverse. They therefore acted politically, and sent the king as a present, one of those beautiful silver medals which were cast during the American war, to which, was attached a large and valuable chain of the same metal; assuring the sable king at the same time, that he might now consider himself as the

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king of England's most particular friend, and that he could not make a more suitable return, than by assisting them in their plan of journeying to the salt water by way of the Niger.

The present had the desired effect, for on the following day the king came to them with great joy, and informed them that he had been down to the Niger with his mallam, and that the result of his visit was highly favourable to their wishes as well as to his own, the river having promised to conduct them in safety to its termination.

The Landers during their stay at Boossa, had to depend in a great measure upon their own resources for their maintenance. their chief food consisting of guinea fowls and partridges, for their stock of articles, wherewith they could barter for provisions, was nearly exhausted. The market was already overstocked with buttons, needles were unsaleable; all their bits of coloured cloth were disposed of, and indeed almost every thing that *would* sell, reserving to themselves a few articles of some value as presents to the different chiefs along the banks of the Niger. Amongst other trifles disposed of, were several tin cases, which contained worthless and unpalatable portable soups, &c. These were labelled with slips of tin, which though rather dull and dirty, nevertheless attracted the admiration of many, and they were highly diverted to see one man in particular walking at large, and strutting about with "concentrated gravy," stuck on his head in no less than four places. He appeared quite proud of these ornaments, and was simpering with pleasure wherever he went.

The travellers left Boossa on the 11th August, and directed their course for Wowow, and having travelled a few miles, they crossed in a canoe a branch of the Niger, forming a pretty little river, and running nearly west, and is said to encompass the whole of Wowow. After a journey of about twelve miles, they entered the city of Wowow through the western entrance, and by desire. they galloped swiftly towards the king's residence, and fired off a couple of pistols as a signal of their arrival. The customs of this monarch were the most singular that had been yet observed in Africa. He came out to welcome the travellers, but it was contrary to etiquette for him to speak, or to enter into any kind of

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conversation, nor is any foreigner permitted to speak, whatever might be his rank, unless in presence of the representative of the chief from whom he last came. In the wall on each side of the entrance of the town was a large niche, in one of which the king stood fixed and motionless, with his hands clasped under his tobe, and supported on his bosom; and round a pole, which had been placed erect in the other niche, a naked youth had entwined his legs, remaining in breathless anxiety to be a spectator of the approaching interview.

While the king remained in the above position, without moving a single muscle, and which lasted till the Boossa messenger made his appearance, a singing woman drew near the person of her sovereign, and began to exercise her vocation in a tone of voice that displayed any thing but sweetness or melody, and so loud and shrill as to frighten away the birds from the trees near the spot.

The Boossa messenger, who had been so anxiously expected, at length arrived, and the spell, which had bound every one to the spot was dissolved in a moment; they were then conducted to the king, and formally introduced to him, but the grave eccentric old man shook hands with them, without taking them from the tobe in which they had been enveloped, or even condescending to look in their faces, for he never made it a practice to raise his head above a certain height, fearing that he should discover the person to whom he might be conversing gazing full in his countenance, to which he had a very strange, but unconquerable antipathy; the interview lasted but a moment, and they were hastily conducted to the house which was occupied by the late Captain Clapperton.

On the following morning, Richard Lander carried the presents to the king. The monarch appeared well pleased and cheerful, and expressed himself perfectly satisfied, though in a few minutes afterwards he despatched a messenger to inquire if they had not brought any coral beads with them from England. In compliance with the request which Richard Lander made to him, the king informed him, that he would sell them a canoe with the greatest pleasure. He was convinced, he said, that they would return in safety to their country by way of the Niger, which did not contain a single rock from Inguazhilligee to Funda.

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It was the earnest, and oft repeated desire of the chief of Wowow, while they resided in the town, that they should return from Boossa, and spend the approaching holydays with him, to which they thought proper to accede, indeed the old man had behaved so well to them, that they did not like to make an ungrateful return. But his sister, the midiki, was jealous of her brother, because they had given him so good a character, and she said, she was apprehensive he might obtain from them more than she was willing he should have, and, therefore, she not only set her husband's mind against the measure, but she slandered and defamed his character most shamefully. This despicable vice of slander is universal in Africa, the people all speak ill of each other, from the monarch to the slave. They now found that they should be compelled to remain in Boossa, till the period arrived for their final departure from the country.

The expected messenger arrived from Wowow, with full power to treat with the midiki for the purchase of the canoe, and although the Landers were the parties most concerned in the business, they were not allowed to say anything about it. The bargain was, however, soon concluded; they were to give both their horses for the canoe, and if the king of Wowow should fancy the animals to be more than equivalent to the value of the boat, he promised to send them the balance in money (kowries). This was infinitely better than they could have managed the business themselves, indeed they could not have contrived matters half so well, for they had previously made a present of the youngest of the horses to the king of Boossa, but most likely, owing to Pascoe's misrepresentation, or rather his misinterpretation, the monarch was not made sensible of the circumstance. The canoe was to be sent to them in a day or two, when they determined to prepare her for the water without delay.

On Wednesday, August 25th, they despatched one of their men, named Ibrahim, to Coulfo, with their ass and a number of needles to sell. The king also sent a messenger with him, who was commissioned to visit all the towns and villages on the Nouffie side of the river, as far as the Fellata town of Rabba, and to request their chiefs and governors, in the name of the king of Boossa, to suffer them to pass down the river without injury or molestation.

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The following is a singular trait in the African character. Not having any good salt, they sent Pascoe's wife to the king to request the favour of a little unadulterated salt, because there were such a great quantity of ashes, and other spurious ingredients, mixed up with that which is publicly sold in the markets, that they never could eat it with pleasure. Both the king and queen embraced the opportunity of admiring the shape and beauty of the salt box, and spoke in rapturous terms of the lustre of its appearance, and the ingenuity of its contrivance. "Alla! how wonderful," said they, "even the most trifling articles belonging to the white men, are fit for the use of the mightiest kings. Alas! Alla has given them all the glory and riches of the world, and its knowledge, and left none whatever for black men."

The king was affected! He thrust the vessel into the pocket of his tobe, smoothed it down with his hand, looked melancholy, and said, "How nicely it fits! what a beautiful thing! how convenient it would be in travelling." He then took it out again, turned it round and round, opened and shut it repeatedly, and then bestowing on it a last commendation, as outrageously as any of the former, it was returned filled with genuine salt. Who could not understand the meaning of all this? Now this handsome salt cellar was of latten, and was formerly a common round tinder box, and because they had nothing better for the purpose, they deprived it of the candlestick on its cover a short time before, and converted it to its present use. The tin, moreover, had been burnt off from many parts of it, and Pascoe's wife not being an admirer of cleanliness, it had lost much of its original brightness. The king's encomiums were nothing more than an indirect and ingenious solicitation of the article for his own use; which was further apparent by desiring the woman to relate to the Landers, no part of the conversation that had passed between them: or in other words, that she should tell them every syllable. They could not help admiring the delicacy of the king, and sent back the tinder box to him immediately. The bearer was rewarded handsomely for his trouble, and they received as many thanks, as when he accepted the silver medal and chain which they had presented to him.

It is by such means as this, that the chiefs and rulers of this

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country, ashamed of making a direct application for any thing in the possession of the travellers, to which they may have taken a fancy, endeavour to obtain it. If, however, the hint does not succeed in making a visible impression, less delicate measures are presently resorted to, and when every other expedient fails, they cast aside the reserve and bashfulness which had influenced them at first, and express their meaning in language which cannot be misunderstood. In this respect, the chiefs and governors are all alike, from Badagry to the metropolis of Yaoorie.

On the 31st, a messenger with a canoe arrived from the king of Wowow, but it was so very small, that it was wholly inadequate for their purpose. This was a most provoking circumstance, because a larger canoe was to be procured, which could not be done without a considerable loss of time. In fact, between the chief of Wowow and his sister, the midiki, the travellers were completely taken in. The horses given in exchange to the prince of Wowow for this sorry canoe, were large, handsome, and superior animals, worth in England at least sixty pounds, and the article they got in exchange for them was not worth so many pence. They heard that boats of a considerable size were kept at a small town on the banks of the Niger called Lever, and thither they resolved to proceed as soon as the Boossa messenger should have returned from Rabba, and get a canoe prepared with as much expedition as possible.

The Landers were now weary of their protracted stay at Boossa, and urged the king to hasten their departure, and after many scruples and much hesitation, he at length appointed the second day of the moon, that being, according to his opinion, the happiest and luckiest of all days. He could not, however, forbear expressing his deep regret at their determination to leave Boossa before the return of his messenger from Nouffie, as it might be detrimental to their own personal interests, and his own reputation also might suffer, if any thing should befal them on the river, but he had already given his word for their departure, and from that promise he would not swerve. On the same afternoon they wished to pay their respects to the king, previously to their departure, which they understood was to take place on the following morning; but to their

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surprise, he asserted that the moon would not be discernible that evening, and, therefore, that the following Monday would be the day of their departure. The moon, however, *did* shine fairly in sight of all the people; nevertheless, they made no further remark to the prince on the subject, thinking it might confuse and irritate him.

Every thing was now get ready for starting. As it was not their intention to call at many inhabited places on the banks of the Niger, they provided themselves with a great quantity of provisions, which consisted chiefly of three large bags of corn, and one of beans. They had likewise a couple of fowls and two sheep, so that they were of opinion, they should have food enough for all hands for three weeks or a month at least. To add to their stock, the king and midiki between them, gave them a considerable quantity of rice, honey, corn, and onions, and two large pots of vegetable butter, weighing not less than a hundred pounds.

To their now unspeakable joy, the long expected and wished for messenger arrived from Rabba, accompanied by two messengers from the king of Nouffie, who were to be their guides as far as Rabba, after passing which city, all the Nouffie territory to the southward, was under the government of Ederesa and his partisans. "The magia," said the Boossa ambassador, "was delighted with the intelligence, that white men were to honour his dominions with their presence, and as a proof of his friendly disposition towards you, and his interest in your welfare, he has not only sent his son as your companion and guide, but he has likewise despatched a messenger to every town on the banks of the Niger, either considerable or unimportant, even as far as Funda, which is beyond the limits of the empire, and he is commissioned to acquaint their inhabitants of the fact of your intention of proceeding down the river, and to desire them to assist you with their encouragement and support, as far as it lies in their power to do."

After some little consideration, the Landers knew not whether they ought to feel pleasure or regret, thankfulness or indifference, at the arrival of these men, and the occasion which brought them thither; at the time, they could only foresee that they would be a heavy burden on their funds, and as it happened, that they had the

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utmost difficulty in the world to support themselves, it would cause them additional trouble, expense, and uneasiness, to provide them with the bare necessaries of life. The king, however, had but one feeling on the subject, and that was unbounded delight; he capered round his hut with transport, when he saw their guides, and heard the message which they had to deliver, and after a burst of joy, he began to cry like a child, his heart was so full. "Now," said he, when he had become more composed, "whatever may happen to the white men, my neighbours cannot but acknowledge that I have taken every care of them, treated them as became a king, and done my best to promote their happiness and interests. They will not be able," continued the monarch with exultation, "they dare not have the effrontery to cast at me a reproach, like that which they bestowed on my ancestor; I can now safely entrust the white men to the care, protection, and hospitality of a neighbouring monarch, who, I am convinced, if not for my sake, at least for his own, will receive and entertain them with every mark of distinction and kindness, and feel that towards them I have done my duty, and let my neighbours see to it, that they do theirs."

On Monday, the 20th September, all were on the *qui vive* at a very early hour, ransacking their lumber, packing it up, and turning it out into the yard, whence it was conveyed to the water side. About breakfast time, the king and queen arrived at their hut, to pay them a farewell visit, and bestow upon them their last blessing. They brought with them two pots of honey, and a large quantity of goora nuts, strongly recommending them to present the latter to the Rabba chieftain, for that nothing which they might have in their possession, could so effectually conciliate his favour, procure them his friendship, and command his confidence.

It was nine o'clock in the morning when they arrived at the river side, where they found two canoes lying to receive their goods, which were quickly loaded. They had, however, been but a short time on the water, when they discovered that the smaller canoe, in which were six individuals and a number of sheep belonging to the Nouffie messengers, was over-laden, and in danger of sinking, and that both were very leaky, insomuch that it required three men to be constantly employed in baling out the water

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to keep them afloat. To lighten the smaller canoe, they took a man from her into their own, and afterwards they proceeded more safely, and with less apprehension, yet they were obliged to put into a small island, called Malalie, to get it repaired, for they were afraid to proceed any further with the small canoe, on account of the rocks, and the velocity of the current.

According to their estimation, the current was here running at the rate of five or six miles in an hour, and the bed of the river was full of rocks, some of which were only a few inches below the surface of the water, which occasioned it to make a loud rushing noise, and forewarn the canoeman of his danger. They now passed the boundaries of Boossa, on the eastern side of the river, and entered the dominions of the king of Nouffie. Towards evening they came to Inguazhilligee, having passed just before, a very large and pleasant, but straggling town, called Congie. Inguazhilligee is the first town on the Wowow ground, all above, on the western bank of the Niger, belonging to Boossa. Journeying along for a quarter of an hour without stopping at any place, they put into a market town, on a large and beautiful island, called Patashie, just in time to save themselves from a heavy shower. Here they were obliged to remain until the return of the messenger, whom they landed in the middle of the day, and sent to Wowow, for the purpose of informing the king of their departure from Boossa, and their intention to reside at Patashie till it might please him to send the large canoe, which they had purchased of him. They were now out of the protection of the friendly monarch of Boossa, who would have nothing further to do with them.

Patashie is a large, rich island, unspeakably beautiful, and is embellished with various groves of palm and other noble trees. It is tributary to Wowow, though it is inhabited solely by Nouffie people, who are considered honest, active, laborious, and wealthy.

The hut in which they resided, exhibited a scene of revelry and mirth more becoming a native inn than a private dwelling.

The chief of the island, accompanied by the four messengers from Boossa and Nouffie, and several of his own people, all dressed "in their holyday best," paid them a visit in the earlier part of the morning, and out of compliment, it was supposed, remained with

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them till the evening, with the exception of a short absence in the middle of the day, during all which time they were employed in swallowing palm wine, which is procured in the island in great plenty, and in telling nonsensical stories. The Landers were heartily glad when they said it was time to depart, and having shaken hands with the ardour of drunkards, they took their leave, staggered out of the hut, and all went laughing away.

They were about to close their hut for the night, when a messenger arrived from the king of Wowow, with news not at all to their liking. He informed them that they were anxiously expected in that city from Boossa at the time of the holydays, and because they did not come agreeably to their promise, the prince could not conceal his chagrin, and was exceedingly angry, not only with the king of Boossa, who was the cause of their absence, but also with themselves. The messenger informed them that his sovereign had most certainly procured for them a canoe, which was laid up at Lever, but that if they wished, or rather if they were determined to have their horses back again, the king would send them in compliance to their wishes, "for who," said he, with much emphasis, "would presume to assert that the monarch of Wowow would keep the property of others? It would not be paying him that respect," he continued, "which his rank and situation demanded, were the white men to leave his dominions and the country altogether, without first coming to pay him their respects, and he would therefore entreat them to pay a visit to Wowow for that purpose, or if both of them could not leave Patashie, he requested that Richard Lander would come and bid him adieu, because he had not done so when his illness compelled him to leave his city.

The monarchs of Boossa and Wowow seemed to entertain very different opinions regarding the journey of the Landers. The former insisting on the necessity of their proceeding down the Niger on the eastern or Nouffie side, and the latter making use of strong language to persuade them that the Yarriba side of the river would be the most convenient, the most agreeable, and the safest; and if they would make up their minds not to attend to the king of Boossa's advice, he would send a messenger with them, who should protect them even to the sea. This difference of opinion, they

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were apprehensive would involve them in a thousand perplexities, yet they could only be guided by circumstances.

At Boossa, they experienced the greatest difficulty and trouble in procuring the bare necessaries of life, but in the flourishing Patashie, provisions were sent to them from the chiefs of the two islands in such abundance, that half of them were thrown to the dogs. The natives of all ages displayed the greatest anxiety to see the white men, and large crowds assembled every day, and waited from morning to night patiently till they had gained the object of their visit. However, they were all as timid as hares, and if the Landers happened to look fixedly in their faces for a moment, most of them, more especially the females and the junior classes of both sexes, started back with terror, as if they had seen a serpent in the grass; and when the Landers attempted to walk near any of them, they ran screaming away, as though they had been pursued by a lion, or were in danger of falling into the jaws of a crocodile, so horrified were these poor people at the bare sight of a white man, and so frightful did their imaginations picture him to be.

On Friday, September 24th, Richard Lander landed for the purpose of proceeding to Wowow, and took possession of a house on the banks of the river, which had been prepared for him. The king of Wowow's messenger accompanied him, and having got everything ready as soon as he could, he commenced his journey to the city.

On his arrival at Wowow, he was too much fatigued to pay his respects to the sovereign, but on the following day, he had prepared himself for the visit to the king's house, but to his great surprise the eccentric old man excused himself from being seen on that day, on the plea that he had taken a ride in the morning to see his gardens, and the exercise had so much tired him, that he felt no inclination whatever to receive his visiters till the following day. It was, therefore, not until the 26th, that he granted Lander an audience, and he then said with the greatest indifference, "I have not yet been able to procure you the canoe which I promised to get, but I have no doubt that the ruler of Patashie will have it in his power to supply you with one to your satisfaction, for which

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purpose I will send an express to that island without delay, whom I will furnish with the necessary instructions to effect an immediate purchase."

Finding that nothing definitive could be arranged relative to the canoe, Lander prepared to take his departure, but previously to his setting out, he requested the monarch to show him his collection of charms, which were written on sheets of paper, glued or pasted together. Amongst them he discovered a small edition of Watts' Hymns, on one of the blank leaves of which was written, *Alexander Anderson, Royal Military Hospital, Gosport*, 1804. From the Wowow chieftain, as well as from his good old brother, and their quondam Abba, Richard and his attendants received the most liberal hospitality, and on his taking his leave of them, they wished him farewell in the most cordial and affectionate manner.

On the return of Richard Lander to Patashie, preparations were instantly made for their departure, but after all their luggage had been packed up in readiness, information was brought them from the chief, that they could not start until to-morrow, because the Niger would receive a great influx of water during the night, which would be considerably in their favour. To raise any objection to this arrangement was considered as wholly useless, and therefore they quietly awaited the coming of the following day.

Between eight and nine in the morning, horses were brought from the chief and his nephew to take the Landers to the water side, where their luggage had been previously conveyed. Here they had to wait a considerable time till the canoes were brought from another part of the island, there being but one got ready at the time of their arrival. On the arrival of the canoes, and all their things had been removed into them from the beach, they were desired to ride to a landing place further down the island, because of the rocks, which were reported to intercept the stream at a little distance from the place whereon they stood, and to be very dangerous for canoes that were heavily laden. The venerable governor of Patashie, to whom they were under so many obligations, preceded them on the footpath, walking with a staff, and they reached the appointed place of embarkation exactly at the same moment as the canoes. After thanking all the friends that had accompanied

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them, they jumped on board, and pushed off from the shore, cheered by the natives that were present.

The current bore them rapidly along, and having passed down in front of one or two towns on the banks of the river, they came in sight of Lever, which was the place of their destination, it being about twenty miles from Patashie.

Their surprise was, however, great indeed, when instead of the proper person whom they expected would have received them, they were welcomed on shore by a man called Ducoo, who represented himself as the agent and confidential friend of the prince of Rabba, but their surprise was not a little increased on learning that a party of forty or fifty armed Fellata soldiers were also in the town. Ducoo treated them with the courtly politeness of a Frenchman, and was equally lavish in his compliments and offers of service; he walked with them to the chief of the town, to whom he took the liberty of introducing them, almost before he knew himself who or what they were; went himself and procured excellent lodgings for them, returned and sat down in their company to tell them some droll stories, and impart to them in confidence some very disagreeable news; then hastily arose, went out, and came back again with a sheep and other provisions, which he had obtained by compulsion from the chief, and finally remained with them till long after the moon had risen, when he left them to their repose.

The Landers now began to discover that they had been egregiously imposed upon, for in the first place they found, after all, that Lever did not belong to the king of Wowow, though it stands on his dominions, nor had that monarch a single subject here, or a single canoe, so that they were as far as ever they were from getting one, and with the loss of their horses to boot. They now found to their cost that they had been cajoled and out-manœuvred by those fellows of Boossa and its adjoining state, whom they falsely conceived to be their dearest and best black friends. They had played with them as if they were great dolls; they had been driven about like shuttlecocks; they had been to them first a gazing stock, and afterwards were their laughing stock, and, perhaps, not unlikely their mockery; they had been their admiration, their buffoons, their wonder and their scorn, a by-word and a jest. Else why this double

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dealing, this deceit, this chicanery, these hollow professions? "Why," as Richard Lander says, "did they entrap us in this manner? Why have they led us about as though we had been blind, only to place us in the very lap of what they imagine to be danger? For can it be possible that the monarchs of Wowow and Boossa were ignorant of the state of things here, which is in their own immediate neighbourhood, and which have continued the same essentially for these three years? Surely," concludes Lander, "they have knowingly deceived us."

The Landers were now placed in a most unpleasant predicament; they could not possibly obtain a canoe according to the promise of the king of Wowow, and to take those which had been lent them by the chief of Patashie, appeared such a breach of confidence, that they could not prevail upon themselves to commit it, but the necessity of the case pleaded strongly in their favour. They had not the means of purchasing the canoes of the chief of Patashie, as the king of Wowow had adroitly managed to exhaust them of nearly all their resources; but when they began to talk of prosecuting their journey in the canoes belonging to the chief of Patashie, the canoemen stoutly resisted their right: fortunately, however, for them, their busy, restless friend Ducoo interfered on their behalf, and soon silenced their remarks, by threatening to cut off the head of him who should presume from that time to set foot in either of the canoes; and in order to give his menace the greater weight, he stationed two of his men to guard the forbidden boats till the sun went down, with drawn swords, and during the greater part of the night, another of his men paraded up and down the banks of the river near the spot as a watch, and this man kept up a noise by continually playing on a drum.

The four messengers, who had accompanied them from Wowow and Boossa, had hitherto been a great incumbrance upon the Landers, as their maintenance was by no means inconsiderable, at the same time, they were themselves in some measure dependent upon the native chiefs for their support. They were, therefore, heartily rejoiced to get rid of them, and having been paid their stipulated wages, they left the town in company to proceed to Wowow.

The question of the canoes was, however, by no means settled,

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for the Landers were on a sudden surprised by the arrival of a small party of men, who arrived in a canoe, from the chief of the island of Teàh, with a message to them, purporting that the canoes which they had, to the infinite surprise of the chief, detained at Lever, did not belong as was supposed, to his friend, the chief of Patashie, but were his own property, and as he did not acknowledge the authority of Wowow, but had ever been subject to the king of Nouffie, he considered that they could have no right whatever to the canoes in question, and, therefore, he entreated them to return the canoes by the hands of his messengers. The chief of Teàh asserted, that he had lent them, because he was willing to oblige the white men and his own neighbour, but he did not conceive it possible that they could make so ungrateful and unkind a return for his hospitality, and the respect and attention which it had been his pride and pleasure to show them. For their own parts, they could not forbear acknowledging the truth and justice of the observations of the Teah chieftain, and blaming themselves for the step they had taken. They said further, that whatever might be the consequence, they had not the slightest objection to restore the canoes to their rightful owner; and provided the men from Teah could obtain the consent of Ducoo, the priest, to take them away, they were at liberty to do so whenever they might think proper. But this, they were by no means disposed to do, for they both feared and hated Ducoo, and, therefore, they bribed the Nouffie messenger with a large sum of money to assist them in their project, and purposed taking away both canoes in the night time by stealth. These intentions were, however, frustrated by the watchful vigilence of Ducoo, who had mistrusted them long before they were made known to the Landers, and when he had actually detected their plans, he ordered the canoes to be pulled up on shore, two hundred yards at least from the water's edge, and observed with vehemence, "That after what he had done, should they again be launched into the water and taken away, he would instantly tie a rope round the necks of the chief of the town, and the Nouffie messenger that had accepted the bribe, and in that humiliating state, they should be driven like beasts to their sovereign, the magia."

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On Friday the 3rd October, they were desired to get their things packed up, for that they would be allowed to proceed on their journey on the following morning. In pursuance of that arrangement, they had got all their luggage in readiness, and only waited the coming of the chief to take their departure, when to their great regret, one of his messengers entered their hut to apprise them, that they would be unable to depart until to-morrow, his master having been dissuaded from his original purpose by the officious, bustling priest, their friend and enemy. They submitted to their disappointment as patiently and silently as they could, and in the evening they obtained a solemn promise, that whatever might be the consequence, no one should divert him from the resolution he had formed of detaining them longer than that day, and that early on the following morning they should certainly depart.

Their surprise and displeasure may, however, be guessed, when after their goods had been removed from the hut into the yard, they were informed, that they would be compelled to remain in the town yet another day, notwithstanding all that the chief had told them on the day preceding. Their patience was now completely exhausted, and they were in great anger, for it was disheartening to be always deceived and trifled with by such scoundrels. Repairing, therefore, to a hut, in which they knew the chief passed the greater part of his time, they discovered him sitting on the ground in company with the artful Ducoo and the Nouffie messenger, and engaged in a very high dispute with both of them. Their unexpected and abrupt intrusion, in a moment cut short their wrangling, and they spoke with much emphasis of the shameful manner in which they had been treated, and expressed their determination of leaving Lever in a few hours, in defiance of them and all their power. With the most insolent effrontery in the world, Ducoo smiled at them, and replied, that they were entirely in his power—that they should do as *he* liked, and quit the town whenever he thought proper.

Such language as this they thought rather too bold, and they pretended to be in a violent passion, and quickly undeceived him on that point, threatening that if either he or any of his men, should presume to interfere with them in their intentions or proceedings,

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or attempt to hinder them from getting away from the town, they would feel no more hesitation nor reluctance in shooting him, than if he had been a partridge or a guinea hen. The priest, who had never before seen any thing in them but mildness, was intimidated at the determined and resolute behaviour they had found it necessary to adopt; in a moment he was crest-fallen, and from being one of the most boisterous and consequential fellows in the world, became quite passive: yet his presence of mind did not forsake him, he stammered out a kind of apology, attempted to soothe them by soft language and submission, in which he found little difficulty, and did all in his power to effect a reconciliation. Having settled this business, the Landers went out, and assembling their men, attempted to draw their canoe to the river side, but the ground was even, and the boat so long and heavy, that notwithstanding all their exertions, they could move her only a few inches towards the river. The people were ashamed of themselves to see them labouring so hard, and to so little purpose, and Ducoo likewise, observing them, was convinced that they were in earnest, therefore, whispering a few words in the ear of the chief, they both came down to the spot, where they were toiling at the canoe, followed by a number of men; these, with the priest at their head, took the work out of their hands, and in less than two minutes the boat was floating on the water. Their luggage was then conveyed into the two canoes, and shortly afterwards they were supplied with three men to paddle them, with the assistance of their own. Here they took their farewell of the chief and the priest, the latter begging them very anxiously to speak well of him to his sovereign at Rabba.

It was not till after they were all in the canoes, and ready to push off, that those on shore discovered them to be overladen, and recommended them to hire one of immense size, which was lying alongside. Without stopping to make them any reply, or listen to any further nonsense, they desired their own men to push the boats out into the middle of the current, which was done very promptly, and the town of Lever, with its chief and inhabitants, was speedily out of sight and soon forgotten.

About one o'clock they landed at a considerable large and

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spacious town, called Bajiebo, inhabited by Nouffie people, although it is situated on the Yarriba, or western side of the river. For dirt, bustle, and nastiness of all kinds, this place exceeded any thing they had ever seen before. For two hours after their arrival they were obliged to wait in a close diminutive hut, till a more convenient and becoming habitation could be procured for their reception, and the pleasure of the chief with regard to them should be known. They were much incommoded by visiters, who scarcely allowed them to move or breathe, which, joined to the heat of the weather and the insufferable stench, rendered their situation truly comfortless and distressing.

They were at length removed from this horrible hole, and conducted to a hut in the heart of the town, in which wood fires had been burning the whole of the day, so that the wall was almost as warm as the sides of a heated oven, insomuch that it could scarcely be endured. Yet, to render it more unpleasant still, a large closely woven mat was placed before the door way, in order to prevent a thousand eyes from staring in upon them, and which excluded every breath of air. Their feelings during the whole of the night, were more distressing than could be conceived; they were almost suffocated with the closeness and intense heat of the room, and dreamt that they were being baked alive in an oven.

Bajiebo is a flourishing and important trading town, although not walled, and one of the largest and most populous that they had yet seen. The huts are erected so close to each other, and with so little regard to comfort, and a free circulation of air, that there is scarcely a foot path in the town wide enough for more than one man to walk on at a time, and not having the advantage of shady trees, the heat of the town was excessive and distressing.

The power of the Fellatas was here evidently very great. One of their number was styled chief, and had more authority and influence than the native ruler. They were obliged to make a present to each of these individuals, and other high and mighty personages were likewise desirous of obtaining a similar favour at their hands, but they made light of their conversation, and would not understand their enigmas.

Before sunrise on the 5th October, their luggage was removed

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to the beach, and between six and seven o'clock they were once more upon the water. In the course of an hour after leaving Bajiebo, they passed by two towns of considerable extent, and in about an hour afterwards they arrived at an extensive town called Lechee, inhabited by Nonfanchie, and said to be a place of considerable rank and consequence. Here they landed by express desire, and finding an empty grass hut near the spot, they entered and took possession of it, till such time as the chief should be made acquainted with their arrival. Here also their canoemen left them and returned to Bajiebo, where they had hired them.

They were not suffered to wait long, but in a few minutes received an invitation from the chief to come and see him; and having walked through a good part of the town, they at length approached his residence, and were introduced without ceremony or hindrance, into a large and lofty hut, where they discovered the chief sitting on a platform of mud, in great state, with about forty natives and Fellatas in earnest conversation on each side of him. He received them with great civility, and many demonstrations of gladness, and desired them to draw near his person, that he might have a better opportunity of looking at and talking to them. He appeared, however, unwilling for them to quit Lechee till the following day, and pressed them strongly to remain with him for the day, which, however, not all his solicitations nor importunities could induce them to accede to. After some trifling conversation, and a long and pithy harangue from a Fellata, they took their leave of him and his people, and instantly made their way back to the water side, where they waited in the grass hut for the appearance of the canoemen, with whom the chief had promised to supply them. After a considerable delay, a man for each canoe could only be procured, so that two of their own people were obliged to supply the place of others, as well as they could. Having got into their canoes, they pushed off from the shore, and proceeded at a good rate down the stream, along the side of a considerable island, which was within gunshot of the town, and after passing a large open village of respectable appearance, which was on the western bank, they put in at a small town, a few miles below, also on the Yarriba side of the river, where they were constrained to go in quest of

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other canoemen, because those from Lechee, though they had been with them only forty minutes, and had certainly not laboured very hard, had refused to proceed with them any further, nor could all their enticements induce them to forego the resolution which they had taken. The Landers were detained in their canoes for an hour and a half, exposed to a scorching sun, in order to obtain fresh canoemen. They at last proceeded on their journey, and in the evening arrived at a fishing town on a small island, which was called Madjie, and belonged to the Noufanchie. Here they were received with cheerfulness by the chief, who accommodated them with a roomy hut, sent them a quantity of dressed provisions, and otherwise treated them in the most hospitable manner.

At nine in the following morning, they landed near a small town to procure a fresh supply of canoemen, and having obtained them, they journeyed along the eastern side of the river, and in a few hours afterwards, they perceived the smoke of the far-famed Rabba ascending many miles before them. They stopped for a short time at a low, flat, swampy island called Belee, and visited a mean, dirty-looking town, where they were in a short time introduced to the chief, who, according to the report of their messenger, was a great, rich, and important personage. He informed them, that Mohammed, the magia's son, who had left them at Patashie, had returned from his father, in pursuance of his agreement, but instead of remaining at Rabba, as they had expected, he had come over to Belee, and had been waiting three days on the island in expectation of their arrival. The governor further informed them, that they would be obliged to remain at Belee, till the return of Mohammed to the island, for he had news of importance to communicate to them. "To-morrow," he said, "you will leave hence, and proceed to another island, which is further down the river, wherein it is arranged that you shall abide till your affairs be finally adjusted." There was some mystery about this information, which was unexpected by the Landers, and not very gratifying to them.

It was the evening before Mohammed returned to Belee, and he presented himself before them in a dripping state, with an excuse, that he had been upset in a canoe two or three times. After the first salutation was over, he informed them of his visit to his father,

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and its result. The magia had desired him to assure them of his best wishes in their welfare, and his determination to protect, support, and encourage them, as far as he was able. Mohammed then drew their attention to a young man, who had entered the hut with him, but whom they had not before observed, and introduced him as a messenger sent to them by the Fellata prince of Rabba. This man said, that his master, named Mallam Dendo, had commissioned him to acquaint them, that he heartily concurred with the king of Nouffie in the favourable opinions and sentiments which the latter entertained for them. With respect to their visiting Rabba, which he understood they were very much disinclined to do, he should not urge them, and rather imagined that they would be more comfortable and enjoy greater tranquillity, on an island on the opposite side of the river, where he would recommend them to stop. The Fellata messenger concluded by observing, that they would be visited on the morrow by *the king f the dark water*, who would escort them to the island in question, of which he was the governor.

As early as five o'clock on the following morning, their canoes were loaded, and having breakfasted on a slice of yam, they were fully prepared to quit the island. But as it was not deemed either politic or proper to go away till the arrival of the great *king of the dark water*, who was hourly expected, and who might be inclined to construe their departure into contempt, they consented to await his coming. Rather, however, than remain in a close black hut, full of men, whose garments were generally covered with vermin, and rarely if ever cleaned, and who made it a common practice to sit on the mat where the two Landers slept, rather than undergo such a nuisance, they stepped into their canoes, and having pushed off from the land, they waited the arrival of the king of the dark water under the branches of a large tree, at a little distance from the town.

Between nine and ten, they heard a number of men singing, and keeping time to the motion of many paddles, and in a very few minutes, a canoe, which was paddled by a few men only, came in sight, and they knew by this that the water king was approaching. It was instantly followed by another, and much larger one,

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propelled by above twenty very fine young men, whose voices they had been listening to just before, and who were still continuing their song. The king of the dark water was with them. As the canoe drew nearer, they were not only surprised at its extraordinary length and uncommon neatness, but likewise at the unusual display of pomp and show which were observable in her. In the centre a mat awning was erected, which was variously decorated, and on the front of it hung a large piece of scarlet cloth, ornamented with bits of gold lace stitched on different parts of it. In the bow of the canoe were three or four little boys of equal size, who were clad with neatness and propriety; and in the stern sat a number of comely looking musicians, consisting of several drummers and a trumpeter, whilst the young men, who had the management of the boat, were not inferior to their companions either in decency of apparel or respectability of appearance.

As soon as their canoe arrived at the landing place, the water king came out from beneath the awning, and followed by the musicians and a suite of attendants, walked to the hut, in which all public matters were transacted, and whither in a few minutes the Landers were desired to repair. The chief of the island, with his elders and the more respectable of the people were seated, on their entrance, on each side of their important visiter, and the two Landers, as a mark of distinction, were invited to place themselves in front of him. When the usual compliments had passed on both sides, he informed them, with much solemnity, of his rank and title, he then alluded to the cause of his coming, which he said, was to do them honour, and repeated what had been previously told them by the king's son. This being done, he presented them with a pot of excellent honey, and two thousand cowries in money, with a large quantity of goora nuts, and which are held in such high esteem that the opulent and powerful alone have the means of procuring them. Having nothing further to say or do, they shook hands with his sable majesty, whose name was Suliken Rouah, expressed their acknowledgement for his handsome present, and returned to their boats.

It was exactly mid-day when Suliken Rouah re-embarked in his princely canoe, and quitted the island of Belee. Determined for

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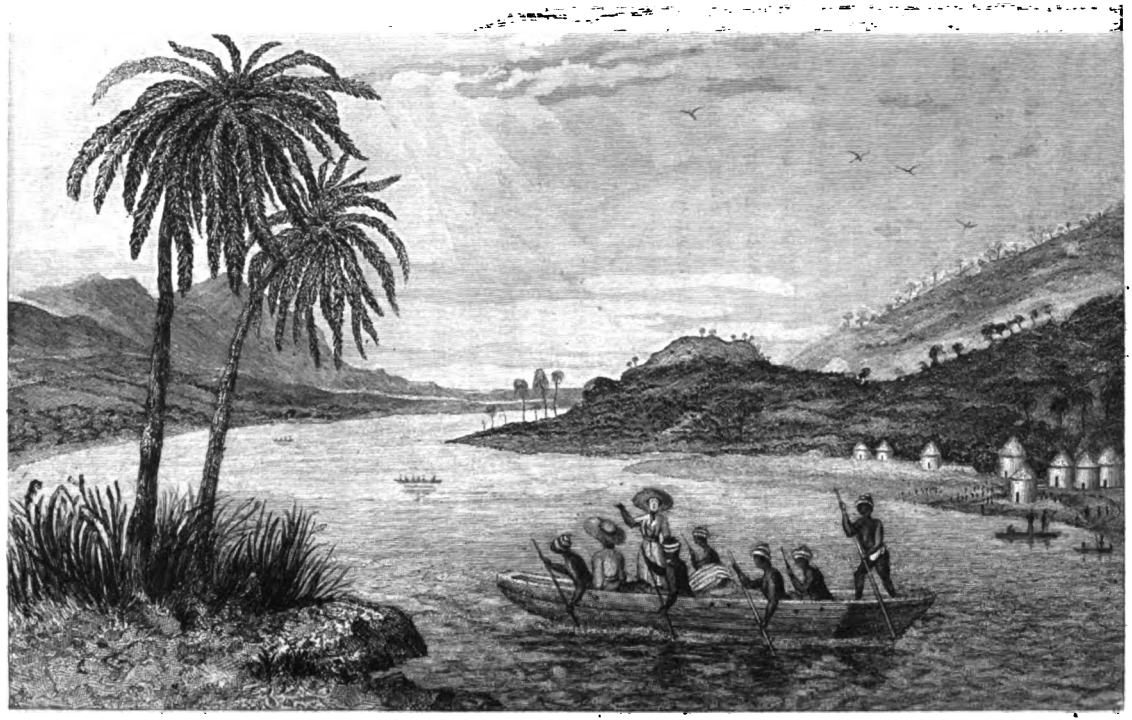

F. Mansell.

RICHARD & JOHN LANDER PROCEEDING DOWN THE NIGER

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once to make an attempt at a more respectable appearance, for heretofore it had been extremely mean and homely, they hastily constructed an awning of their sheets. It was the first time they had made use of such a thing, though they were without umbrellas, and till then had nothing but slight straw hats to protect their heads from the sun. Above the awning, they elevated a slender staff, on the top of which they fastened the national colours, the union flag, which was kindly given them by a gentleman on the coast, who was commandant of Anamaboo. When unfurled and waving in the wind, it looked extremely pretty, and it made their hearts glow with pride and enthusiasm as they looked on this solitary little banner. They thought it would also be of service to them, if they made as gay an appearance as the king and his followers, and accordingly Richard Lander put on an old naval uniform coat, which he had with him for state occasions, and John Lander dressed himself in as grotesque and gaudy a manner as their resources would afford. Their eight attendants also put on new white mahommedan tobes, so that their canoe, with its white awning, surmounted by the union flag, their canoemen in new dresses, and themselves appearing as officers, contributed not a little to the effect of the whole scene. The august king of the dark water, with his retinue in twenty canoes, condescendingly gave them the precedence, and theirs was the first that moved off from land, and led the way down the river towards Rabba.

For a little while, they continued to take the lead, but the chief soon went before them for two reasons, first, that he might have an opportunity of looking at them, and secondly, that they might have a fairer chance of seeing him in all his state, for which purpose, he had placed himself outside his awning, on an elevated and conspicuous seat. However, he only wished to get a few yards before them, for his canoemen soon lifted their paddles out of the water, and the boat fell back to its former situation. The musicians in the large canoe performed merrily on their instruments, and about twenty persons now sung at intervals in recitative, keeping excellent time with their paddles.

A brisk wind sprung up the river full in their faces, relieving

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them from the extreme heat of the weather, which was remarkably fine; the scene before them was very animating, and the whole of them were in high glee and spirits. Other canoes joined them, and never did the British flag lead so extraordinary a squadron. The king of the dark water might have been mistaken for a river god, and his wives, now and then showing their pretty black faces from under the awning, cast many an arch look at them with their sparkling, jetty eyes.

It was not long before their reverie was interrupted by a great noise from the adjacent land, and on turning, they perceived the banks of an island, called Zagozhi, which was lined with numbers of people, admiring their flag, and watching them very earnestly, by which they guessed that this was the place of their destination. The island was so uncommonly low that the houses and trees appeared as if they were standing in the water, as indeed many of them actually were. Theirs being the first canoe, before they landed on the island, they waited for the king to precede them, and the moment he set his foot on shore, they fired a salute of four muskets and three pistols. The king of the dark water was rather alarmed at this, and demanded whether they were going to make war on him, but he was soon relieved from his fear, by being told that it was an honour that they had been in the habit of paying to all the princes, whom they had met in their travels; which he no sooner understood, than he expressed himself much gratified by their attention.

The king himself went in quest of a dwelling house, and conducted them to one of the best which the island afforded; it was, however, miserably bad, for as the town was built on a marsh, every hut in it had the disadvantage, during the whole of the rainy season, of soft damp floors, and uncomfortable roofs. Their own hut had positively pools of water springing up out of the ground. The walls of the hut were built of mud from the river, strengthened and supported by wooden pillars, and ribs of the same materials, however, these do not prevent them from cracking in a hundred different places, and large chinks, admitting wind and rain, may be observed in the walls of every hut. They have all a very

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dirty and wretched appearance, although their inmates, generally speaking, were understood to be clean, opulent, and respectable. Having conducted them to the hut, the chief of the island shook hands with them very heartily, and assured them they should want for nothing. He soon provided them with doors of bamboo for their hut, and a number of mats to spread on the floor, which made it tolerably comfortable. In the evening, four large calabashes of stewed rice with fowls, and no less than ten gallons of *petto* or country beer were sent them.

About seven in the evening, messengers arrived from Rabba, to inform them that they should come early in the morning for the presents intended for their chief. They said that the king would not put them to the trouble of going to see him, as the town was full of Arabs, whose begging propensities would be very inconvenient to them. The Landers were much pleased with this intelligence, knowing very well the character of the Arabs, and they sent back word, that they would be still more obliged to him, if he would dispense with their going to the sansan, or camp, at a short distance from the town, to visit the king of Nouffie.

Rabba stands in an opposite direction to Zagozhi, and appears at the distance of about two miles, to be an immensely large, populous, and flourishing town. It is built on the slope of a gentle hill, and on a spot almost entirely bare of trees; the Niger here flowed in a direction to the south of east.

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

According to their announcement on the preceding day, the messengers from the chiefs arrived, bringing with them two fine sheep and a great quantity of rice, and it appeared that they would be required to give presents to nine people, before they should be able to get away from the place.

Having prepared the presents, the messengers were collected, and Richard Lander laid before each of them those that were intended for their masters, and in order to make them some reward, and secure their good will, he gave something to each of them, and dismissed them.

On the following morning they were visited by two young men, Arabs, from Rabba, one of whom was very eager to claim acquaintance with Richard Lander, and to bring to his memory certain scenes which had taken place on his former journey to Houssa. Having in some degree recovered from his surprise at his salutation, on looking at him more attentively, he recognized in him the very same individual, that had been employed by Captain Clapperton, whom he had abused and cheated, and who was subsequently engaged by Lander himself as a guide from Kano. He was the same person also, who decamped with Captain Pearce's sword, and a large sum of money in kowries. The fellow, however, on being taxed with his dishonesty, made very light of his offence, and with the utmost effrontery begged every thing that he saw, so that the Landers lost their temper with the scoundrel, and turned him out

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of the hut in disgust. He, however, could not believe that they were in earnest with him, "Oh, it must be all sport," said he, but at last they threatened to shoot him, if he did not go about his business, and being apprehensive that they would put their threats into execution, he ran off as fast as he could.

The market at Rabba is very celebrated, and considered by traders as one of the largest and best in the whole country, of which it may be styled the emporium. On one market day, between one and two hundred men, women, and children were exposed for sale in ranks and lines, like the oxen at Smithfield. These poor creatures had for the most part been captured in war. The price of a strong healthy lad was about forty thousand kowries, (£8 sterling,) a girl fetches about fifty thousand, and perhaps more, if she be at all interesting. The value of men and women varies according to their age, and abilities.

The situation of the travellers now assumed a critical aspect, for early one morning, Mallam Dendo, the old king of Rabba sent for Pascoe in a great hurry, with a message that he was waiting impatiently his arrival at Rabba, having something of the utmost consequence to communicate. As may be easily conjectured, the Landers were rather surprised at this unexpected summons, and waited Pascoe's return with much anxiety, for they had no doubt whatever, that themselves were principally concerned in it. When, however, he *did* come back, and entered the hut, he looked very wistfully, and informed them with considerable agitation both of voice and manner, that Mallam Dendo had expressed to him the greatest dissatisfaction at the things which he had received from them as presents, declaring them to be perfectly worthless, and with the exception of the looking-glass, "fit only for a child," that he well knew they could have sent him something more useful and of greater value, if they had thought proper; but that if they persisted in their refusal to do so, he should demand of them their guns, pistols, and powder, before he would consent or permit them to leave Zagozhi.

This news made them very uneasy and unhappy, and they sat down in gloom and thoughtfulness without uttering a word, for they believed this to be a death-blow to all their hopes. To part

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with the only defensive weapons in their possession, they felt determined not to do, for they knew if they were to be deprived of them, they should be entirely in the power of a set of fellows remarkable neither for generosity nor nobleness of principle, without the means of helping themselves, and they resolved never to part with their guns, unless compelled to do so by the most urgent necessity. Having reflected deliberately on their situation, they felt convinced that something on their part must be done by way of conciliation, if they had any intention of quitting the country, and of prosecuting their enterprise. On a sudden, they thought of Mr. Park's tobe, which was given to them by the king of Boossa, and they hoped that in consequence of the splendour of its appearance, and its intrinsic value, it might prove an acceptable present to the covetous prince, and be the means of effecting a perfect reconciliation between them. They therefore immediately despatched Ibrahim with it to Rabba, although their hearts misgave them at the time, that it would, after all, be thought lightly of, as an excuse for further extortions.

In this, however, they were agreeably disappointed, for in less than two hours after his departure, Ibrahim returned from his errand with a quick step and cheerful looks, and informed them that the tobe was accepted by the prince with rapturous admiration. By this present they had made him their friend for ever. "Ask the white men," said he, "what they would desire, and if Rabba can supply them with it, tell them they shall always have it. Well," he continued, "I must purchase this tobe, I will not accept it as a gift; that would be against my principles, and besides, it would be wrong for me to be guilty of such injustice. Now I shall be something like a king," he added, turning the tobe inside and out; "let no man know of it, my neighbours will behold me with envy, and as for my own people, I will surprise them some morning by putting it on when they are going to war: it will dazzle their eyes. How great will be their astonishment?" In this manner the king of the Fellatas talked to Ibrahim.

On the following day, Pascoe was sent to Rabba, well tutored by his masters, and in consequence of the offer made by the king to make them any compensation for the handsome tobe, Pascoe in-

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formed him, that the first wish of the white men was to obtain a large canoe, and to pursue their journey on the Niger as fast as possible. He promised to settle the business of the canoe, and sent some presents to the Landers, which at the time were very acceptable.

They had, however, scarcely got over the dilemma with the king of Rabba, than a messenger arrived to that monarch from the king of Nouffie, who had despatched him privately to Mallam Dendo, with an intimation to him, that if it met with his approbation, he (the magia) would order the white men to be detained at Zagozhi, until they would consent to make him a present of a certain number of dollars, or something equivalent to them in value; that he disbelieved the story of their poverty altogether, and would therefore search their luggage, in order to discover whether their assertion were true or false, that they had no greater presents to make.

So much dissimulation, meanness, and rapacity, which this trait in his character exhibited, they had little reason to expect from the king of Nouffie, after expressing for them so warmly and repeatedly as he had done, protestations of the most cordial, candid, and lasting friendship. They could not forbear feeling very indignant at this foul breach of the laws of hospitality and good faith, which previously to this act, they had experienced in every part of the country. Perhaps it was well that they had presented the prince of Rabba with Mr. Park's tobe, for he treated the message and its bearer with contempt, and answered energetically, "Tell the magia, your sovereign, that I would rebuke him for this expression of his sentiments, and that I detest his base insinuations; that I will never consent to his wishes, and that I reject his proposal with disdain. What! shall the white men, who have come from such distant lands to visit our country, who have spent their substance amongst us, and made us presents before we had leisure to do any good for them, shall they be treated so inhumanly? never! They have worn their shoes from their feet, and their clothes from their persons, by the length and tediousness of their journeys; they have thrown themselves into our hands, to claim our protection and partake of our hospitality; shall we treat them as robbers, and cast them from us like dogs? Surely not. What would our neighbours,

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what would our friends—our foes say to this? What could be a greater reproach than the infamy, which would attach itself to our characters, and to our name, should we treat these poor, unprotected, wandering strangers, and white men too, in the manner your monarch, the king of Nouffie proposes? After they have been received and entertained with so much hospitality and honour in Yarriba, at Wowow, and at Boossa, shall it be said that Bobba treated them badly? that she shut her doors upon them and plundered them? No, never! I have already given my word to protect them, and I will not forfeit that sacred pledge for all the guns and swords in the world." Such was the answer of a man whom we call a savage—it was worthy of a prince and a Christian.

It was now high time that their journey should be completed, for their goods were very nearly exhausted, and so far from being in a condition to make further presents, their means were scarcely adequate to procure the bare necessaries of life. Their stock of cloth, looking-glasses, snuff-boxes, knives, scissors, razors, and tobacco pipes, had been already given away, and they had only needles and a few silver bracelets left, to present to the chiefs whom they might reasonably expect to fall in with on their voyage down the Niger.

The population of Zagozhi cannot well be estimated on account of its lowness, and the prevailing flatness of the country round, on which neither a hillock nor eminence of any kind can be discerned. However, it must be immense, and the Landers considered it to be one of the most extensive and thickly inhabited towns, as well as one of the most important trading places in the whole kingdom of Nouffie, not excepting even Coulfoo.

Having at length received permission to quit Zagozhi on the following day, to pursue their journey down the Niger, they made the necessary preparations for their departure. They were in hope of obtaining a canoe capable of holding the whole of their party, as it would be a much more satisfactory arrangement for them, and more convenient than two small ones. The chief of the island promised to send a messenger with them as far as Egga, which was the last town down the river belonging to the Nouffie territory.

The chief was, however, unwilling to part with a canoe under

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any consideration, yet as a token of his friendship and regard, he offered to spare them one for twenty thousand kowries, in addition to their own canoe, which they had brought from Patashie. A messenger from the prince of Rabba arrived just after this proposal had been made to them, with full powers to treat with the "King of the dark water" for the canoe. In a short time, he returned from his errand, with the pleasing intelligence of his having succeeded in obtaining the long-talked-of canoe, and which was to be in readiness to receive them on board at an early hour on the following morning.

On Friday, October 16th, they rose at an early hour, to pack up their clothes, and to get their luggage ready for embarkation. But when this was all done, they met with a sudden and unforeseen embarrassment, for the sable king of the dark water laughed at the idea of giving them a canoe on the faith of receiving payment from the prince of the Fellatas, and at first, he even refused to deliver up their own canoe, which they had brought from Patashie, and which they had kept with so much anxiety and trouble. At length, however, he consented to restore to them all their property, and the whole of the articles were accordingly moved into the canoes.

When all this was done, and they were quite ready to start, the old chief came down to the water side to bid them farewell, according to his avowed purpose, but in reality to offer them a commodious canoe in exchange for their own, if they would consent to give him ten thousand kowries in addition to them. They had fortunately realized a sufficient number of kowries from the sale of needles at Rabba, and while Richard Lander was shifting the things from their own canoe into another, John Lander walked back with the old chief to his residence, where he found all the people of the house gathered round the trunk of a large tree, which was burning in the hut. Here he paid the chief ten thousand kowries for the canoe, which having done, he rejoined his brother at the water side.

The canoes made here are of a particular description, very much resembling what are called punts in England, but are perfectly straight and flat bottomed. They are generally formed out of one log of wood, and are of an immense size; that which the Landers

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purchased, was about fifteen feet in length and four in breadth, but they are sometimes made nearly as large again. To this offer the Landers most willingly acceded, and as soon as all the goods were transferred into the purchased canoe, they found, after all, that it was not nearly large enough for their purpose, independently of it being extremely leaky, and patched up in a thousand places; they had been prevented from perceiving the canoe's defect before, by the excitement of preparation, and the hurry of departure They now saw that they had been cheated by the artful king of the dark water, but rather than enter into an interminable dispute on the subject, which might involve them in further difficulties, they held their peace and put up with the imposition without a murmur; after getting all their luggage into her, they waited for the arrival of a messenger, who was to have accompanied them a little way on their journey, but as he did not come, they resolved to depart without him, so bidding farewell to the king of the dark water, and hundreds of spectators who were gazing at them, they fired two muskets, and launching out into the river, they were soon out of sight of Zagoshi

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

They paddled along the banks at a distance of not less than thirty miles, every inch of which they had attentively examined, but not a bit of dry land could anywhere be discovered, which was firm enough to bear their weight. Therefore, they resigned themselves to circumstances, and all of them having been refreshed with a little cold rice and honey, and water from the stream, they permitted the canoe to drive down with the current, for their men were too much fatigued with the labours of the day to work any longer. But here a fresh evil arose, which they were unprepared to meet. An incredible number of hippopotami arose very near them, and came plashing and snorting and plunging all round the canoe, and placed them in imminent danger. Thinking to frighten them off, they fired a shot or two at them, but the noise only called up from the water, and out of the fens, about as many more of their unwieldy companions, and they were more closely beset than before. Their people, who had never in all their lives been exposed in a canoe to such huge and formidable beasts, trembled with fear and apprehension, and absolutely wept aloud; their terror was not a little increased by the dreadful peals of thunder, which rattled over their heads, and by the awful darkness which prevailed, broken at intervals by flashes of lightning, whose powerful glare was truly awful.

However, the hippopotami did them no kind of mischief whatever; no doubt at first when they interrupted them, they were only

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sporting and wallowing in the river for their own amusement, but had they upset the canoe, the travellers would have paid dearly for it.

Having travelled, according to their own computation, a distance little short of a hundred miles, they stopped at a small insignificant fishing village called *Dacannie*, where they were very glad to land. The Niger here presented a very magnificent appearance; and was reckoned to be nearly eight miles in breadth.

Whilst they were at breakfast, under the shelter of a tree, the promised messenger from Zagozhi arrived, and introduced himself to them. He said that he had followed their track during the night, and had heard the report of their guns, but though he strove to come up with them, yet he had not been able.

It was between nine and ten in the morning, that the guide desired them to proceed onwards, promising to follow them in a few minutes. With this arrangement they cheerfully complied, and instantly pushed off the shore, for of all persons, a messenger is the most unpleasant companion; he is fond of procrastination, sullen when rebuked, and stops at every paltry village wherein he fancies that he can levy his contributions without the fear of interruption.

The messenger, whom they had left at Dacannie, soon overtook them, and kept company with them till they drew near to two cities of prodigious extent, one on each side of the river, and directly opposite each other. To that lying on the right, the guide expressed his intention of going, and endeavoured to entice the Landers with many promises to accompany him there, but they refused, for they had formed a resolution to husband their resources to the utmost of their ability, and consequently to land at little hamlets only, where they might do just as they pleased, without being amenable for their actions to those powerful beings, who are styled "the mighty" of the earth.

They now took leave of the Zagozhi messenger, who promised to follow them as before, and in an hour afterwards they put into a small village, situated on an island called Gungo, the natives of which appeared to be a mild, inoffensive, quiet, and good-natured people. About sunset, the inhabitants of the whole island, amount-

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ing to about a hundred men, women, and children, dressed in very decent apparel, and headed by their chief, a venerable old man, paid them a visit. The chief was dressed in the mahommedan costume, and he arranged his people, and made them sit down round the hut which the Landers occupied, in the most orderly manner. The men evinced no alarm, but the women and pretty little plump-faced children were much frightened at their white faces, and seemed not a little glad to get away. Before they retired, they distributed about two hundred needles among them, and they went away highly pleased with their present.

At Kagoshi, they had been strongly recommended to put into a large and important trading town called *Egga*, which was reported to be three days journey down the river from thence; and they had been promised a guide or messenger to accompany them thither, but they had neither heard nor seen any thing of him since the preceding day. From motives of prudence, however, they thought proper to make inquiries concerning the Egga, of which they had been told, lest by any means, they should pass it without seeing it.

About midday they touched at a large village to inquire whereabouts Egga lay, and they were informed that they had not a long way to go. They journeyed onwards for about an hour, when they perceived a large, handsome town, behind a deep morass. It was the long-sought-for Egga, and they instantly proceeded up a creek to the landing place. The town was upwards of two miles in length; they halted a few minutes before landing, no one having conveyed intelligence of their arrival to the chief. A young Fellata was the first who invited them on shore, and they dispatched Pascoe to the chief to tell him who they were, and what they wanted. He quickly returned, saying that the old chief was ready to receive them, and they immediately proceeded to his residence.

In a few minutes, they arrived at the Zollahe or entrance hut, in which they found the old man ready to receive them. They discovered him squatting on a cow's hide, spread on the ground, smoking from a pipe of about three yards long, and surrounded by a number of Fellatas, and several old mallams. They were welcomed in the most friendly and cordial manner, and as a mark of

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peculiar distinction, they were invited to seat themselves near the person of the chief. He looked at them with surprise from head to foot, and told them that they were strange-looking people, and well worth seeing. Having satisfied his curiosity, he sent for all his old wives, that they might do the same; but as they did not altogether relish so much quizzing, they requested to be shown to a hut. A house, "fit for a king," to use his own expression, was speedily got ready for their reception, and as soon as he had learnt with surprise, that they subsisted on the same kind of food as himself, they were led to their dwelling, and before evening received a bowl of tuah and gravy from his wives. They were soon pestered with the visits of the mallams and the chief's wives, the latter of whom brought them presents of goora nuts as a sort of introduction to see them. As soon as the news of their arrival spread through the town, the people flocked by hundreds to their hut, for the purpose of satisfying their curiosity with a sight of the white people. The mallams and the king's wives had given them trouble enough, but the whole population of Egga was too much for them, so that they were literally obliged to blockade the doorways, and station three of their people at each to keep them away,

The Landers were extremely anxious to expedite their departure from Egga, for although the old chief was extremely kind and hospitable, yet the annoyance from the natives was more than could be borne; for they never could have a moment of rest, their windows and doorways being blocked up by visiters, so that they were literally prevented from inhaling the fresh air, but were like prisoners in a cage to be examined and quizzed by every one, who thought they could pass their jokes with impunity.

Having expressed their intention of continuing their journey, the elders of the town remonstrated with them, that it would be highly dangerous to go by themselves, and endeavoured to persuade them to alter the arrangement for their own sakes. They promised to procure them a convoy of traders, if they would consent to wait three days longer, which was to leave Egga at the end of that time to attend a famous market called Bocquâ. When they sent word to the chief that they intended departing on the following day, he begged of them to remain a few days longer, declaring the banks

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of the river to be inhabited by people, who were little better than savages, and plundered every one that came near them. He was then asked, if he would send a messenger with them, but he refused, saying, that the Fellata power and his own extended no further down the river; that Egga was the last town of Nouffie, and that none of his people traded below it. "If that be the case," said Richard Lander, "it will be as safe for us to go to-morrow as any other day," and with this determination he left him.

He then proceeded to give directions for his people to prepare themselves for starting, when to the great astonishment of himself and his brother, Pascoe and the mulatto Ibrahim were the only two who agreed to go, the rest of them refusing to a man. Richard said all he could to them to change their determination; he talked to them half an hour, telling them they were cowards, and that his life and that of his brother were as good as theirs, but he could not make the slightest impression upon them, and therefore told them to go out of his sight, and that they would do without them. Partly, however, by threats, and partly by bribes, the men agreed to accompany them, although the impression could not be effaced from their minds, that they were going where they should be murdered, or at least sold as slaves.

At length every thing being in readiness, they bade farewell to the old chief, and several of the principal inhabitants came hurrying down to the waterside to take their leave, to give them their blessing, and to wish them a successful voyage. The men at first paddled sluggishly, and the canoe went slowly through the water, for which reason they were two hours before they reached the middle of the river. A few miles from the town, they saw with emotions of pleasure a seagull, which flew over their heads, which to them was a most gratifying sight, for it reminded them forcibly of the object which they had in view, and they fondly allowed it to confirm their hopes, that they were drawing very near their journey's end.

For many miles they could see nothing but large, open, well-built villages on both banks of the river, but more especially on the eastern, yet they touched at none of these goodly places, but continued their journey till the sun began to decline, when they stopped

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at a small hamlet on an island, with the intention of sleeping there, but the inhabitants mistrusted their intentions, and were alarmed at their appearance; they would not even grant them an accommodation for the night, although they assured them, that the most homely, the most shattered hut would answer their purpose; fearing, however, that they might enforce their request, they did all they could to induce them to proceed onwards a little further, when they would arrive at a city of considerable importance called Kacunda, where plenty of provisions could be obtained, and where the inhabitants would pay the greatest attention to them.

Kacunda is situated on the western bank of the river, and at a little distance, it has an advantageous and uncommonly fine appearance. The only access to the town was by winding channels, that interspersed an unwholesome swamp, nearly two miles in breadth. It was evening when they arrived there, and the people at first were alarmed at their appearance, but they were soon welcomed on shore by an old mahommedan priest, who speedily introduced them into an excellent and commodious hut, once the residence of a prince, but then the domicile of a schoolmaster.

Kacunda, properly speaking, consists of three or four villages, all of them considerably large, but unconnected, though situated within a very short distance of each other. It is the capital of a state or kingdom of the same name, which is quite independent of Nonffie, or any other foreign power. The only dress that the natives wear, is a piece of cotton cloth round the loins. The women wear small ear-rings of silver, but use no paint, nor do they bedaub their persons with any sort of pigment.

On the morning subsequently to their arrival, a large double bank canoe arrived at Kacunda, and they shortly found that the king's brother had come in her to pay them a visit. He was saluted on landing with a discharge from five old rusty muskets. A messenger was immediately despatched to the Landers, announcing that he was ready to see them. Their meeting was very cordial, and they shook hands heartily with him, and explained to him their business. He brought a goat as a present, and in return Richard Lander presented him with a pair of silver bracelets, but he did not appear to be much interested about them, or indeed to care at

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all for them, but looking round their room, he perceived several little things to which he took a fancy, and which being of no value whatever to them, were readily presented to him.

They had now become great friends, and he commenced giving them a dreadful account of the natives down the river, and advised them by no means to go amongst them, but return by the way they had come. He said to them with much emphasis, "If you go down the river, you will surely fall into their hands and be murdered." "Go we must," said Richard Lander, "if we live or die by it, and that also on the morrow." He was then asked if he would send a messenger with them, for that he might ensure their safety, coming from so powerful a person as the chief of Kacunda. But he replied directly, "No, if I were to do such a thing, the people at the next town would assuredly cut off his head;" but, he added, "if you will not be persuaded by me to turn back, and save your lives, at least you must not leave this by day light, but stop until the sun goes down, and then you may go on your journey, you will then pass the most dangerous town in the middle of the night, and perhaps save yourselves." He was asked, if the people of whom he spoke had muskets, or large canoes. To which he replied, "Yes, in great numbers, they are very large and powerful, and no canoe can pass down the river in the day time, without being taken by them and plundered; and even at night, the canoes from here are obliged to go in large numbers, and keep close company with each other to make a formidable appearance in case of their being seen by them."

The Landers had no reason whatever to doubt this information, and being aware how little they could do, if they should be attacked by these formidable fellows, they determined on going at night, according to the custom of the natives, and proposed starting at four o'clock on the evening of the morrow. The chief's brother was apprised of their intentions, at which he seemed quite astonished, and they doubted not that this determined conduct, which they had every where shown, and apparent defiance of all danger, in making light of the dreadful stories, which were related to them, had great influence on the minds of the people, and no doubt inspired them with a belief that they were supernatural

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beings, gifted with more than ordinary qualifications. Having communicated their intentions to their friend, and given him all the little trifling things he wished for, he departed with the present for his brother the chief.

On the following day, he again paid them a visit, urging them by every argument which he could think of, to defer their departure for their own sakes for two or three days, in order that canoes might be got ready to accompany them on their voyage, and he endeavoured again to impress upon their minds the danger, which they should inevitably incur, if they were determined to go alone. They, however, paid little attention to his remarks, further than that they consented to wait till the afternoon, for a man to accompany them in the capacity of messenger, to the so much talked of Bocquâ market, where, it was asserted, they should be perfectly safe, and beyond which place the people were represented as being less rapacious, so that little fear was to be entertained from them.

As the afternoon approached, they inquired in vain for the promised guide, and when they found that the chief, or rather his brother, felt no disposition whatever to redeem his pledge, they made immediate preparations to leave the town, to the manifest disappointment of the latter, who made a very dolorous lament, and did all in his power, except employing actual force, to induce them to change their resolution.

They now ordered Pascoe and their people to commence loading the canoe, but the poor fellows were all in tears and trembled with fear; one of them in particular, a native of Bonny, said, that he did not care for himself; as his own life was of little consequence, all he feared was, that his masters would be murdered, and as he had been with them ever since they had left the sea, it would be as bad as dying himself, to see them killed.

In pursuance of their plans, on the same afternoon, they bade adieu to the inhabitants of Kacunda, and every thing having been conveyed to the canoe, they embarked and pushed off the shore, in the sight of a multitude of people. They worked their way with incredible difficulty through the morass, before they were able to get into the body of the stream, and being now fairly off they prepared themselves for the worst. "Now," said Richard Lander

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"my boys," as their canoe glided down with the stream, "let us all stick together; I hope that we have none amongst us, who will flinch, come what may."

They had proceeded some distance down the river, when seeing a convenient place for landing, the men being languid and weary with hunger and exhaustion, they halted on the right bank of the river, which they imagined was most suitable for their purpose. The angry and scowling appearance of the firmament forewarned them of a shower, or something worse, which induced them hastily to erect an awning of mats under a palm tree's shade. The spot for a hundred yards was cleared of grass, underwood, and vegetation of all kinds: and very shortly afterwards, as three of their men were straggling about in the bush, searching for firewood, a village suddenly opened before them; this did not excite their astonishment, and they entered one of the huts which was nearest them, to procure a little fire. However, it happened only to contain women, but these were terrified beyond measure at the sudden and abrupt entrance of strange-looking men, whose language they did not know, and whose business they could not understand, and they all ran out in a fright into the woods, to warn their male relatives of them, who were labouring at their usual occupations of husbandry. Mean time, their men had very composedly taken some burning embers from the fire, and returned to their masters, with the brief allusion to the circumstance of having discovered a village. This at the time was thought lightly of, but they rejoiced that they had seen the village, and immediately sent Pascoe, Ibrahim and Jowdie, in company to obtain some fire, and to purchase some yams. In about ten minutes after, they returned in haste, telling them that they had been to the village, and asked for some fire, but that the people did not understand them, and instead of attending to their wishes, they looked terrified, and had suddenly disappeared. In consequence of their threatening attitudes, Pascoe and his party had left the village, and hastened back to their masters.

Totally unconscious of danger, the Landers were reclining on their mats, for they too, like their people, were wearied with toil, and overcome with drowsiness, when in about twenty minutes after their men had returned, one of them shouted with a loud voice,

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"War is coming, O war is coming!" and ran towards them with a scream of terror, telling them, that the natives were hastening to attack them. They started up at this unusual exclamation, and looking about them, they beheld a large party of men, almost naked, running in a very irregular manner, and with uncouth gestures, towards their little encampment. They were all variously armed with muskets, bows and arrows, knives, cutlasses, barbs, long spears, and other instruments of destruction; and as they gazed upon this band of wild men, with their ferocious looks and hostile appearance, which was not a little heightened on observing the weapons in their hands, they felt a very uneasy kind of sensation, and wished themselves safe out of their hands.

Their party was at this time much scattered, but fortunately they could see them coming to them at some distance, and they had time to collect their men. They resolved, however, to prevent bloodshed, if possible; their numbers were too few to leave them a chance of escaping by any other way. The natives were approaching fast, and had nearly arrived close to the palm tree. Not a moment was to be lost. They desired Pascoe and all their men to follow behind them at a short distance, with the loaded muskets and pistols; and they enjoined them strictly not to fire, unless they were first fired at. One of the natives, who proved to be the chief, was perceived to be a little in advance of his companions, and throwing down their pistols, which they had snatched up in the first moment of surprise, the two Landers walked very composedly and unarmed towards him. As they approached him, they made all the signs and motions they could with their arms, to deter him and his people from firing on them. His quiver was dangling at his side, his bow was bent, and an arrow, which was pointed at their breasts, already trembled on the string, when they were within a few yards of his person. This was a highly critical moment—the next might be their last. But the hand of Providence averted the blow, for just as the chief was about to pull the fatal cord, a man that was nearest him rushed forward and stayed his arm. At that instant the Landers stood before him, and immediately held forth their hands; all of them trembling like aspen leaves; the chief looked up full in their faces,

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kneeling on the ground; light seemed to flash from his dark rolling eyes; his body was convulsed all over, as though he was enduring the utmost torture, and with a timorous, yet undefinable expression of countenance, in which all the passions of human nature were strangely blended, he drooped his head, eagerly grasped their proffered hands, and burst into tears. This was a sign of friendship, harmony followed, and war and bloodshed were thought of no more. Peace and friendship now reigned amongst them, and the first thing that they did was, to lift the old chief from the ground, and convey him to their encampment.

The behaviour of their men afforded them no little amusement, now that the danger was past. Pascoe was firm to his post, and stood still with his musket pointed at the chief's breast during the whole of the time. He was a brave fellow, and he said to his masters, as they passed him to their encampment with the old man, "If the *black* rascals had fired at either of you, I would have brought the old chief down like a guinea fowl." As for their two *brave* fellows, Sam and Antonio, they took to their heels, and scampered off as fast as they could, directly they saw the natives approaching them over the long grass, nor did they make their appearance again, until the chief and all his people were sitting round them.

All the armed villagers had now gathered round their leader, and anxiously watched his looks and gestures. The result of the meeting delighted them, every eye sparkled with pleasure; they uttered a shout of joy; they thrust their bloodless arrows into their quivers; they ran about as though they were possessed of evil spirits; they twanged their bowstrings, fired off their muskets; shook their spears; clattered their quivers; danced, put their bodies into all manner of ridiculous positions; laughed, cried, and sung in rapid succession; they were like a troop of maniacs. Never was a spectacle more wild and terrific. When this sally of passion to which they had worked themselves, had subsided into calmer and more reasonable behaviour, the Landers presented each of the war-men with a number of needles, as a farther token of their friendly intentions. The chief sat himself down on the turf, with one of the Landers on each side of him, while the men were lean-

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ing on their weapons on his right and left. At first, no one could understand what the Landers said, but shortly after an old man made his appearance, who understood the Houssa language. Him the chief employed as an interpreter, and every one listened with anxiety to the following explanation given by the chief.

"A few minutes after you first landed, one of my people came to me, and said that a number of strange people had arrived at the market place. I sent him back again to get as near to you as he could, to hear what you intended doing. He soon after returned to me, and said that you spoke in a language which he could not understand. Not doubting that it was your intention to attack my village at night, and carry off my people, I desired them to get ready to fight. We were all prepared and eager to kill you, and came down breathing vengeance and slaughter, supposing that you were my enemies, and had landed from the opposite side of the river. But when you came to meet us unarmed, and we saw your white faces, we were all so frightened that we could not pull our bows, nor move hand or foot; and when you drew near me, and extended your hands towards me, I felt my heart faint within me, and believed that you were *Children of Heaven*, and had dropped from the skies." Such was the effect that the Landers had produced on him, and under this impression, he knew not what he did. "And now," said he, "white men, all I want is your forgiveness." "That you shall have most heartily," said the Landers, as they shook hands with the old chief; and having taken care to assure him that they had not come from so good a place as he had imagined, they congratulated themselves, as well as him, that this affair had ended so happily. For their own parts, they had reason to feel the most unspeakable pleasure at its favourable termination, and they offered up internally to their merciful Creator, a prayer of thanksgiving and praise for his providential interference in their behalf. It was indeed a narrow escape, and it was happy for them that their white faces and calm behaviour produced the effect it did on these people; in another minute their bodies would have been as full of arrows as a porcupine's is full of quills.

They now ascertained that the place where they now were, was the famous Bocquâ market place, of which they had heard so much

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talk, and that the opposite bank of the river belonged to the Funda country. Their interpreter was an old Funda mallam, who understood the Houssa language perfectly, and was come to Boequâ to attend the market, which was held every nine days. The old mallam was asked the distance from Boequa to the sea, and he told them about ten days journey. The Landers then pointed out the hills on the opposite side of the river, and asked him, where they led to. "The sea," was his answer. "And where do they lead to?" they inquired, pointing to those on the same bank of the river as themselves. He answered, "They run a long way in the country we do not know." Their next concern was about the safety of the river navigation, and they anxiously inquired his opinion of it lower down, and whether there were any rocks or dangerous places. As to the river navigation, he satisfied them by saying, that he knew of no dangers, nor had he ever heard of any, but the people on the banks, he said, were very bad. They asked him, if he thought the chief would send a messenger with them, if they were to request him, even one day's journey from this place. Without the least hesitation, he answered: "No; the people of this country can go no further down the river; if they do, and are caught, they will lose their heads." Every town that he knew of on the banks of the river, was at war with its neighbour, and all the rest likewise. They then asked him how far Bornou was from Funda. To which, he replied, "Fifteen days journey." Here their conversation was interrupted by the old chief, who wished to return to the village, and the mallam was obliged to accompany him. They likewise learnt from other persons, that directly opposite, on the eastern bank, was the common path to the city of Funda, which, as they had been told at Fof, was situated three days journey up the Tshadda from the Niger; that the large river which they had observed on the r course, was the celebrated Shar, Shary, or Sharry of travellers, or which is more proper than either, the Tshadda, as it is universally called throughout the country. They were also informed that the smaller stream which they passed on the 19th, flowing from the same direction, was the *Coodontu*.

On Wednesday the 27th October, they made preparations for starting, and after experiencing rather hostile treatment from the

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natives, they arrived at a village called Abbazacca, where they saw an English iron bar, and feasted their eyes on the graceful cocoa-nut tree, which they had not seen so long.

It was the intention of the chief of Abbazacca to send a man with them as messenger, to a large town, of which he said that his brother was governor, but on maturer reflection, he determined to accompany them himself, expecting to obtain an adequate reward. In consequence of the lightness of his canoe, and its superiority to the old one, which they had got at Zagozhi, the chief passed them with the utmost facility, and touched at various towns and villages, to inform their inhabitants of the fact of the Christians journeying down the river, and that they had come from a country he had never heard of.

In the course of the day they came abreast of a village of pretty considerable extent, intending to pass it by on the other side; they had, however, no sooner made their appearance, than they were lustily hailed by a little squinting fellow, who kept crying out as loud as his lungs would permit him: "Holloa! you Englishmen, you come here!" They felt no inclination to obey the summons, being rather anxious to get to the town mentioned to them by the chief of Abbazacca; and as the current swept them along past the village, they took no notice of the little man, and they had already sailed beyond the landing place, when they were overtaken by about a dozen canoes, and the people in them desiring them to turn back, for that they had forgotten to pay their respects to the king. The name of the village was Damaggoo. Being in no condition to force themselves from the men, who had interrupted them with so little ceremony, they pulled with all their strength against the current, and after an hour's exertion landed amidst the cheers and huzzas of a multitude of people. The first person they observed at the landing place, was their little friend in the red jacket, whom they found out afterwards was a messenger from the chief of Bonny.

Whilst a hut was preparing for them, they were conducted over a bog to a large fetish tree, at the root of which they were made to sit down, till the arrival of the chief, who made his appearance in a few minutes, bringing with him a goat and other provisions as

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a present. He put a great many questions respecting themselves and their country, the places they had come from, their distance up the river, and also concerning the river itself, and was astonished at their answers.

They were now conducted through filthy streets of mud to a very diminutive hut, which they found excessively warm, owing to the small quantity of light and air, which were admitted into it only through a narrow aperture, opening into a gloomy and dismal passage. The appearance of the inside was better than that of the outside, being rudely plastered with clay, and surrounded with indifferently carved fetish figures, either painted or chalked a red colour.

As signs of European intercourse, with which the Landers, as it might be reasonably supposed, were highly delighted, they received from the chief as a present some fofo, a quantity of stewed goat, sufficient for thirty persons, and a *small case bottle of rum*, a luxury which they had not enjoyed since they left Kiama; the latter was a treat that they did not expect, although it was of the most inferior kind.

Early on the morning of the 28th, the chief paid them a visit, accompanied by a Nouffie mallam; he gave them a pressing invitation to come and see him, which was readily accepted, and on proceeding to the residence, they passed through a variety of low huts, which led to the one in which he was sitting. He accosted them with cheerfulness, and placed mats for them to sit upon, and rum was produced to make them comfortable withal. He wished to know in what way they had got through the country, for he had learnt that they had come a long journey; and after having related to them some of their adventures, he appeared quite astonished, and promised as far as he was able to imitate those good men in the treatment of his guests. When Antonio, their interpreter, explained to them that they were ambassadors from the great king of white men, he seemed highly delighted, and said, "Something must be done for you to-morrow;" and left them to conjecture for a short time what that something would be, but they soon learnt that he intended to make rejoicings with all his people, that they would fire off their muskets, and pass a night in

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dancing and revelry. He requested them to wait eight days longer, when he expected his people back from the Bocquâ market. "I think," he added, "that the chief of Bocquâ's messenger and our people will be a sufficient protection." The Landers readily assented to his proposal, and told him that as all their presents were expended, they would send him some from the sea coast, if he would allow a person to accompany them thither, on whom he could depend to bring them back to him. He expressed himself much gratified with this offer, and said that his own son should accompany them, and that although his people had never been lower down the river than to a place called Kirree, about a day's journey from hence, he had no doubt that they should reach the sea in safety. He then promised with solemnity, that he would consent to their departure in the time that he had specified, and having shaken hands, they parted.

The Landers, however, found that the old chief was not so punctual to his word as they had a right to expect, for he was every day consulting his fetish and his mallams, and they were all unanimous in their opinion, that the departure of the white men should be delayed for a short time. This to them was a most vexatious proceeding. Their determination of departing was not, however, to be shaken, although the entrails of some fowls which the chief consulted, declared that the time of their departure was very inauspicious. According to the chief's own arrangement, the people of the Landers were to embark in the leaky canoe, with the heaviest of the luggage, and themselves were to travel in one of the chief's canoes, and to take along with them whatever was of most consequence. To this regulation they could not raise any plausible objection, because their old canoe had been partially repaired.

A little after four in the afternoon of the 4th November, their luggage was conveyed to the river side, and they proceeded to load the canoes. Long before five, every thing on their parts had been got in readiness for quitting the town, and they sat in the canoe till after sunset, waiting the arrival of the boatmen, who did not seem at all disposed to hurry themselves in making their appearance. They began at length to be wearied with anxiety, and im-

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patient to be stirring. Hundreds of people had been gazing on them for a long while, many of whom had taken the pains to come from different parts of the town in boats for that purpose; and the curiosity of all having been amply indulged, they were moving off in all directions, so that the Landers were almost deserted.

At length when their uneasiness was at its height, they saw the chief advancing towards them with a train of followers. The mallam and all his principal people were with him, bringing numerous jars of palm wine. A mat was spread near the water-side, whereon the chief sat himself, and the Landers were instantly desired to place themselves one on each side of his person. The palm wine, and some rum were then produced, and as they were about to take a long farewell of their hospitable host, they drank of his offering, rather than give offence by a refusal. They drank and chatted away until half-past six in the evening, when they sent Pascoe on before them in their own old canoe, telling him that they should overtake him. It was, however, nearly dark before they were allowed to depart, and as they lay at a short distance from the bank, all the fetish people walked knee deep into the river, and muttered a long prayer, after which they splashed the water towards their canoe with each foot, and then they proceeded on their voyage.

On the following day, they observed a large market close to the banks of the river, which they were informed was Kirree. A great number of canoes were lying near the bank, and in a short time afterwards, they saw about fifty canoes before them coming up the river. As they approached each other, the Landers observed the British union flag in several, while others, which were white, had figures on them of a man's leg, chain, tables, and all kinds of such devices. The people in them, who were very numerous, were dressed in European clothing, with the exception of trousers.

The Landers felt quite overjoyed by the sight of these people, more particularly when they saw the English flag and European apparel amongst them, and they congratulated themselves that they were from the sea coast. But all their fond anticipations vanished in a moment as the first canoe met them. A great stout fellow, of a most forbidding countenance beckoned Richard Lander to

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come to him, but seeing him and all his people so well armed, Lander was not much inclined to trust himself amongst them, and therefore paid no attention to the call. The next moment, he heard the sound of a drum, and in an instant several of the men mounted a platform and levelled their muskets at them. There was nothing to be done now but to obey; as for running away it was out of the question, their square loaded canoe was incapable of it, and to fight with fifty war canoes, for such they really were, containing each above forty people, most of whom were as well armed as themselves, would have been throwing away their own and their canoemen's lives very foolishly.

By this time the canoes were side by side, and with astonishing rapidity the luggage of the Landers found its way into those of their opponents. This mode of proceeding was not relished by them at all, and Richard Lander's gun being loaded with two balls and four slugs, he took deliberate aim at the leader, and he would have paid for his temerity with his life in one moment more, had not three of his people sprung on Lander, and forced the gun from his hands. His jacket and shoes were now plundered from him, and observing some other fellows at the same time taking away Pascoe's wife, Lander lost all command over himself, and was determined to sell his life as dearly as he could. He encouraged his men to arm themselves with their paddles, and defend themselves to the last. He instantly seized hold of Pascoe's wife, and with the assistance of another of his men dragged her from the fellow's grasp. Pascoe at the same time levelled a blow at his head with one of their iron-wood paddles, that sent him reeling backwards, and they saw him no more.

Their canoe having been so completely relieved of their cargo, which had consisted only of their luggage, they had plenty of room on her for battle, and being each of them provided with a paddle, they determined, as they had got clear of their adversary, to cut down the first fellow who should dare to board them. This, however, was not attempted, and as none of the other canoes had attempted to interfere, Lander was in hopes of finding some friends amongst them, but at all events, he was determined to follow the people who had plundered them, to the market, whither they

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seemed to be going. They accordingly pulled after them as fast as they could, and they were following the canoe that had attacked them, with the utmost expedition, when they were hailed by some people from a large canoe, which was afterwards found to belong to the New Calabar River. One of the people, who was apparently a person of consequence, called out lustily, "Holloa, white men, you French, you English?" "Yes, English," Lander answered immediately. "Come here in my canoe," he said, and their two canoes approached each other rapidly. Lander got into the canoe, and put three of his men into his own, to assist in pulling her to the market. The people of the canoe treated him with much kindness, and the chief gave him a glass of rum.

On looking round him, Lander now observed his brother coming towards him, in the Damaggoo canoe, and the same villain, who had plundered his canoe was also the first to pursue that of his brother. The canoe in which Richard was, as well as the war canoes, hastened to a small sand island in the river, at a short distance from the market, and John Lander arrived soon afterwards. In a short time the Damaggoo people made their appearance, and also the chief of Bonny's messenger, having, like themselves, lost every thing they had of their own property, as well as of their masters.

The canoes belonging to the Landers had been lying at the island, but now the canoes were all formed into a line and paddled into the market-place before alluded to, called Kirree, and here they were informed that a palaver would be held to take the whole affair into consideration; and accordingly, a multitude of men landed from the canoes, to hold, as it may be termed, a council of war. The Landers were not suffered to go on shore, but constrained to remain in the canoes, without a covering for the head, and exposed to the heat of a burning sun. A person in a mahommedan dress, who they learnt afterwards was a native of a place near Funda, came to them and endeavoured to cheer them, by saying that their hearts must not be sore, that at the palaver which would be held, they had plenty of friends to speak for them. In the mean time about twenty canoes full of Damaggoo people had arrived from the various towns near that place. These persons

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having heard how the Landers had been treated, also became their friends, so that they now began to think there was a chance of their escaping, and this intelligence put them into better spirits.

A stir was now made in the market, and a search commenced through all the canoes for their goods, some of which were found, although the greater part of them were at the bottom of the river. These were landed and placed in the middle of the market-place. The Landers were now invited by the mallams to land, and told to look at their goods, and see if they were all there. To the great satisfaction of Richard Lander, he immediately recognized the box containing their books, and one of his brother's journals. The medicine chest was by its side, but both were filled with water. A large carpet bag containing all their wearing apparel was lying cut open, and deprived of its contents, with the exception of a shirt, a pair of trousers, and a waistcoat. Many valuable articles which it contained were gone. The whole of Richard Lander's journal, with the exception of a note book, with remarks from Rabba to Kirree, was lost. Four guns, one of which had been the property of the late Mr. Park, four cutlasses, and two pistols were gone. All their buttons, kowries, and needles, which were necessary for them to purchase provisions with, all were missing, and said to have been sunk in the river.

They were now desired to seat themselves, which as soon as they had done, a circle gathered round them and began questioning them, but at that moment the sound of screams and the clashing of arms reached the spot, and the multitude catching fire at the noise, drew their swords, and leaving the Landers to themselves, they ran away to the place whence it proceeded. The origin of all this, was a desire for more plunder on the part of the Eboe people. Seeing the few things of the white men in the market-place, they made a rush to the place to recover them. The natives, who were Kirree people, stood ready for them, armed with swords, daggers, and guns; and the savage Eboes finding themselves foiled in the attempt, retreated to their canoes, without risking an attack, although the Landers fully expected to have been spectators of a furious and bloody battle.

This after all, was a fortunate circumstance, inasmuch as the

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two brothers, having unconsciously jumped into the same canoe, found themselves in each other's company, and were thus afforded, for a short time at least, the pleasure of conversing without interruption.

The palaver not having yet concluded, they had full leisure to contemplate the scene around them. They had moored a little way from the banks of the river; in front of them was the market-place, which was crammed with market people, from all parts of the neighbouring country of different tribes: a great multitude of wild men, of ferocious aspect and savage uncouth manners. To these belonged the choice either of giving them life and liberty, or dooming them to slavery or death. In the latter determination, their minds might be swayed by suspicion or caprice, or influenced by hatred. In the former, they might be guided by the hopes of gain, or biassed by the fear of punishment; for many of them had come from the sea-coast; and such an adventure as theirs could not long remain concealed from the knowledge of their countrymen. There happened to be amongst the savages, a few well-dressed mahommedan priests, who had come late to the market from the northward. These were decidedly the friends of the Landers. Many times they blessed them with uplifted hands and compassionate countenances, exclaiming, "Alla sullikee," *God is king*. Nor did they confine themselves to simple expressions of pity or concern; but as they subsequently learnt, they joined the assembly and spoke in their favour with warmth and energy, taxing those who had assaulted them, with cowardice, cruelty, and wrong: and proposing to have them beheaded on the spot, as a just punishment for their crime. This was bold language, but it produced a salutary effect on the minds of the hearers.

In the afternoon, the Landers were ordered to return to the small island whence they had come, and the setting of the sun being the signal for the council to dissolve, they were again sent for to the market. The people had been engaged in deliberation and discussion during the whole of the day; and with throbbing hearts they received their resolution, in nearly the following words:—

"That the king of the country being absent, they had taken upon themselves to consider the occurrence, which had taken place

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in the morning, and to give judgment accordingly. Those of their things which had been saved from the water, should be restored to them; and the person, who first commenced the attack on the white men, should lose his head, as a just retribution for his offence, having acted without the chief's permission: that with regard to themselves, they must be considered as prisoners, and consent to be conducted on the following morning to Obie, king of the Eboe country, before whom they were to undergo an examination, and whose will and pleasure concerning their persons would then be explained."

They received this intelligence with feelings of rapture, and with bursting hearts they offered up thanks to their divine Creator, for his signal preservation of them throughout this disastrous day.

The Kirree people are a savage-looking race; they are amazingly strong and athletic, and are also well proportioned. Their only clothing is the skin either of a leopard or tiger fastened round their waist. Their hair is plaited, and plastered with red clay in abundance; and their face is full of incisions in every part of it; these are cut into the flesh, so as to produce deep furrows, each incision being about a quarter of an inch long and dyed with indigo. It was scarcely possible to make out a feature of their face, and never were individuals more disfigured. The Eboe women have handsome features; and the Landers could not help thinking it a pity, that such savage-looking fellows as the men should be blessed with so handsome a race of females.

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

At sunrise on the 6th November, their canoe was taken from before Kirree market-place, to the little sand bank or island in the middle of the river, where they waited till nine o'clock for the coming of two war canoes, which it was resolved should convoy them to the Eboe country, which they understood was situated three days journey down the Niger. At seven in the morning they bade adieu to Kirree, the scene of all their sorrows, accompanied by six large war canoes, and again took their station with the Damaggoo people. Independently of their convoy, they had a sumpter canoe in company, belonging to the Eboe people, from which the others were supplied with dressed provisions. For their part, they had neither money nor needles, nor indeed any thing to purchase a meal; and knowing this to be the case, their sable guardians neglected to take into consideration the state of their stomachs. However, they felt no very strong inclination to join them in their repast, though on one occasion they were invited to do so; for they felt an invincible disgust to it, from the filthy manner in which it had been prepared. Yams were first boiled, and then skinned, and mashed into a paste, with the addition of a little water, by hands that were far from being clean. As this part of the business requires great personal exertion, the man on whom it devolved perspired very copiously, and the consequences may easily be guessed at. In eating they use their fingers only, and every one dips his hand into the same dish.

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It was ten at night, when they came abreast of a small town, where they stopped. It was long since they had tasted food, and they had suffered from hunger the whole day, without being able to obtain any thing. Soon after they had stopped for the night, their guards gave each of them a piece of roasted yam, and their poor famished people had also the good fortune to get some too, being the first they had had since leaving Damaggoo. The roasted yam, washed down with a little water, was to them as joyful a meal, as if they had been treated with the most sumptuous fare, and they laid themselves down in the canoe to sleep in content.

Long before sunrise on the 8th November, though it was excessively dark, the canoes were put in motion; for as the Eboe country was said to be at no great distance, the Eboe people who were with them, were desirous of arriving there as early in the day as possible. It proved to be a dull hazy morning, but at 7 o'clock the fog had become so dense, that no object, however large, could be distinguished at a greater distance than a few yards. This created considerable confusion, and the men fearing, as they expressed it, to lose themselves, tied one canoe to another, thus forming double canoes, and all proceeded together in close company. The Landers wished to be more particular in their observations of this interesting part of their journey, but were constrained to forego that gratification, on account of the superstitious prejudices of the natives, who were so infatuated as to imagine, that the Landers had not only occasioned the fog, but that if they did not sit or lie down in the canoe, for they had been standing, it would inevitably cause the destruction of the whole party, and the reason they assigned, was, that the river had never beheld a white man before; and, therefore, they dreaded the consequences of their rashness and presumption in regarding its waters so attentively. This and similar nonsense was delivered with such determination and earnestness, that they reluctantly laid down, and allowed themselves to be covered with mats, in order to quiet their apprehensions; for they did not forget that they were prisoners, and that a perseverance in standing up, would have exposed them to the mortification of being put down by force.

On the dispersion of the fog, the Landers were again permitted

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o look at the river, and shortly afterwards one of the Eboe men in their canoe, exclaimed, "There is my country;" pointing to a clump of very high trees, which was yet at some distance before them, and after passing a low fertile island, they quickly came to it. Here they observed a few fishing canoes, but their owners appeared suspicious and fearful, and would not come near them; though their national flag, which was a British union, sewed on a large piece of plain white cotton, with scollops of blue, was streaming from a long staff on the bow. The town, they were told, was yet a good way down the river. In a short time, however, they came to an extensive morass, intersected by little channels in every direction, and by one of these, they got into clear water, and in front of the Eboe town. Here they found hundreds of canoes, some of them even larger than any they had previously met with. When they had come alongside the canoes, two or three huge brawny fellows, in broken English, asked how they did, in a tone which Stentor might have envied; and the shaking of hands with their powerful friends was really a punishment, on account of the violent squeezes which they were compelled to suffer. The chief of these men called himself *Gun*, though *blunderbuss* or *thunder* would have been as appropriate a name; and without solicitation, he informed them, that though he was not a great man, yet he was a little military king; that his brother's name was King *Boy*, and his father's King *Forday*, who, with King *Jacket*, governed all the Brass country. But what was infinitely more interesting to them, than this ridiculous list of kings, was the information he gave them, that besides a Spanish schooner, an English vessel, called the Thomas of Liverpool, was also lying in the first Brass river, which *Mr. Gun* said was frequented by Liverpool traders for palm oil.

Full of joy at this intelligence, they passed on to a little artificial creek, where they were desired to wait till the king's pleasure respecting them should be known. They were afterwards drawn in a canoe over ooze and mud to a house, where, if the countenance of their host had been at all in unison with the agreeableness of his dwelling, they imagined that they could live at ease in it, for a few days at least. The harshness, however, of this man's manners, corresponded with his sulky, ill-natured face, and de-

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prived them of a good deal of pleasure, which they would have enjoyed, in reposing at full length on dry, soft mats, after having been cramped up for three days in a small canoe, with slaves and goats, and exposed to the dews by night and the sun by day.

An hour or two of rest invigorated and refreshed them extremely, and they then received a message from the king, that he was waiting to see and converse with them. Having little to adjust in regard to their dress, they rose up, and followed the messenger. Passing near the outskirts of the town, the messenger conducted them, by paths little frequented, to the outward yard of the palace, before the door of which was placed the statue of a woman in a sitting posture, and made of clay, of course, very rude and very ugly. Having crossed the yard, in which they saw nothing remarkable, they entered by a wooden door into another, which was far superior. From this enclosure they were led into a third, which, like the former, had its porticoes. Opposite the entrance was a low clay platform, about three feet from the ground, which was overlaid with mats of various colours, a large piece of coarse red cloth covering the whole, and at each of its corners they observed a little squat figure, also of clay, but whether they were intended to be males or females, it was impossible to conjecture. Here they were desired to place themselves among a crowd of half-dressed, armed men, who were huddled together on the left of the platform, some sitting, and others standing, and awaiting the coming of the prince. Their friend, Gun, was with them, and he immediately claimed priority of acquaintance with them. He chatted with amazing volubility, and in less than two minutes, he was on the most familiar footing, slapping them with no small force just above the knee, to give weight to his observations, and to rivet their attentions to his remarks. Then, while they spoke, he would rest his heavy arms on their shoulders, and laugh aloud at every word they said, look very knowingly, and occasionally apply the palm of his hand to their backs with the most *feeling* energy, as a token of encouragement and approbation. They wished him to answer questions which concerned them nearly, but the only satisfaction they received, was contained in the expression "O yes, to be sure," and this was repeated so often, with an emphasis

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so peculiar, and with a grin so irresistibly ludicrous, that in spite of their disappointment, they were vastly entertained with him.

In this manner was the time beguiled, till they heard a door suddenly opened on their right, and the dreaded Obie, king of the Eboe country, stood before them. There was, however, nothing dreadful in his appearance, for he was a sprightly young man, with a mild open countenance, and an eye which indicated quickness, intelligence, and good nature, rather than the ferocity which they were told he possessed in an eminent degree. He received them with a smile of welcome, and shook hands with infinite cordiality, often complimenting them with the word, "Yes," to which his knowledge of the English was confined, and which no doubt he had been tutored to pronounce for the occasion.

Their story was related to the king in full by the Bonny messenger, who had accompanied them from Damaggoo, whose speech, which nearly as they could guess lasted two whole hours, was delivered in an admirable manner, and produced a visible effect on all present. As soon as it was over, they were invited by Obie to take some refreshment; being in truth extremely hungry at the time, they thankfully accepted the offer, and fish and yams, swimming in oil, were forthwith brought them on English plates, the king retiring in the meanwhile from motives of delicacy. When Obie returned, a general conversation ensued, and he was engaged in talking promiscuously to those around him till evening, when the "great palaver," as it was called, was formally prorogued until the morrow, and presently after the chief bade them good night, and retired.

On the following morning, they were visited by a number of the inhabitants, who broke through every restraint to gratify their desire of seeing them. This was what they naturally expected, yet after all, they were much better behaved and less impatient, than they had any reason to apprehend, and they departed with little importunity, considering that they had not been in the habit of bending to the will of prisoners and slaves, for such were the Landers in reality.

About noon they were informed that their attendance was required at the king's house, Obie being fully prepared, it was said,

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to resume the hearing of their case, and examine the deposition of the Bonny messenger and the Damaggoo people. On entering the principal yard or court, in which they were introduced to the king on the preceding day, a common English chair, covered with inferior red cloth, was placed for the use of the king. He soon afterwards entered, his fat, round cheeks were swelling with good humour, real or assumed, as he shook hands with a sprightly air, when he instantly seated himself to receive the prostrations and addresses of his subjects and others.

The business of the day was entered into with spirit, and a violent altercation arose between the Brass and Bonny people, and although not much was communicated to the Landers, of the conversation that passed between them, yet a sufficiency was imparted to them to let them know, that they would never leave the country without a high ransom.

Bonny was the real place of their destination, and they had with them a messenger from the present and a son to the late ruler of that state, (King Pepper,) whilst on the other hand, they knew nothing of Brass, never having heard the name of such a river in their lives before. The Brass people affirm that the Bonny Creek, which is a small branch of the Niger, was dried up, and that the main river, which runs to Brass, belongs to King Jacket, who permitted no foreigners whatever to pass up and down the Niger, without exacting the accustomed fees or duties. The Brass people, therefore, would have a very plausible reason for taking them entirely out of the hands of Obie and the Damaggoo people.

In the evening, Antonio and five other Bonny people came to their hut with tears in their eyes. On asking them, what was the matter, "The chief," they said, "is determined to sell you to the Brass people, but we will fight for you, and die rather than see you sold." "How many of you Bonny people are there?" Richard Lander asked. "Only six," was the reply. "And can you fight with two hundred Brass people?" Lander asked. "We can kill some of them," they answered, "and your people can assist." Lander then asked Antonio the reason why he did not interpret what was going forward to-day at the king's house. He said, that he was afraid it would have made their hearts sore—that it was

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"a bad palaver." "We have all been to the chief," he added, crying to him, and telling him that black man cannot sell white man, but he will not listen to us, he said, he would sell you to the Brass people."

The Landers felt much hurt at their situation, for they did not expect that it would be so bad as it turned out to be, but they made up their minds to prepare themselves for the worst, for it was impossible to foresee the lengths to which the savages would go. On the following day, Richard Lander was taken very ill with the fever, and was consequently unable to attend the summons to the king's house, he therefore sent his brother in his stead, who gave the following account:—

"On my arriving there this morning, to my infinite surprise I found King Boy (Gun's eldest brother,) with a number of his attendants already assembled. He was dressed in a style far superior to any of his countrymen, and wore a jacket and waistcoat over a neat shirt of striped cotton, to which was annexed a silk pocket handkerchief, which extended below the knees. Trousers are not permitted to be worn, either by natives or strangers, of the same hue as themselves, the kings alone being an exception to the rule. Strings of coral and other beads encircled his neck, and a pretty little crucifix of seed beads hung on his bosom. This latter ornament, which has probably been given him by a slave captain, had by no means an unbecoming appearance. King Boy introduced himself to me with the air of a person who bestows a favour, rather than soliciting acquaintance, and indeed his vanity in other respects was highly amusing. He would not suffer any one to sit between him and the platform, but squatted himself down nearest the king's seat, which, as a mark of honour, had been previously assigned to us, and with a volubility scarcely imaginable, he commenced a long narrative of his greatness, power, and dignity, in which he excelled all his neighbours, and to this I was constrained to listen with assumed composure and attention for a considerable time. To convince me of his veracity, he produced a pocket book, containing a great number of recommendatory notes, or 'characters,' as a domestic would call them, written in the English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, and which had been

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given him by the various European traders, who had visited the Brass River. This practice of giving written characters, which has for some time been adopted by Europeans, is both praiseworthy and useful, and it has become almost universal on the western coast; because it is not to be supposed that the natives themselves can understand these documents, and strangers are made acquainted with their good or bad qualities by them, and taught to discriminate the honest from the unfaithful and malicious. Boy's letters mentioned certain dealings, which their authors had had with him, and they likewise bore testimony to his own character, and the manners of his countrymen. Amongst others is one from a 'James Dow, master of the brig Susan, from Liverpool,' and dated: '*Brass First River*, Sept. 1830,' which runs as follows: "Captain Dow states, that he never met with a set of greater scoundrels than the natives in general, and the pilots in particular." These he anathematised as d——d rascals, who had endeavoured to steer his vessel among the breakers at the mouth of the river, that they might share the plunder of its wreck. King Jacket, who claims the sovereignty of the river, is declared to be a more confirmed knave, if possible, than they, and to have cheated him of a good deal of property. The writer describes King Forday as a man rather advanced in years, less fraudulent but more dilatory. King Boy, his son, alone deserved his confidence, for he had not abused it, and possessed more honour and integrity than either of his countrymen.

"These are the rulers of the Brass River, and pretty fellows they are, truly. Mr. Dow further observes, that the river is extremely unhealthy, and that his first and second mates, three coopers, and five seamen, had already died of fever, and that he himself had had several narrow escapes from the same disorder. He concludes, by cautioning traders against the treachery of the natives generally, and gives them certain directions concerning 'the dreadful bar,' at the mouth of the river, on which he had nearly perished.

"This business had been no sooner settled, than Obie entered the yard, attended as usual, but clad indifferently in loose silks. After the customary salutations, Boy directed the monarch to appeal to me, that he might be satisfied in what estimation he was held by white men. Of course I said a variety of fine things in his favour,

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which were received with a very good grace indeed; but that a piece of paper simply, which could neither speak, hear, nor understand, should impart such information, was a source of astonishment and wonder to Obie and his train, who testified their emotion in no other manner than by looks of silly amazement, and repeated bursts of laughter.

"The king then said with a serious countenance, that there was no necessity for further discussion respecting the white men, his mind was already made up on the subject, and for the first time, he briefly explained himself to this effect: That circumstances having thrown us in the way of his subjects, by the laws and usages of the country, he was not only entitled to our own persons, but had an equal right to those of our attendants; that he should take no further advantage of his good fortune, than by exchanging us for as much English goods as would amount in value to twenty slaves. In order to have this matter fairly arranged and settled, he should, of his own accord, prevent our leaving the town, till such time as our countrymen at Bonny or Brass should pay for our ransom, having understood from ourselves that the English at either of those rivers, would afford us whatever assistance we might require, with cheerfulness and alacrity. Concerning the goods of which we had been robbed at Kirree, he assured us he would use his utmost exertions to get them restored. He lamented that circumstance more than any one, but he denied that a single subject of his had any thing to do with it, and attributed the whole of that unfortunate affair, to the rashness and brutality of a certain people, that inhabited a country nearly opposite to his own, whose monarch was his particular friend, therefore, he apprehended little difficulty in seeing justice done us; 'but then,' said he, 'it is necessary that you should wait here for an indefinite time, till a council of that nation be held, when the plunderers will be examined, and your claims established. The Damaggoo people, that have come with you, have like yourselves suffered much loss; for my own part, I shall make them a present of a slave or two as a compensation, and they have my permission to go along with you for the present, which I understand you have promised their monarch, but

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you must not expect them to be your guides to the sea, for their responsibility ends here.'

"When all this was interpreted to me by Antonio, I was thunderstruck. It was in vain that I assured Obie that there was not the slightest necessity for our detention in the town; that our countrymen would redeem us the moment they should see us, but not before; and equally unavailing were my solicitations for him to alter this arrangement and suffer us to depart; but the tears of his subjects, and the representations of the men at Brass, had made too deep an impression upon his mind to be so easily eradicated. We found it too late either to implore or remonstrate.

"This final decision of the king is a bitter stroke to us, for we fondly indulged the hope of a more favourable issue, from the deliberations of the savage council, at whose dissolution we expected to be sent to the sea coast, without being perplexed with further embarrassments. We have now to wait the return of a messenger from thence, who has not yet been sent on his errand, and he is to bring back with him the value of twenty slaves, ere we obtain our freedom. Heaven only knows whether the masters of English vessels at Bonny or Brass, have the ability or feel the disposition to ransom us. We only know that if disposed of at all, we shall be sold for infinitely more than we are worth.

"As may naturally be supposed, I returned home much depressed and afflicted, to inform my brother of the result of the palaver, and he was as greatly surprised and afflicted as myself at the intelligence. But though we are full of trouble and uneasiness at our gloomy situation, yet we do not repine at the divine dispensations of that Almighty providence, which has comforted us in the hours of adversity, and relieved us in times of pain and danger, and snatched us from the jaws of death."

On the following morning, Richard Lander was rather convalescent, and in truth they both wondered much that their health, generally speaking, had been so good, when they reflected for a moment on the hardships and privations, which they had lately undergone, the perplexities in which they had been entangled, and the difficulties with which they had had to contend.

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During the few days that they had spent in this place, they had been sadly in want of provisions, and their people, who for the first day bore their privation in silence, have since then been loud in their complaints. The constant fear which they entertained of being taken away and sold, now, however, changed that lively feeling of discontent into sullenness and despondency. What made the matter still worse was the fact, that having lost their needles and kowries at Kirree, they had not the means of purchasing any thing, although the kowrie shell was not current where they then were. Obie was in the habit of sending them a fowl, or a yam or two every morning, but as they were ten in number, it made but a slender meal, and it was barely sufficient to keep them from actual starvation. To stop, if possible, the sullen murmurings of their people, they were now reduced to the painful necessity of begging, but they might as well have addressed their petitions to the stones and trees, and thereby have spared themselves the mortification of a refusal. They never experienced a more stinging sense of their own humbleness and imbecility than on such occasions, and never had they greater need of patience and lowliness of spirit. In most African towns and villages, they had been regarded as demi-gods, and treated in consequence with universal kindness, civility, and veneration; but here, alas! what a contrast, they were classed with the most degraded and despicable of mankind, and were become slaves in a land of ignorance and barbarism, whose savage natives treated them with brutality and contempt. It would be hard to guess whence these unkindly feelings originated, but they felt that they had not deserved them, yet the consciousness of their own insignificance sadly militated against every idea of self-love or self-importance, and taught them a plain and useful moral lesson. Although they made the most charitable allowances for the Eboe people, they were, notwithstanding, obliged to consider them the most inhospitable tribe, as well as the most covetous and uncivil, that they were acquainted with. Their monarch, and a respectable married female, who had passed the meridian of her days, were the only individuals, amongst several thousands, that showed them anything like civility or kindness, and

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the latter alone acted, as they were convinced, solely from disinterested motives.

All ranks of people here are passionately fond of palm wine, and drank of it to excess, whenever they had an opportunity, which often occurred, as great quantities of it are produced in the town and its neighbourhood. It was a very general and favourite custom with them, as soon as the sun had set, to hold large meetings and form parties in the open air, or under the branches of trees, to talk over the events of the day, and make merry with this exciting beverage. These assemblies are kept up until after midnight, and as the revellers generally contrive to get inebriated very soon after they sit down to drink, the greater part of the evening is devoted to wrangling and fighting, instead of convivial intercourse, and occasionally the most fearful noises that it is possible for the mind to conceive. Bloodshed, and even murder, it is said, not unfrequently terminate these boisterous and savage entertainments. A meeting of this description was held outside the yard of their residence every evening, and the noise which they made was really terrifying, more especially when the women and young people joined in the affray, for a quarrel of some sort was sure to ensue. Their cries, groans, and shrieks of agony were dreadful, and would lead a stranger to suppose, that these dismal and piercing sounds proceeded from individuals about to be butchered, or that they were extorted by the last pangs of anguish and suffering. The Landers trembled with alarm for the first night or two, imagining from these loud and doleful cries, that a work of bloodshed and slaughter was in progress. They found it useless to endeavour to sleep till the impression of the first wild cry that was uttered, and the last faint scream had worn away. But by degrees they became in some measure more reconciled to them, from the frequency of their occurrence, or rather they felt less apprehension than formerly, as to their origin; understanding with surprise that they were only the effects of a simple quarrel, and excite from the inhabitants no more than a casual remark, although it is said that in fits of ungovernable passion, the most heinous crimes are consummated in these frantic revels.

Their matronly female acquaintance, though excessively fat, was

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of diminutive stature, and by her cheerful pleasantry she beguiled in some degree the weariscomeness of the long evening hours, and banished that *ennui*, which the disagreeableness of their situation had partially induced, simply by her endeavours to do so. For not content with paying them formal visits in the day time, she came into their yard every night, instead of joining the orgies of her acquaintance, accompanied by two or three friends of congenial natures, with the very benevolent intention of pitying their misfortunes, and dissipating their melancholy. Two or three slaves followed their mistress into the yard, carrying a few bottles of their favourite palm wine, and perhaps with a plate of bananas also, that the evening might be passed more agreeably.

Their sleeping quarters were in a recess, which was elevated three or four feet from the ground, and supported by wooden columns. It was without a door, or indeed anything answering the same purpose, so that they enjoyed the refreshing coolness of the evening air, with the disadvantage of being gazed at by whoever had the curiosity to enter their premises. They generally laid down shortly after sunset, and presently their fat, jolly little friend, duck-like, comes waddling into their yard, with her companions and slaves, to offer them the evening salutations, and enter into the usual familiar discourse. This was commonly preceded by a large potation of palm wine, which was always relished with a loud and peculiar smack, expressive of the pleasure and satisfaction afforded by so copious a draught, and betokening also much internal warmth and comfort. The officious slaves having spread mats for the purpose, directly in front of their recess, their lady visiter and her associates, together with their ill-natured host, who had by this time joined the party, squatted themselves down in a circle, and under the inspiration of the fermented juice, maintained a pretty animated conversation, till the wine was all expended and sleep weighed their eyelids down. For themselves they had little of any thing to say, because the Landers were pretty nearly as ignorant of their language, as they were of theirs, and interpretation is unfavourable to the contagion of social felicity. Nevertheless, it was highly diverting to watch the influence of the palm wine on their looks, language, and ideas. The flushed countenance is invisible in a

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black lady, but then she has the liquid and unsettled eye, the proneness to talk with irresistible garrulity, the gentle simper, or the bursting laugh at any trifle, or at nothing at all; and to wind up the list of symptoms, she has that complaisant idea of her own good points, and superior qualifications, which elicit her own approbation, without exciting the applauses of her associates, and which distinguishes the inexperienced male reveller in every part of the globe. All these were observable in their talkative little friend, as well as in her companions. It was also a relief to contemplate from their resting place, the peace and harmony of the little party before them, so entirely different from the boisterous one without; because it gave them a comfortable sense of their own security, which they should not certainly have entertained, had they been left to their own reflections, and when, after a good deal of turning and restlessness they at length fell into a disagreeable and unrefreshing dose, and were attacked by that hideous phantom, nightmare, which was often the case; starting up in fright from the assassin's knife, which they could scarcely persuade themselves to be unreal; it was pleasant to fix their eyes upon their comical little visiter, with her round shining face, and her jolly companions; all apprehension of mischief immediately vanished, and a truly pleasing effect was produced upon their minds and spirits. The breaking up of the party on the outside, was a signal for their friends also to depart. When rising from her mat, the mistress, after shaking hands, wished them good night in a thick tremulous tone, and waddled out of their yard in a direction, which Hogarth denominates the line of beauty, she returned home to her husband, who was a valetudinarian. Thus passed their evenings, and thus much of their solitary Eboe friend.

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CHAPTER XL.

In addition to the value of twenty slaves, which the king of Eboe demanded from them, they now heard that King Boy required the value of fifteen casks of palm oil, which is equal to fifteen slaves, for himself, and as payment for the trouble he and his people will have in conducting them to the English vessel. He said, that he must take three canoes and one hundred and fifty people, and, therefore, it was impossible that he could do with less. The chief then said, that if they did not consent to give King Boy a *book* for all this money, he should send them into the interior of the country to be sold, and that they never should see the sea again. It was now seen that they had no alternative, and they considered it most prudent to give him the bill, not intending, however, on their arrival at the sea, to give him more than twenty common trade guns, to pay this chief and all other expenses. King Boy was to give Obie five pieces of cloth and one gun as part payment; the remainder was to be paid on his return, after having delivered them up to the brig. The Landers and all their people were now in high spirits, at the prospect of leaving this place and obtaining their freedom, for they had so much faith in the character of the English, that they entertained not the slightest doubt that the captain of the brig would most willingly pay the ransom money.

Towards evening, Obie in his showy coral dress came barefooted to their hut, for the purpose of inspecting their books and examining the contents of their medicine chest. His approach was an-

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nounced to them by the jingling of the little bells which encircled his feet. He appeared greatly pleased with every thing they said, and looked aghast when informed of the powerful properties of some of the medicines, which ended in a fit of laughter. He expressed a strong desire to have a little, especially of the purgatives, and there being no objection on the part of the Landers, they supplied him with a good strong dose of jalap, which had the same affect as it had had upon the sultan of Yacorie and family. Obie was evidently fearful of their books, having been informed that they could "tell all things," and appeared to shrink with horror at one, which was offered him, shaking his head, saying, that he must not accept it, for that it was good only for white men, "Whose God was not his God." The visit was of very short duration.

On the following day, they found King Boy in the inner yard of the king's house, and from his significant physiognomy, they conjectured that he had something of consequence to communicate. Obie received them with his accustomed politeness and jocularity, but instantly directed his attention and discourse to King Boy, who maintained an earnest and pretty animated conversation with him for some time. The Bonny people were in attendance and weeping. As the Landers were frequently pointed out and named, they had no doubt whatever that it was chiefly concerning themselves, which opinion was soon after confirmed. As if the parties had some secret to discuss, which they did not wish either their attendants or those of the Landers to overhear, they retired to the middle court, where having conversed for a time by themselves, they returned with anxious looks to resume their conversation. This was repeated twice, after which, as it was subsequently understood, Obie briefly related in a loud voice the result of this extraordinary conference, and all present, except the men of Bonny, shouted simultaneously the monosyllable "Yah," as a token of their approbation.

In the mean time, from anxiety to be made acquainted with what had transpired respecting themselves, they felt rather impatient and uneasy, the answer of King Boy to their repeated interrogations having been only "Plenty of bars," the meaning whereof they were grievously puzzled to define. But shortly after the

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termination of the palaver, how transported were they to hear the last mentioned individual explain himself in broken English to this effect: "In the conversation, which I have just had with Obie, I have been induced to offer him the goods, which he demands for your ransom, on the faith that they be hereafter repaid me by the master of the brig Thomas, which is now lying in the first Brass River, and that the value of fifteen bars or slaves be added thereto in European goods, and likewise a cask of rum, as a remuneration for the hazard and trouble which I shall inevitably incur in transporting you to Brass. If you consent to these resolutions, and on these only will I consent to redeem you, you will forthwith give me a bill on Captain Lake, for the receipt of articles to the value of thirty-five bars, after which you will be at liberty to leave this place, and to go along with me, whenever you may think proper, agreeably to the understanding at present existing between Obie and myself."

This was delightful news indeed, and they thanked King Boy over and over again for his generosity and nobleness, for they were too much elated at the time to reflect on the exorbitant demands which had been imposed upon them. Without hesitation they gave him a bill on Mr. Lake; indeed there was not anything which they would not have done, rather than lose the opportunity of getting down to the sea, which seemed so providentially held out to them.

Obie perceived by the great and sudden change in their countenances, the joy which filled their breasts, and having asked them whether they were not pleased with his arrangements, in the fullness of their hearts, he exacted from them a promise, that on returning to England, they would inform their countrymen that he was a good man, and that they would pay him a visit whenever they should come again into the country.

When King Boy came for his *book*, it was given to him, and he wished to send it down to the brig, to know if it was good. This was no more than what was to be expected, so he was informed the book would be of no use, unless they were sent along with it, and that the captain would not pay it, before he had taken them on board, on which he put the bill into his pocket-book. They then

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bade him farewell, and he took leave of them in a kind and cordial manner.

Fearing that something might yet occur to detain them, and ultimately to change the king's resolution altogether, they were most eager to get out of the reach of him and his people as quickly as possible. Therefore they lost not a moment in hastening to their lodgings, and having sent their people on board Boy's canoe, they hurried after them immediately, and embarked at three in the afternoon, and thus terminated four of the most wretched days of their existence. They were unable to take along with them their own old leaky and shattered canoe, as it would detain them very much, from being so heavy to move along. The Damaggoo people accompanied them in their own canoe, and every thing was arranged for their departure at an early hour on the following day.

The Brass canoe, which was now become their dwelling, was extremely large, and heavily laden. It was paddled by forty men and boys, in addition to whom there might be about twenty individuals, or more, including a few slaves and themselves, so that the number of human beings amounted altogether to sixty.

Like Obie's war canoes, it was furnished with a cannon, which was lashed to the bow, a vast number of cutlasses, and a quantity of grape and other shot, besides powder, flints, &c. It contained a number of large boxes or chests, which were filled with spirituous liquors, cotton, silk goods, earthenware, and other articles of European and other foreign manufactures; besides abundance of provisions for present consumption, and two thousand yams for the master of a Spanish slaver, which was then lying in Brass River. In this canoe three men might sit abreast of each other, and from the number of people which it contained, and the immense quantity of articles of various descriptions, some idea of its size may be formed. It was cut out of a solid trunk of a tree, and drew four feet and a half of water, being more than fifty feet in length. It was, however, so deeply laden, that not above two inches of the canoe were to be seen above the water's edge. With its present burden, it would have been impossible for her to sail on any river less smooth than the Niger, and even as it is, when it comes to be paddled, some danger exists of its being swamped. It was really

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laughable to reflect that the canoe was supplied with two speaking trumpets, which, considering the stentorian lungs of the men of Brass, were entirely superfluous, and that she was commanded by regularly appointed officers, with sounding titles, in imitation of European vessels, such as captain, mate, boatswain, coxswain, &c., besides a cook and his minions. These distinctions are encouraged by King Boy, whose vanity and consequence even in the most trifling concerns, were irresistibly diverting. The Landers determined to sleep in the canoe that night, notwithstanding the want of room would render it an intolerable grievance. Previously to embarking, they had taken a little boiled yam with palm oil at Obie's house, and they remained two hours lying on the bank. At seven in the evening they settled themselves for the night, but found that they were exceedingly cramped up for want of room, occasioned by the yams being stowed badly.

During the night a great tumult arose between the natives and the men of Brass, which might have had a serious and fatal termination, if the latter had not taken timely precaution to convey their canoe from the beach into the middle of the stream, whither the natives could not follow them. The former had flocked down to the water's edge in considerable numbers, armed with muskets, spears, and other offensive weapons, and kept up a dreadful noise, like the howling of wolves, till long after midnight; when the uproar died away King Boy slept on shore with his wife Adizzetta, who was Obie's favourite daughter, and on her account they waited till between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, when she made her appearance with her husband, who, they understood, had embraced the present opportunity of making an excursion with her to his native country, to vary her life a little by a change of air and scene, and to introduce her to his other wifes and relatives residing at Brass. She had besides expressed a desire to see white men's ships, and it was partly to gratify her curiosity in this particular that she was going with them. On stepping into the canoe, with a spirit of gallantry, Boy handed her to the best seat, which was a box, close to which he himself sat, and which the Landers, from motives of delicacy, had relinquished in her favour. Her face was towards the bow, whilst the two Landers sat directly

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vis-a-vis on a heap of yams, but they were so close to the opposite party that their legs came in continual contact, which threatened to produce much inconvenience and confusion. They were still further detained by removing various heavy articles into another canoe, which was lying alongside, because the canoe in which they were was pronounced too deeply laden to be safe, but after all she did not appear to be lightened very considerably. This being all accomplished, at half-past seven they pushed off the Eboe shore, and, for a little while, with forty paddles dashing up the silvery foam at the same moment, they glided through the water with the speed of a dolphin. To the Landers it was altogether a scene of considerable gratification.

"The eyes of man," says Richard Lander, "are so placed in his head, that it has been frequently observed, whether sitting or standing, he can behold earth and sky at the same moment without inconvenience, which, is an advantage, I believe, that no other animal possesses in an equal degree, if it does at all. As I was reflecting on this circumstance I happened to cast my eyes towards the horizon, to convince myself of its reality, when I found the tall, masculine figure of Obie's favourite daughter intercepted it entirely from my view. Being thus balked for a moment in my intentions, I was instantly diverted from them, and I deemed the opportunity favourable for studying the physiognomy and person of King Boy's 'ladye love.' Adizetta may be between twenty and thirty years of age,* or perhaps younger, for she takes snuff, and females arrive at womanhood in warm countries much sooner than in cold ones. Her person is tall, stout, and well proportioned, though it has not dignity sufficient to be commanding; her countenance is round and open, but dull and almost inexpressive; mildness of manners, evenness of temper, and inactivity of body also, might notwithstanding, I think be clearly defined in it; on the whole she has a perfect virginity of face, which betrays not the smallest symptoms of feeling. Her forehead is smooth and shining as

* There is a discrepancy in the account given by Lander respecting Obie and Adizzetta, which we cannot reconcile. Obie is represented to be a sprightly, young man, and yet his favourite daughter Adizzetta is married, and between 20 and 30 years of age. Obie then could not be a *young* man.

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polished ebony, but it is rather too low to be noble; her eyes full, large, and beautiful, though languid; her cheeks of a dutch-like breadth and fullness; her nose finely compressed, but not quite so distinguished a feature as the negro nose in general; there is a degree of prettiness about her mouth, the lips not being disagreeably large, which is further embellished by a set of elegant teeth, perfectly even and regular, and white as the teeth of a greyhound; her chin—but I am unable to describe a chin; I only know that it agrees well with the other features of her face.

"Adizzetta seldom laughs, but smiles and simpers most engagingly, whenever she is more than ordinarily pleased, and she seems not to be unconscious of the powerful influence which these smiles have over the mind of her husband. Her dress and personal charms may be described in a few words; the former consisting simply of a piece of figured silk, encircling the waist, and extending as far as the knees; her woolly hair, which is tastefully braided, is enclosed in a net, and ends in a peak at the top; the net is adorned, but not profusely, with coral beads, strings of which hang from the crown to the forehead. She wears necklaces of the same costly bead; copper rings encircle her fingers and great toes; bracelets of ivory her wrists, and enormous rings, also, of the elephant's tusks decorate her legs, near the ankle, by which she is almost disabled from walking, on account of their ponderous weight and immense size. I had almost finished the scrutiny of her person, when Adizzetta, observing me regarding her with more than common attention, at length caught my eye, and turned away her head, with a triumphant kind of smile, as much as to say, Aye, white man, you may well admire and adore my person; I perceive you are struck with my beauty, and no wonder neither: yet I immediately checked the ill-natured construction, which I had put on her looks, and accused myself of injustice. For though, said I to myself, Adizzetta, poor simple savage, may be as fond of admiration as her white sisters in more civilized lands, yet her thoughts, for aught I know, might have been very remote from vanity or self-love. However, that she smiled I am quite certain, and very prettily too, for I saw a circling dimple, radiating upon her full, round cheek, which terminated in a momentary gleam of animation, and illuminated her dark

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languishing eye, like a flash of light; and what could all this mean I had forgotten to say that the person of Obie's daughter is tattoed in various parts, but the incisions or rather lacerations are irregular and unseemly. Her bosom in particular bears evident marks of the cutting and gashing, which it had received when Adizzetta was a child, for the wounds having badly healed, the skin over them is risen a full half inch above the natural surface. By the side of each eye, near the temple vein, a representation of the point of an arrow is alone formed with tolerable accuracy. They look as though indigo had been inserted into the flesh with a needle, and by this peculiarity, with which every female face is impressed, the Eboe women are distinguished from their neighbours and surrounding tribes.

"Before breakfast, Adizzetta was employed above an hour in cleaning and polishing her teeth, by rubbing them with the fibrous roots of a certain shrub or tree, which are much esteemed and generally used for the purpose in her own country, as well as in the more interior parts. A great part of the day is consumed by many thousands of individuals in this amusing occupation, and to this cause, the brilliant whiteness of their teeth, for which Africans, generally speaking, are remarkable, may be attributed." Such is Lander's description of an African beauty, and that beauty a queen.

About ten in the morning, a mess of fish, boiled with yams and plantains, was produced for breakfast. As King Boy was fearful that the presence of the Landers might incommode the lady, they were desired to move farther back, that she might eat with additional confidence and comfort, for alas! they were not placed on an equality with Adizzetta and her kingly spouse. When they had breakfasted and swallowed a calabash of water from the stream, the Landers were served with a plateful, and afterwards the boat's crew and the slaves were likewise regaled with yams and water. In the evening, another refreshment, similar to this, was served round to all, and these are the only meals which the men of Brass have during the twenty-four hours. Before eating, Boy himself made it a practice of offering a small portion of his food to the spirits of the river, that his voyage might be rendered propitious by

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conciliating their good will. Previously also to his drinking a glass of rum or spirits, he poured a few drops of it into the water, invoking the protection of these fanciful beings, by muttering several expressions between his teeth, the tenor of which, of course, they did not understand. This religious observance, they were told, was invariably performed, whenever the Brass people have occasion to leave their country by water, or return to it by the same means; it is called a meat and drink offering, and is celebrated at every meal. A custom very similar to this prevails at Yarriba, at Badagry, Cape Coast Castle, and along the western coast generally; the natives of those places never take a glass of spirits without spilling a quantity of it on the ground as "a fetish." In the morning, they observed a branch of the river running off in a westerly direction, the course of the main body being southwest.

They stopped awhile at various little villages during the day, to purchase yams, bananas, and cocoa-nuts, and the curiosity of their poor inhabitants at their appearance was intense. They were chiefly fishermen or husbandmen, and notwithstanding the uncouth and remarkable dress of the Landers, they behaved to them without rudeness and even with civility, so that their inquisitiveness was not disagreeable. Speaking trumpets, it was imagined, were quite a novelty with the men at Brass, by the extraordinary rapture which they displayed for their music, which certainly was anything but melodious. It has been already stated that two of these instruments were in the canoe, for the convenience of issuing orders, and during the whole of the day, they were not ten minutes together from the mouths of the officers, so great was the desire of all of them to breathe through them, and which adds considerably to the deafening noises made by their constant quarrelling with each other. This was a great annoyance to the Landers, but they were constrained to submit to it in silence; besides, it was entirely superfluous, for the voices of the people were of themselves loud and powerful enough for all the common purposes of life; and when they have a mind to strain their brazen lungs, no speaking trumpet that has ever been made, be it ever so large, could match the quantity of horrid sound which they made; it would, in fact, drown the roaring of the sea.

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In addition to the officers and attendants in the canoe formerly mentioned, they had one drummer, the king's steward, and his lady's maid, and two persons to bale out water, besides three captains, to give the necessary directions for the safety of the canoe. The noise made by these people on their starting, in bawling to their fetish through the trumpets, was beyond all description. Their object was to secure them a safe journey, and most certainly, if noise could do so, they were pretty certain of it.

The villages that they passed in the course of the day, were very numerous, and not distant more than two or three miles from each other, on the banks of the river. They were surrounded by more cultivated land than they had seen for the previous fortnight; the crops consisting of yams, bananas, plantains, indian corn, &c. &c., not having seen so much since they left Kacunda. The villages had a pleasing appearance from the river. The houses seemed to be built of a light-coloured clay, and being thatched with palm branches, they very much resembled our own cottages. They were of a square form, with two windows on each side of the door, but have no upper rooms.

In many places they observed that the river had overflowed its banks, and was running between the trees and thick underwood. In the widest part, it did not seem more than a mile and a half across, in fact, its width, contrary to the usual course of rivers, when approaching the sea, was sensibly diminishing, and was dwindling away into an ordinary stream.

"Perhaps," says Richard Lander, "there cannot be a greater comfort under the sun, than sound and invigorating sleep to the weary, nor in our opinion, a greater grievance than the loss of it; because wakefulness at those hours, which nature has destined for repose, is, in nine cases out of ten, sure to be the harbinger of peevishness, discontent, and ill humour, and not unfrequently induces languor, lassitude, and disease. No two individuals in the world have greater reason to complain of disturbed slumbers or nightly watching, than ourselves. Heretofore, this has been occasioned chiefly by exposure to damps, rains, and dews, mosquito attacks, frightful and piercing noises, and over-fatigue, or apprehension or anxiety of mind. But now, in the absence of most of

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these causes, we are cramped, painfully cramped for want of room, insomuch, that when we feel drowsy, we find it impossible to place ourselves in a recumbent posture, without having the heavy legs of Mr. and Mrs. Boy, with their prodigious ornaments of ivory, placed either on our faces or on our breasts. From such a situation it requires almost the strength of a rhinoceros to be freed; it is most excessively teasing. Last night we were particularly unfortunate in this respect, and a second attack of fever, which came on me in the evening, rendered my condition lamentable indeed, and truly piteous. It would be ridiculous to suppose, that one can enjoy the refreshment of sleep, how much soever it may be required, when two or more uncovered legs and feet, huge, black, and rough, are traversing one's face and body, stopping up the passages of respiration, and pressing so heavily upon them at times, as to threaten suffocation. I could not long endure so serious an inconvenience, but preferred last night sitting up in the canoe. My brother was indisposed, and in fact unable to follow my example, and therefore, I endeavoured, if possible, to render his situation more tolerable. With this object in view, I pinched the feet of our snoring companions, Mr. and Mrs. Boy, repeatedly, till the pain caused them to awake, and remove their brawny feet from his face, and this enabled him to draw backwards a few inches, and place his head into a narrow recess, which is formed by two boxes. However, this did not allow him liberty to turn it either way, and thus jammed, with no command whatever over his suffering limbs, he passed the hours without sleep, and arose this morning with bruised bones and sore limbs, complaining bitterly of the wretched moments, which the legs of Mr. and Mrs. Boy had caused him, with their ivory rings and heaps of yams."

They now arrived at a convenient place for stopping awhile, to give their canoe men rest from their labour, and at day break they launched out again into the river, and paddled down the stream. At seven in the morning, Boy and his wife having landed to trade, the Landers took advantage of their absence and slept soundly for two hours, without the risk of being disturbed by the brawny legs of either the gentleman or lady.

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They continued their course down the river until two hours after midnight, when they stopped near a small village on the east side of the river. They made fast to the shore, and the people settled themselves in the canoe to sleep. Having sat up the whole of the previous night, for the best of all reasons, because they could find no room to lie down, in consequence of the crowded state of the canoe, and feeling themselves quite unequal to do the same, the Landers took their mats and went on shore, determined if possible, to sleep on the ground. Overcome by fatigue, the fear of being attacked by alligators, or any thing else, they selected a dry place and laid themselves down on their mats. They had nearly dropped asleep, when they were roused by several severe stings, and found themselves covered with black ants. They had got up their trousers, and were tormenting them dreadfully. At first they knew not which way to get rid of them. Their men, Pascoe, Sam, and Jowdie, seeing the condition they were in, landed from the canoe, and made large fires in the form of a ring, and they laid down in the midst of them and slept till daylight. The sting of a black ant is quite as painful as that of a wasp.

Towards the evening of the following day, they departed from the main river, and took their course up a small branch towards Brass Town, running in a direction about southeast from that which they had just left. They had not proceeded far on this course, when to their great satisfaction, they found themselves influenced by the tide. They had previously observed an appearance of foam on the water, which might have been carried up by the flood tide from the mouth of the river, but they now felt certain of being within its influence. They were constantly annoyed by the canoe running aground on a bank, or sticking fast in the underwood, which delayed their progress considerably, and the men were obliged to get out to lighten and lift the canoe off them. Their tract was through a narrow creek, arched over by mangroves, so as to form a complete avenue, which in many places was so thick as to be totally impenetrable by the light above. A heavy shower of rain came on and wetted them thoroughly, and after this was over, the dripping from the trees, which overhung the canoe, kept

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them in constant rain nearly the whole of the night. The smell from decayed vegetable substances was sickly and exceedingly disagreeable.

Through these dismal and gloomy passages, they travelled during the whole of the night of the 15th November without stopping, unless for a few minutes at a time, to disengage themselves from the pendant shoots of the mangrove and spreading brambles, in which they occasionally became entangled. These luxuriant natives of the soil are so intricately woven, that it would be next to impossible to eradicate them. Their roots and branches are the receptacles of ooze, mud, and filth of all kinds, exhaling a peculiar offensive odour, which no doubt possesses highly deleterious qualities.

The reason adduced for not resting during the night, was the apprehension entertained by King Boy, of being unable to overtake his father and brothers, they having left the Eboe country the day before them. A certain spot had been previously fixed upon by the parties for the meeting, and they arrived there about nine o'clock A. M., and found those individuals in three large canoes, with their attendants, waiting their arrival. Here they stopped, and made their canoes fast to the trees, to take refreshment, such as it was, and half an hour's rest; and here they were introduced to the renowned King Forday, who according to his own account is monarch of the whole country. In one of the canoes sat old King Forday, in company with several fetish priests; the second canoe belonged to King Boy, and the third was Mr. Gun's. These canoes had come thus far for the purpose of escorting them into their country.

King Forday was a complaisant venerable-looking old man, but was rather shabbily dressed, partly in the European and partly in the native style. Like most savages, his fondness for spirituous liquors was extreme, and he took large potations of rum in their presence, though it produced no visible effect upon his manner or conversation. In the jollity of the moment, he attempted to sing, but his weak piping voice did not seem to second his inclination, and the sound died away from very feebleness. His subjects, however, amounting to nearly two hundred individuals, testified

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their approbation of the effort by a tremendous "Yah!" shouted simultaneously by every voice, which sounded like the roar of a lion.

During the time that they had been at breakfast, the tide ebbed, and left their canoes lying on the mud. Breakfast being over, the fetish priests commenced their avocations, by marking the person of King Boy from head to foot with chalk, in lines, circles, and a variety of fantastic figures, which so completely metamorphosed him, as to render his identity rather questionable, at the distance of only a few yards. His usual dress had been thrown aside, and he was allowed to wear nothing but a narrow silk handkerchief tied round his waist; on his head a little close cap was placed, made of grass, and ornamented with large feathers. These they found to be the wing feathers of a black and white buzzard, which is the fetish bird of Brass Town. Two huge spears were also chalked and put into his hands, and thus equipped his appearance was wild and grotesque in the extreme. The same operation was performed on the rest of the party, and the fetish priests were chalked in the same manner. The people belonging to the Landers were merely marked on the forehead, and the Landers themselves, perhaps from being already white, although their faces were not a little tanned, were exempted from the ceremony.

They were now ordered into King Forday's canoe, to sit down with him. The old man asked them immediately in tolerably good English, to take a glass of rum with him; and having observed them wondering at the strange appearance of King Boy, and the rest of the party, gave them to understand that in consequence of no man having come down the river as they had done, the fetish ceremony was performed to prevent any thing happening to them. They also understood from him, that a certain rite would be performed to *Dju-dju*, the fetish or domestic god of Brass Town, in honour of their coming.

The tide was now fast returning, and preparations were made for proceeding to Brass Town. For this purpose the canoes were all arranged in a line, that of King Boy taking the lead; the Landers and King Forday in the next, followed by King Boy's brother; Mr. Gun and the Damaggoo people in others, and in this order

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they proceeded up the river. Gun was styled the *little military king* of Brass Town, from being entrusted with the care of all the arms and ammunition, and on this occasion, he gave them frequent opportunities of witnessing his importance and activity, by suddenly passing a short distance from the rest of the canoes, and firing off the cannon in the bow of his own, and then dropping behind again.

The whole procession formed one of the most extraordinary sights that can be imagined. The canoes were following each other up the river in tolerable order, each of them displaying three flags. In the first was King Boy, standing erect and conspicuous, his head dress of feathers waving with the movements of his body, which had been chalked in various fantastic figures, rendered more distinct by its natural colour. His hands were resting on the barb of two immense spears, which at intervals he darted violently into the bottom of his canoe, as if he were in the act of killing some formidable wild animal under his feet. In the bows of all the other canoes, fetish priests were dancing, and performing various extraordinary antics, their persons as well as those of the people in them, being chalked over in the same manner as that of King Boy; and to crown the whole, Mr. Gun, the little military gentleman, was most actively employed, his canoe, now darting before, and now dropping behind the rest, adding not a little to the imposing effect of the whole scene, by the repeated discharges of his cannon.

In this manner they continued on till about noon, when they entered a little bay, and saw before them on the south side of it, two distinct groups of buildings, one of which was King Forday's own, and the other King Jacket's town. The cannons in all the canoes were now fired off, and the whole of the people were quickly on the look-out, to witness their approach. The firing having ceased, the greatest stillness prevailed, and the canoes moved forward very slowly between the two towns to a small island, a little to the east of Jacket's town. This island is the abode of *Dju-dju*, or grand fetish priest, and his wives, no one else being permitted to reside there. As they passed Forday's town, a salute of seven guns was fired off at a small battery near the water. The canoes stopped near the fetish hut on the island, which was a low insignifi-

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cant building of clay. The priest, who was chalked over nearly in the same manner as Boy, drew near to the water's edge, and with a peculiar air asked some questions, which appeared to be answered to his satisfaction. Boy then landed, and preceded by the tall figure of the priest, entered the religious hut. Soon after this, the priest came to the water-side, and looking at the Landers with much earnestness, broke an egg, and poured some liquid into the water, after which he returned again to the hut. The Brass men then rushed on a sudden into the water, and returned in the same hasty manner, which to the Landers appeared equally as mysterious as the rest of the ceremony.

After remaining at the island about an hour, during which time Boy was in the hut with the priest, he rejoined them, and they proceeded to Forday's town, and took up their residence at Boy's house. In the extraordinary ceremony which they had just witnessed, it was evident that they were the persons principally concerned, but whether it terminated in their favour or against them; whether the answers of the *Dju-dju* were propitious or otherwise, they were only able to ascertain by the behaviour of the Brass people towards them.

It was with the strongest emotions of joy that they saw a white man on shore, whilst they were in the canoe, waiting the conclusion of the ceremony. It was a cheering and goodly sight to recognize the features of an European, in the midst of a crowd of savages. This individual paid them a visit in the evening; his behaviour was perfectly affable, courteous, and obliging, and in the course of a conversation which they had with him, he informed them that he was the master of the Spanish schooner, which was then lying in the Brass River for slaves. Six of her crew, who were ill of the fever, and who were still indisposed, likewise resided in the town.

Of all the wretched, filthy, and contemptible places in this world of ours, none can present to the eye of a stranger so miserable an appearance, or can offer such disgusting and loathsome sights as this abominable Brass Town. Dogs, goats, and other animals were running about the dirty streets half starved, whose hungry looks could only be exceeded by the famishing appearance of the men,

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women, and children, which bespoke the penury and wretchedness to which they were reduced, while the sons of many of them were covered with odious boils, and their huts were falling to the ground from neglect and decay.

Brass, properly speaking, consists of two towns of nearly equal size, containing about a thousand inhabitants each, and built on the borders of a kind of basin, which is formed by a number of rivulets, entering it from the Niger through forests of mangrove bushes. One of them was under the domination of a noted scoundrel, called King Jacket, to whom a former allusion has been made, and the other was governed by a rival chief, named King Forday. These towns are situated directly opposite each other, and within the distance of eighty yards, and are built on a marshy ground, which occasions the huts to be always wet. Another place, called Pilot's Town by Europeans, from the number of pilots that reside in it, is situated nearly at the mouth of the first Brass River, which the Landers understood to be the "*Nun*" River of the Europeans, and at the distance of sixty or seventy miles from hence. This town acknowledges the authority of both kings, having been originally peopled by settlers from each of their towns. At the ebb of the tide, the basin is left perfectly dry, with the exception of small gutters, and presents a smooth and almost unvaried surface of black mud, which emits an intolerable odour, owing to the decomposition of vegetable substances, and the quantity of filth and nastiness which is thrown into the basin by the inhabitants of both towns. Notwithstanding this nuisance, both children and grown-up persons may be seen sporting in the mud, whenever the tide goes out, all naked, and amusing themselves in the same manner, as if they were on shore.

The Brass people grow neither yams, nor bananas, nor grain of any kind, cultivating only the plantain as an article of food, which, with the addition of a little fish, forms their principal diet. Yams, however, are frequently imported from Eboe, and other countries by the chief people, who resell great quantities of them to the shipping that may happen to be in the river. They are enabled to do this by the very considerable profits which accrue to them from their trading transactions with people residing further inland, and from

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the palm oil which they themselves manufacture, and which they dispose of to the Liverpool traders. The soil in the vicinity of Brass is, for the most part, poor and marshy, though it is covered with a rank, luxuriant and impenetrable vegetation. Even in the hands of an active, industrious race, it would offer almost insuperable obstacles to general cultivation; but, with its present possessors, the mangrove itself can never be extirpated, and the country will, it is likely enough, maintain its present appearance till the end of time.

The dwelling in which the Landers resided, belonged to King Boy, and stood on the extreme edge of the basin, and was constructed not long since, by a carpenter, who came up the river for the purpose from Calabar, of which place he was a native: he received seven slaves for his labour. This man must evidently have seen European dwellings, as there was decidedly an attempt to imitate them. It was of an oblong form, containing four apartments, which were all on the ground-floor, lined with wood, and furnished with tolerably-made doors and cupboards. This wood bore decided marks of its having once formed part of a vessel, and was most likely the remains of one which, according to report, was wrecked not long ago on the bar of the river. The house had recently been converted into a kind of seraglio by King Boy, because he had, to use his own expression, "plenty of wives," who required looking after. It also answered the purpose of a storehouse for European goods, tobacco, and spirituous liquors. Its rafters were of bamboo, and its thatch of palm leaves. The apartment which the Landers occupied, had a window overlooking the basin, outside of which was a veranda, occupied at the time by Pascoe and his wives. The whole of its furniture consisted of an old oaken table, but it was supplied with seats, made of clay, which were raised about three feet from the ground. These, together with the floor, which was of mud, were so soft and wet as to enable a person to thrust his hand into any part of them without any difficulty whatever. In one corner, communicating with the other apartments, was a door destitute of a lock, and kept always ajar, except at night, when it was closed. One of the sides of the room was decorated with an old French print, representing the Virgin Mary, with a great number of chubby-faced angels minis-

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tering to her, at whose feet was a prayer on "Our Lady's good deliverance." The whole group was designed and executed badly.

When the tide is at its height, the water flows up to the doors and windows of the house, which may perhaps account for its dampness; it is, however, held in very high estimation by its owner, and was called an English house. In general the houses are built of a kind of yellow clay, and the windows are all furnished with shutters.

There were several huts opposite the town, where the people make salt, after the rains are over; the water at present was brackish from the effect of the rains, but according to the information given by Boy, in the course of two months it will be quite salt, when they will again commence making it. It is an article of trade, and appears to be taken in large quantities to the Eboe market, where it is exchanged for yams, the kowrie shell not being circulated lower down the river than Bocqua. The principal employment of the people consists in making salt, fishing, boiling oil, and trading to the Eboe country, for not a particle of cultivated land was to be seen. The people live exclusively on yams and palm oil, with sometimes a small quantity of fish. They bring poultry from the Eboe country, but rear very little themselves, and what they do rear is very carefully preserved, and sold to the ships that frequent the river.

A little palm oil would have been a great luxury to the Landers, but King Boy would not give them any. Their allowance consisted of half a small yam each day, but on the evening after their arrival, his majesty being out of the way, two of his wives brought them half a glass of rum each, and four yams; this was a great treat to them, but a considerable risk to the ladies, for had Boy discovered the theft, it is more than likely that he would have had them flogged and sold.

Wet and uncomfortable as was their dwelling, yet it was infinitely more desirable and convenient than their confined quarters in the canoe, for here they had the pleasure of reposing at full length, which was a luxury they could not have purchased on the water at any price.

The Spanish captain paid them another visit, and left the town

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in the afternoon, on his return to his vessel. He informed them that slaves were very scarce, and obtained with difficulty and expense.

Richard Lander was now invited to visit King Forday, and he accordingly complied with the summons. His house was situated about a hundred yards distant from that of King Boy, and on entering it, he found him sitting, half drunk, with about a dozen of his wives, and a number of dogs in a small filthy room. Lander was desired to sit down by his side, and to drink a glass of rum. He was then given to understand, as well as his majesty was able, that it was customary for every white man who came down the river to pay him four bars. Lander expressed his ignorance and surprise at this demand, but was soon silenced by his saying, "That is my demand, and I shall not allow you to leave this town until you give me a *book* for that amount." Seeing that he had nothing to do but to comply with his demand, Lander gave him a bill on Lake the commander of the English vessel, after which he said, "To-morrow you may go to the brig; take one servant with you, but your mate, (meaning his brother,) must remain here with your seven people, until my son, King Boy, shall bring the goods for himself and me, after this they shall be sent on board without delay."

In order that he might make a decent appearance before his countrymen on the following day, Richard Lander was obliged to sit the whole of the afternoon with an old cloth wrapped round him, until his clothes were washed and dried. This was the most miserable and starving place which they had yet visited: since their arrival, Mr. Gun had sent them two meals, consisting of a little pounded yam, and fish stewed in palm oil, and for this he had the impudence to demand two muskets in payment. These fellows, like the rest on the coast, were a set of imposing rascals, littte better than downright savages; Lander was informed that they had absolutely starved three white men, shortly before his arrival, who had been wrecked in a slaving vessel, when crossing the bar.

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CHAPTER XLI.

RICHARD LANDER had determined that one of his men should accompany him down the river, and at ten o'clock, having taken leave of his brother and the rest of the party, they embarked in King Boy's canoe, with a light heart and an anxious mind: although distant about sixty miles from the mouth of the river, his journey appeared to him already completed, and all his troubles and difficulties, he considered at an end. Already, in fond anticipation, he was on board the brig, and had found a welcome reception from her commander—had related to him all the hardships and dangers they had undergone, and had been listened to with commisseration; already had he assured himself of his doing all he could to enable him to fulfil his engagements with these people, and thought themselves happy in finding a vessel belonging to their own country in the river at the time of their arrival. These meditations and a train of others about home and friends, to which they naturally led, occupied his mind as the canoe passed through the narrow creeks, sometimes winding under avenues of mangrove trees, and at others expanding into small lakes occasioned by the overflowing of the river. The captain of the canoe, a tall sturdy fellow, was standing up, directing its course, occasionally hallooing as they came to a turn in the creek, to the fetish, and where an echo was returned half a glass of rum and a piece of yam and fish were thrown into the water. Lander had seen this done before, and on asking Boy the reason why he was throwing away the provisions thus, he

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asked, "Did you not hear the fetish?" The captain of the canoe replied, "Yes." "That is for the fetish," said Boy, "if we do not feed him, and do good for him, he will kill us, or make us poor and sick." Lander could not help smiling at the ignorance of the poor creatures, but such is their firm belief.

They had pursued their course in this manner, which had been principally to the west, till about three in the afternoon, when they came to a branch of the river about two hundred yards wide, and seeing a small village at a short distance before them, they stopped there for the purpose of obtaining some dried fish. Having supplied their wants and proceeded on, about an hour afterwards they again stopped, that their people might take some refreshment. Boy very kindly presented Lander with a large piece of yam, reserving to himself all the fish they had got at the village, and after making a hearty meal off them, he fell asleep. While he was snoring by Lander's side, the remainder of the fish attracted his notice, and not feeling half satisfied with the yam which had been given him, he felt an irresistible inclination to taste them. Conscience acquitted him on the score of hunger, and hinted that such an opportunity should not be lost, and accordingly, he very quickly demolished two small ones. Although entirely raw, they were delicious, and he never remembered having enjoyed anything with a better relish in all his life.

There was scarcely a spot of dry land to be seen anywhere, all was covered with water and mangrove trees. After remaining about half an hour, they again proceeded, and at seven in the evening arrived in the second Brass River, which was a large branch of the Quorra. They kept their course down it about due south, and half an hour afterwards, Lander heard the welcome sound of the surf on the beach. They still continued onwards, and at a quarter before eight in the evening, they made their canoe fast to a tree for the night, on the west bank of the river.

On the following morning, Lander found his clothes as thoroughly wet from the effects of the dew, as if he had been lying in the river all night instead of the canoe. At five in the morning, they let go the rope from the tree, and took their course in a westerly direction up a creek. At seven they arrived in the main branch of

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the Quorra, which is called the River Nun, or the First Brass River, having entered it opposite to a large branch, which, from the information given by King Boy, ran to Benin. The direction of the River Nun was here nearly north and south, and they kept on their course down the stream.

About a quarter an hour after they had entered the river Nun, they discerned at a distance from them, two vessels lying at anchor. The emotions of delight which the sight of them occasioned were beyond the power of Lander to describe. The nearest was a schooner, a Spanish slave vessel, whose captain they had seen at Brass Town. Their canoe was quickly by her side, and Lander went on board. The captain received him very kindly, and invited him to take some spirits and water with him. He complained sadly of the sickly state of the crew, asserting that the river was extremely unhealthy, and that he had only been in it six weeks, in which time he had lost as many men. The remainder of his crew, consisting of thirty persons, were in such a reduced state, that they were scarcely able to move, and were lying about his decks, more resembling skeletons than living persons. Lander could do no good with the Spaniard, so he took his leave of him, and returned into the canoe.

They now directed their course to the English brig, which was lying about three hundred yards lower down the river. Having reached her, with feelings of delight, mingled with doubt, Lander went on board. Here he found every thing in as sad a condition, as he had in the schooner, four of the crew had just died of fever, four more which completed the whole, were lying sick in their hammocks, and the captain himself appeared to be in the very last stage of illness. He had recovered from a severe attack of fever, and having suffered a relapse in consequence of having exposed himself too soon, which had been nearly fatal to him. Lander now stated to him who he was, explained his situation to him as fully as he could, and had his instructions read to him by one of his own people, that he might see there was no intention to impose upon him. Lander then requested that he would redeem them by paying what had been demanded by King Boy, and assured him, that whatever he might give to him on their account would certainly be

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repaid him by the British government. To the utter surprise, however, of Lander, he flatly refused to give a single thing, and ill and weak as he was, made use of the most offensive language, and the most shameful oaths, which he ever heard. Petrified with amazement, and horror-struck at such conduct, Lander shrunk from him with terror. He could scarcely believe what he had heard, till his ears were assailed by a repetition of the same oaths. Disappointed beyond measure, by such brutal conduct from one of his own countrymen, he could not have believed it possible, his feelings completely overpowered him, and he was ready to sink with grief and shame. He was now undetermined how to act, or what course to pursue. Never in his life did he feel such humiliation as at this moment. In his way through the country he had been treated well; he had been in the habit of making such presents as had been expected from them, and above all, they had maintained their character amongst the natives, by keeping their promises. This was now no longer in his power, as his means were all expended, and when as a last, and as he had imagined, a certain resource, he had promised the price of his ransom should be paid by the first of his countrymen that he might meet with, on the best of all securities, to be thus refused and dishonoured by him, would, he knew, degrade them sadly in the opinion of the natives, if it did not lessen them in their own.

As there were no hopes that the captain of this vessel would pay any thing for them, he went on board the canoe again, and told King Boy, that he must take him to Bonny, as a number of English ships were there. "No, no," said he, "dis captain no pay, Bonny captain no pay. I won't take you any further." As this would not do, Lander again had recourse to the captain, and implored him to do something for him, telling him that if he would only let him have ten muskets, Boy might be content with them, when he found that he could get nothing else. The only reply Lander received was; "I have told you already I will not let you have even a flint, so bother me no more." "But I have a brother and eight people at Brass Town," said Lander to him, "and if you do not intend to pay King Boy, at least persuade him to bring them here, or else he will poison or starve my brother, before I can

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get any assistance from a man of war, and sell all my people." The only answer given was; "If you can get them on board, I will take them away, but as I have told you before, you do not get a flint from me." Lander then endeavoured to persuade Boy to go back for his people, and that he should be paid some time or other. "Yes," said the captain, "make haste and bring them." Boy very naturally required some of his goods before he went, and it was with no small difficulty, that Lander prevailed on him afterwards to go without them.

The captain of the brig now inquired what men Lander had, and on his telling him he had two seamen, and three others, who might be useful to him in working his vessel, his tone and manner began to soften. He fully agreed with Lander, that they might be useful in getting the brig out of the river, as half of his crew were dead, and the other half sick, so Lander took courage and asked him for a piece of beef to send to his brother, and a small quantity of rum, which he readily gave. Lander knew that his brother as well as himself, much needed a change of linen, but he could not venture to ask such a thing from the captain with much hopes of success, so the cook of the brig, appearing to be a respectable sort of a man, an application was made to him, and he produced instantly three white shirts. King Boy was now ready to depart, not a little discontented, and Lander sent his own man in the canoe, with the few things which he had been able to obtain, and a note for his brother. The latter was desired to give Antonio an order on any English captain that he might find at Bonny, for his wages, and also one for the Damaggoo people, that they might receive the small present he had promised to their good old chief, who had treated them so well. At two in the afternoon, King Boy took his departure, promising to return with John Lander and his people in three days, but grumbling much at not having been paid his goods.

Lander endeavoured to make himself as comfortable as he could in the vessel, and thinking that the captain might change his behaviour towards him, when he got better, he determined to have as little to say to him till then as possible.

On the following day, Captain Lake appeared to be much better,

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and Lander ventured to ask him for a change of linen, of which he was in great want. This request was immediately complied with, and he enjoyed a luxury which he had not experienced a long time. In the course of the morning, Lander conversed with him about his travels in the country, and related the whole of the particulars of the manner in which they had been attacked and plundered at Kirree. He then explained to him how King Boy had saved them from slavery in the Eboe country, and how much they felt indebted to him for it. He endeavoured particularly to impress this on his mind, as he still hoped to bring him round to pay what he had promised. Having laid all before him as fully as he was able, and pointed out to him the bad opinion which Boy would have of them, and the injurious tendency towards Englishmen in general, that would result from not keeping their word with him, which it was in his power to enable them to do, he ventured to ask him to give him ten muskets for his bill on government. He listened apparently with great attention to his story, but Lander no sooner advanced his wants, than with a furious oath, he repeated his refusal, and finding him as determined as ever he had been, he mentioned it no more. He moreover told him in the most unkind and petulant manner, "If your brother and people are not here in three days, I go without them." This, it was believed, he would not do, as the men would be of service to him, but Boy had given his promise, that they should be at the vessel in that time.

In the middle of the day, the pilot who had brought the vessel into the river, came on board and demanded payment for it, which gave Lander an opportunity of seeing more of the disposition of Mr. Lake. The pilot had no sooner made his business known, than Lake flew into a violent passion, cursing and abusing him in the most disgusting language he could use; he refused to pay him any thing whatever, and ordered him to go out of the ship immediately. Whether Lake was right or wrong in this, Lander knew not, but he was shocked at his expressions, and the pilot reluctantly went away, threatening that he would sink his vessel, if he offered to leave the river without paying him his due. He was rather surprised to hear such language from the pilot, and doubted his meaning, until he found that he had a battery of seven brass

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guns at the town on the eastern side of the river, near its entrance, which, if well managed, might soon produce that effect. This town, as before observed, is named Pilot's Town, being the established residence of those who conduct vessels over the bar.

On the following day, Lander inquired of Capt. Lake, whether, when they left the river, he would take them to Fernando Po. This, however, he again refused, saying that the island had been given up; that there was not a single white man on it, and that no assistance could be got there, but that if all the people should arrive by the morning of the 23rd, he would land them at Bimbia, a small island in the river Cameroons, whither he was going to complete his cargo, and at this island he said that Lander would find a white man, who kept a store for Captain Smith. Lander was quite satisfied with this arrangement, feeling assured that he should get every thing he might want from him.

Lander's chief concern was now about his brother, and he much feared that the vessel would sail without him, for there was no dependence on the captain, so little did he care for them, or the object for which they had visited the country. Lander took an opportunity of begging him, in the event of his brother and the men not arriving by the 23rd, to wait a little longer for them, asserting at the same time, that if he went away without them, they would be assuredly starved or sold as slaves, before he could return to them with assistance. He might just as well have addressed himself to the wind—"I can't help it, I shall wait no longer," was the only reply he made, in a surly, hasty tone, which was a convincing proof that all attempts to reason with him would be fruitless.

In the afternoon, the chief mate and three Kroomen were sent away by his direction to sound the bar of the river, to know whether there was sufficient depth of water for the vessel to pass over it. The pilot, who had been dismissed so peremptorily on the preceding day, was determined to have his revenge, and being naturally on the look out, had observed the movements of the boat; so favourable an opportunity was not to be lost, and accordingly watching her, he despatched an armed canoe, and intercepted her return at the mouth of the river. The mate of the brig and one of

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the Kroomen were quickly made prisoners and conveyed to Pilot's Town, and the boat with the remainder sent back with a message to the captain, that they would not be given up until the pilotage should be paid. Lake must have felt somewhat annoyed at this, but whether he did or not, he treated it with the greatest indifference, saying that he did not care, he would go to sea without his mate or the Kroomen either, and that he was determined not to pay the pilotage.

On the 22nd of December, the anxiety of Lander for his brother's safety made him extremely unhappy, and during the whole of the day he was on the look out for him; Lake, observing the distress he was in, told him not to trouble himself any more about him, adding, that he was sure he was dead, and that he need not expect to see him again. "If he had been alive," said Lake, "he would have been here by this time, to-morrow morning I shall leave the river." Such inhuman and unfeeling conduct from this man only tended to increase Lander's dislike for him, and without paying him any attention, he kept looking out for his party. So great was his anxiety that he was on the look out long after dusk, nor could he sleep during the whole of the night.

The 23rd arrived, the day fixed for the departure, but to the great joy of Lander, and the mortification of Lake, the sea breeze was so strong that it raised a considerable surf on the bar, and prevented them from getting out. This was a most anxious time for Lander, and the whole of the day his eyes were riveted to the part of the river where he knew his brother must come. The whole day passed in tedious watching, and the night was far spent without any tidings of him. About midnight he saw several large canoes making their way over to the west bank of the river, in one of which he imagined that he could distinguish his brother. He observed them soon after landing, and saw by the fires which they made, that they had encamped under some mangrove trees. All his fears and apprehensions vanished in an instant, and he was overjoyed with the thoughts of meeting his brother in the morning.

The captain of the brig having observed them, suddenly exclaimed, "Now we shall have a little fighting to-morrow, go you

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and load seventeen muskets, and put five buck shot into each. I will take care that the cannon shall be loaded to the muzzle with balls and flints, and if there is any row, I will give them such a scouring as they never had." He then directed Lander to place the muskets and cutlasses out of sight, near the stern of the vessel, and said to him, "The instant that your people come on board, call them aft, and let them stand by the arms. Tell them, if there is any row to arm themselves directly, and drive all the Brass people overboard." This was summary work with a vengeance, and every thing betokened that Lake was in earnest. Lander saw clearly that he was resolved on adopting severe measures, and he appeared to possess all the determination necessary to carry them through.

Lander could not help feeling otherwise than distressed and ashamed of leaving the Brass people in this manner, but he had no alternative, there was no one to whom he could apply for assistance in his present situation, except the captain of the vessel, and to him he had applied in vain. His entreaties were thrown away on him, and even the certainty of an ample recompense by the British government, which had been held out to him, had been treated with contempt. He, therefore, had no hopes from that quarter. Boy had refused to take them to Bonny, asserting that if he could not be paid here, he should not be paid there, and to go back to Brass Town would be deliberately returning to starvation. His last resource, therefore, was to put the best face on the business which he could, and as no other plan was left him, to get away by fair means or foul, and let the blame fall where it was incurred.

Early on the following morning, Lander was on the look out for his brother, and soon observed him and the people get into the canoe. They were no sooner embarked than they all landed again, which could be accounted for in no other way, than by supposing that it was the intention of Boy to keep them on shore, until he had received the goods. He was, however, not long in this state of anxiety, for about seven o'clock, they embarked and were brought on board.

The following is the account which John Lander gave, of the

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events which fell under his notice at Brass Town, and his proceedings during the time that he was separated from his brother.

Wednesday, November 17th. "This morning, my brother, attended by one of our men, quitted this town with King Boy and suite, leaving the remainder of the party and myself behind, as hostages for the fulfilment of the conditions, which we entered into with him in the Eboe country. For myself, though greatly chagrined at this unforeseen arrangement, I could not from my heart, altog t er condemn the framer of it; for it is quite natural to suppose that a savage should distrust the promises of Europeans, when he himself is at all times guilty of breach of faith and trust, not only in his trading transactions with foreigners, but likewise in familiar intercourse with his own people. Forday is the cause of it, and he displays all the artifice, chicanery, and low cunning of a crafty and corrupt mind. Therefore, after a moment's reflection, I was not m ch surprised at the step which King Boy has taken, nor can I be very angry with him, and I am resolved to await with composure his return, and consequently my release from this miserable place, though I have begun to consider with seriousness, what will become of us, in the event of Lake's refusal to honour the bill which we have sent him. Besides, I am rather uneasy on our people's account, for during these two or three days past, they have had scarcely any thing to eat, and we are now left entirely destitute, nor do I know where to obtain relief. The Damaggoo people are with us likewise, and they are interested in my brother's return, equally as much as myself. Instead of being our guides and protectors, these poor creatures have shared in our calamity; their little all has either been lost or stolen, or else expended in provisions, and like us, they are reduced to great distress and wretchedness. They will remain here, in order to receive the few things which we have promised them and their chief, but should Lake object to part with his goods, we shall give them a note to the master of any English vessel at Bonny, whither they are destined to go, requesting him to pay the poor strangers their demands.

"After a good deal of solicitation and importunity, we received this morning four small yams from the wives of King Boy, who informed us that the same number of yams will be given us daily.

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Our people having nothing else to eat, made a kind of broth with this vegetable; at first it was, of course, a most insipid mess, but with the addition of a little salt, it is rendered more palatable. We sent to King Forday in the afternoon, for a few plantains, or any thing that could be eaten, but the gloomy old savage shook his head, folded his arms, and refused.

"Nothing could exceed my regret and consternation on the perusal of the letter which I received from my brother, and somehow, I almost dreaded to meet with King Boy. Well knowing how much it would influence his behaviour towards us, we had been careful to represent to that individual, the thanks and cheering which he would receive from our countrymen, the moment he should take us on board the English brig, that he would be favoured and caressed beyond measure, and receive plenty of beef, bread, and rum. His face used to shine with delight on anticipating so luxurious a treat, and he had uniformly been in a better humour, after listening to these promises of ours, than any thing else could have made him. The contrast between his actual reception on board Lake's ship, to that which his own fancy and our repeated assurances had taught him to expect, was too dreadful to think on even for a moment, and for this reason, as much as any other, I looked forward with something of apprehension and anxiety to an interview with this savage, because I knew, that after the cutting disappointment which he had experienced, he would be under the influence of strongly excited feelings, and stormy passions, over which he exercises no control. I was convinced too, that the whole weight of his resentment, and the fury of his rage, would fall upon me, for I am completely in his power.

"The interesting moment at length arrived. We heard King Boy quarrelling with his women, and afterwards walking through their apartments towards ours, muttering as he went along. He entered it, and stood still; I was reposing, as I usually do for the greater part of the day, upon a mat which is placed on the seat of wet clay, but on perceiving him, I lifted my head without arising, and reclined it on my hand. He looked fixedly upon me, and I returned his glance with the same unshrinking steadfastness. But his dark eye was flashing with anger, whilst his upturned lip,

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which exposed his white teeth, quivered with passion. No face in the world could convey more forcibly to the mind the feeling of contempt and bitter scorn, than the distorted one before me. It was dreadfully expressive, drawing up the left angle of his mouth in a parallel with his eyes, he broke silence, with a sneering, long-drawn 'Eh!' and almost choked with rage, he cursed me; and in a tone and manner, which it is infinitely out of my power to describe, he spoke to the following effect: 'You are thief, man; English captain, no will! You assured me, when I took you from the Eboe country, that he would be overjoyed to see me, and give me plenty of beef and rum; I received from him neither the one nor the other. Eh! English captain, no will! I gave a quantity of goods to free you from the slavery of Obie; I took you into my own canoe; you were hungry, and I gave you yam and fish; you were almost naked, I was sorry to see you so, because you were white men and strangers, and I gave each of you a red cap and a silk handkerchief; but you are no good, you are thief, man. Eh! English captain, no will; he no will. You also told me your countrymen would do this (taking off his cap, and flourishing it in circles over his head,) and cry hurra! hurra! on receiving me on board their vessel; you promised my wife a necklace, and my father, four bars. But eh! English captain, no will! he tell me he no will: yes, I will satisfy your hunger with plenty more of my fish and yams, and your thirst I will quench with rum and palm wine. Eh! you thief man, you are no good, English captain, no will!' He then stamped on the ground, and gnashing at me with his teeth like a dog, he cursed me again and again.

"It is true I did not feel perfectly easy at this severe rebuke, and under such taunting reproaches; but I refrained from giving utterance to a single thought till after he had concluded his abuse and anathematizing. Had a spirited person been in my situation, he might have knocked him down, and might have had his head taken off for his pains, but as for me, all such kind of spirit is gone out of me entirely. Besides we had, though unintentionally, deceived King Boy, and I also bore in mind the kindness which he had done us, in ransoming us from a state of slavery. Most of what he had asserted was most unquestionably true, and in some

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measure, I was deserving his severest reprehension and displeasure.

"The fury of Boy having been somewhat appeased by my silence and submission, as well as by his own extraordinary and violent agitation, I ventured mildly to assure him, on the strength of my brother's letter, that his suspicions were entirely groundless, that Mr. Lake had certainly a *will* or inclination to enter into arrangements with him for the payment of his just demands, and that when he should convey our people and myself to the Thomas, every thing would be settled to his complete satisfaction. He half believed, half mistrusted my words, and shortly afterwards quitted the apartment, threatening, however, that we should not leave Brass till it suited his own pleasure and convenience.

"It is really a most humiliating reflection, that we are reduced to the most contemptible subterfuges of deceit and falsehood, in order to carry a point which might have been easily gained by straightforward integrity. But the conduct of Lake has left us no alternative, and whatever my opinion of that individual may be, he surely must be destitute of all those manly characteristics of a British seaman, as well as of the more generous feelings of our common nature, to be guilty, on a sick bed, of an action which might, for aught he knew or cared, produce the most serious consequences to his unfortunate countrymen in a savage land, by exposing them to the wretchedness of want, and the miseries of slavery, to mockery, ill-usage, contempt, and scorn, and even to death itself.

"November 20th. King Boy has not visited us to-day, though we have received the customary allowance of four yams from his women. In addition to which, Adizzetta made us a present of half a dozen this morning, as an acknowledgment for the benefit she had derived from a dose of laudanum, which I gave her last night, for the purpose of removing pain from the lower regions of the stomach, a complaint by which she says she is occasionally visited.

"This morning, November 21st, I dismissed the poor Damaggoo people, with a note to either of the English vessels lying in the Bonny river, requesting him to give the bearer three barrels of

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gunpowder, and a few muskets, on the faith of being paid for the same by the British government. They left Brass in their own canoe, quite dejected and out of heart, and Antonio, the young man who volunteered to accompany us from his majesty's brig, Clinker, at Badagry, went along with them, on his return to his country, from which he has been absent two or three years.

"The following day, one or two crafty little urchins, who are slaves to King Boy, brought us a few plantains as a gift. They had been engaged in pilfering tobacco leaves from an adjoining apartment, to which our people were witnesses, and the juvenile depredators, fearing the consequences of a disclosure, bribed them to secresy in the manner already mentioned. Boy's women have also been guilty, during the temporary absence of their lord and master, of stealing a quantity of rum from the store room, and distributing it amongst their friends and acquaintance, and they have resorted to the same plan as the boys, to prevent the exposure, which they dreaded. One of them, who acts as a duenna, is the favourite and confidante of Boy, and she wears a bunch of keys round her neck in token of her authority. She has likewise the care of all her master's effects, and as a further mark of distinction, she is allowed the privilege of using a walking-stick with a knob at the end, which is her constant companion. This woman is exceedingly good-natured, and indulges our men with a glass or two of rum every day.

"Last evening, King Boy stripped to the skin, and having his body most hideously marked, ran about the town like a maniac with a spear in his hand, calling loudly on *Djiu Djiu*, and uttering a wild, frantic cry at every corner. It appears that one of his father's wives had been strongly suspected of adulterous intercourse with a free man residing in the town, and that this strange means was adopted, in pursuance of an ancient custom, to apprize the inhabitants publicly of the circumstance, and implore the counsel and assistance of the god at the examination of the parties. This morning the male aggressor was found dead, having swallowed poison, it is believed, to avoid a worse kind of death, and the priest declaring his opinion of the guilt of the surviving party, she was immediately sentenced to be drowned. This afternoon, the ill-fated

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woman was tied hand and foot, and conveyed in a canoe to the main body of the river, into which she was thrown without hesitation, a weight of some kind having been fastened to her feet for the purpose of sinking her. She met her death with incredible firmness and resolution. The superstitious people believe, that had the deceased been innocent of the crime laid to her charge, their god would have saved her life, even after she had been flung into the river; but because she had perished, her guilt was unquestionably attested. The mother of the deceased is not allowed to display any signs of sorrow or sadness at the untimely death of her daughter, for were she to do so, the same dreadful punishment would be inflicted upon her. 'For,' say the Brass people, 'if the parent should mourn or weep over the fate of a child guilty of so heinous a crime, we should pronounce her instantly to be as criminal as her daughter, and to have tolerated her offence. But if, on the contrary, she betrays no maternal tenderness, nor bewail her bereavement in tears and groans, we should then conclude her to be entirely ignorant of the whole transaction; she would then give a tacit acknowledgment to the justice of the sentence, and rejoice to be rid of an object that would only entail disgrace on her as long as she lived.

"Our people are become heartily tired of their situation, and impatient to be gone; they were regaled with an extra quantity of rum last evening, by their female friend, the duenna; when their grievances appearing to them in a more grievous light than ever, they had the courage to go in a body to King Boy, to demand an explanation of his intentions towards them. They told him, indignantly, either to convey them to the English brig, or sell them for slaves to the Spaniards, 'For,' say they, 'we would rather lose our liberty, than be kept here to die of hunger.' Boy returned them an equivocating answer, but treated them much less roughly than I had reason to anticipate. Afterwards, I went myself to the same individual, and with a similar motive, but for some time I had no opportunity of conversing with him. It is a kind of holiday here, and most of the Brass people, with their chiefs, are merry with intoxication. As well as I can understand, during the earlier part of the day they were engaged in a solemn, religious ob-

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servance, and since then King Forday has publicly abdicated in favour of Boy, who is his eldest son. I discovered those individuals in a court annexed to the habitation of the former, surrounded by a great number of individuals with bottles, glasses, and decanters at their feet; they were all in a state of drunkenness, more or less; and all had their faces and bodies chalked over in rude and various characters. Forday, alone, sat in a chair, Boy was at his side, and the others, amongst whom was our friend Gun and a drummer, were sitting around on blocks of wood, and on the trunk of a fallen tree. The chairman delivered a long oration, but he was too tipsy, and perhaps too full of days to speak with grace, animation, or power; therefore his eloquence was not very persuasive, and his nodding hearers, overcome with drowsiness, listened to him with scarcely any attention. They smiled, however, and laughed occasionally, but I could not find why they did so; I don't think they themselves could tell. The old chief wore an English superfine beaver hat, and an old jacket, that once belonged to a private soldier, but the latter was so small that he was able only to thrust an arm into one of the sleeves, the other part of the jacket being thrown upon his left shoulder. These, with the addition of a cotton handkerchief, which was tied round his waist, were his only apparel. By far the most showy and conspicuous object in the yard, was an immense umbrella, made of figured cotton of different patterns, with a deep fringe of coloured worsted, which was stuck into the ground. But even this was tattered and torn, and dirty withal, having been in Forday's possession for many years, and it is only used on public and sacred occasions. I had been sitting amongst the revellers till the speaker had finished his harangue, when I embraced the opportunity, as they were about to separate, of entreating King Boy to hasten our departure for the vessel. He was highly excited and elated with liquor, and being in excellent temper, he promised to take us to-morrow.

"It required little time on the following day, to take leave of a few friends we have at Brass, and we quitted the town not only without regret, but with emotions of peculiar pleasure. King Boy, with three of his women, and his suite in a large canoe, and our people and myself in a smaller one. Adizzetta would gladly have

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accompanied her husband to the English vessel, for her desire to see it was naturally excessive; but she was forbidden by old Forday, who expressed some squeamishness about the matter, or rather he was jealous that on her return to her father's house in the Eboe country, she would give too high and favourable an opinion of it to her friends, which might in the end produce consequences highly prejudicial to his interests.

"We stopped awhile at a little fishing village, at no great distance from Brass, where we procured a few fish, and abundance of young cocoa nuts, the milk of which was sweet and refreshing. Continuing our journey on streams and rivulets intricately winding through mangroves and brambles, we entered the main body of the river in time to see the sun setting behind a glorious sky, directly before us. We were evidently near the sea, because the water was perfectly salt, and we scented also the cool and bracing sea breeze, with feelings of satisfaction and rapture. However, the wind became too stormy for our fragile canoe; the waves leaped into it over the bow, and several times we were in danger of being swamped. Our companion was far before us, and out of sight, so that, for the moment, there was no probability of receiving assistance, or of lightening the canoe, but, happily, in a little while we did not require it, for the violence of the wind abating with the disappearance of the sun, we were enabled to continue on our way without apprehension. About nine o'clock in the evening, we overtook the large canoe and the crews, both having partaken of a slight refreshment of fish and plantain together, we passed the *Second Brass River*, which was to the left of us, in company. Here it might have been somewhat more than half a mile in breadth, and though it was dangerously rough for a canoe, with great precaution we reached the opposite side in safety. From thence, we could perceive in the distance, the long wished for Atlantic, with the moonbeams reposing in peaceful beauty on its surface, and could also hear the sea breaking, and roaring over the sandy bar, which stretches across the mouth of the river. The solemn voice of Ocean never sounded more melodiously in my ear, than it did at this moment. O it was enchanting as the harp of David! Passing along by the left bank, we presently entered

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the First Brass River, which is the "Nun" of Europeans, where at midnight we could faintly distinguish the masts and rigging of the English brig in the dusky light, which appeared like a dark and ragged cloud above the horizon. To me, however, no sight could be more charming. It was beautiful as the gates of Paradise, and my heart fluttered with unspeakable delight, as we landed in silence on the beach opposite the brig, near a few straggling huts, to wait impatiently the dawn of to-morrow.

"The morning of the 24th was a happy one, for it restored me to the society of my brother, and of my countrymen. The baneful effects of the climate are strongly impressed upon the countenances of the latter, who, instead of their natural healthy hue, have a pale, dejected, and sickly appearance, which is quite distressing to witness. However, the crew of the Spanish schooner look infinitely more wretched; they have little else but their original forms remaining; they crawl about like beings under a curse they are mere shadows or phantoms of men, looking round for their burying place. No spectacle can be more humiliating to man's pride than this; nothing can give him a more degrading sense of his own nothingness. It is very much to be wondered at why Europeans, and Englishmen in particular, persevere in sending their fellow creatures to this Aceldama, or Golgotha, as the African coast is sometimes not inappropriately called; they might as well bury them at once at home, and it is pleasanter far to die there; but interest, and the lust of gain, like Aaron's rod, seem to swallow up every other consideration.

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CHAPTER XLII.

During the time that the canoe was coming from the shore to the vessel, Richard Lander had stationed himself by the cannon; it was the only one on board, but it had been loaded as Lake had directed, and pointed to the gangway of the brig, where the Brass people were obliged to come. The muskets were all ready, lying concealed, where Lake had directed them to be placed, and he repeated the same orders that he had given on the preceding day, respecting the part that the Landers' people were to take in the business.

Lake received John Lander very civilly, but immediately expressed his determination to dismiss Boy without giving him a single article, and to make the best of his way out of the river. A short time after the arrival of John Lander, a canoe arrived at the beach, with Mr. Spittle, the mate of the brig, as prisoner, who, immediately sent a note off to the captain, informing him that the price of his liberation was the sum demanded for the pilotage of the vessel over the bar of the river. He said further, that he was strictly guarded, but that, notwithstanding this, he did not despair of making his escape, if Lake could wait a little for him. The vessel had been brougnt into the river about three months before. but Lake would never pay the pilotage, and all he did was to send Mr. Spittle a little bread and beef. The amount demanded was about fifty pounds worth of goods, which it was quite out of the question that Lake would ever pay.

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Meanwhile King Boy, full of gloomy forebodings, had been lingering about the deck. He had evidently foresight enough to suspect what was to take place, and he appeared troubled and uneasy, and bewildered in thought. The poor fellow was quite an altered person; his habitual haughtiness had entirely forsaken him, and given place to a cringing and humble demeanor. A plate of meat was presented to him, of which he ate sparingly, and showe clearly that he was thinking more of his promised goods, than his appetite, and a quantity of rum that was given to him was drunk carelessly, and without affording any apparent satisfaction.

Knowing how things were likely to terminate, the Landers endeavoured to get Boy into a good humour, by telling him that he should certainly have his goods some time or other; but it w s all to no purpose; the attempt was a complete failure; the present was the only time in his mind. The Landers really pitied him, and were grieved to think that their promises could not be fulfilled. How gladly would they have made any personal sacrifice, rather than thus break their word; for although they had been half starved in his hands, yet they felt themselves indebted to him for having taken them from the Eboe people, and bringing them to the vessel. Richard Lander rummaged over the few things which had been left them from their disaster at Kirree, and found to his surprise, five silver bracelets wrapped up in a piece of flannel. He was not aware of having these things, but he immediately offered them to him, along with a native sword, which being a very great curiosity, they had brought with them from Yarriba, with the intention of taking it to England. Boy accepted of them, and John Lander then offered him his watch, for which he had a great regard, as it was the gift of one of his earliest and best friends. This was refused with disdain, for Boy knew not its value, and calling one of his men to look at what, he said, the Landers wished to impose on him in lieu of his bars, both of them, with a significant groan, turned away from the Landers with scorn and indignation, nor would they speak to them or even look at them again. The mortification of the Landers was nearly now complete, but they were helpless, and the fault was not with them.

Boy now ventured to approach Captain Lake, on the quarter

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deck, and with an anxious petitioning countenance, asked for the goods, which had been promised him. Prepared for the desperate game he was about to play, it was the object of Lake to gain as much time as possible, that he might get his vessel under way, before he came to an open rupture. Therefore, he pretended to be busy in writing, and desired Boy to wait a moment. Becoming impatient with delay, Boy repeated his demand a second and a third time: "Give me my bars." "I NO WILL," said Lake, in a voice of thunder, which could hardly have been expected from a frame so emaciated as his. "I no will, I tell you; I wont give you a—flint. Give me my mate, you black rascal, or I will bring a thousand men of war here in a day or two; they shall come and burn down your towns, and kill every one of you; bring me my mate." Terrified by the demeanor of Lake, and the threats and oaths he made use of, poor King Boy suddenly retreated, and seeing men going aloft to loosen the sails, apprehensive of being carried off to sea, he quickly disappeared from the deck of the brig, and was soon observed making his way on shore in his canoe, with the rest of his people; this was the last they saw of him. In a few minutes from the time Boy had left the vessel, the mate, Mr. Spittle, was sent off in a canoe, so terrified were the Brass people that a man of war would come, and put Lake's threats into execution.

At ten in the morning the vessel was got under way, and they dropped down the river. At noon the breeze died away, and they were obliged to let go an anchor to prevent their drifting on the western breakers, at the mouth of the river. A few minutes more would have been fatal to them, and the vessel was fortunately stopped, although the depth of water where she lay, was only five fathoms. The rollers, as the large high waves are called, which come into the river over the bar, were so high, that they sometimes passed nearly over the bow of the vessel, and caused her to ride very uneasily by her anchor. They had been obliged to anchor immediately abreast of the Pilot's town, and expected every moment that they should be fired at from the battery. Time was of the greatest importance to them; they had made Boy their enemy, and expected before they could get out of the river, he would summon his people and make an attack upon them, whilst

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their whole party amounted only to twenty men, two thirds of whom were Africans. The pilot also, whom Lake had offended so much, was known to be a bold and treacherous ruffian. He was the same person, who steered the brig Susan among the breakers, by which that vessel narrowly escaped destruction, with the loss of her windlass, and an anchor and cable. The fellow had done this, merely with the hope of obtaining a part of the wreck, as it drifted on shore. Another vessel, a Liverpool oil trader, was actually lost on the bar, by the treachery of the same individual, who having effected his purpose, by placing her in a situation, from which she could not escape, jumped overboard and swam to the canoe, which was at a short distance. The treatment of the survivors of this wreck is shocking to relate; they were actually stripped of their clothes, and allowed to die of hunger. It would be an endless task to enumerate all the misdeeds, that are laid to this fellow's charge, which have no doubt lost nothing by report, but after making all reasonable allowances for exaggeration, his character appears in a most revolting light, and the fact of his running these vessels on the bar, proves him to be a desperate and consummate villain. This same fellow is infinitely more artful and intelligent than any of his countrymen, and is one of the handsomest black men that the Landers had seen.

Not long after they had dropped the anchor, they observed the pilot, with the help of the glass, walking on the beach, and watching them occasionally. A multitude of half-naked, suspicious-looking fellows, were likewise straggling along the shore, while others were seen emerging from a grove of cocoa trees, and the thick bushes near it. These men were all armed, chiefly with muskets, and they subsequently assembled in detached groups to the number of several hundreds, and appeared to be consulting about attacking the vessel. Nothing less than this, and to be fired at from the battery, was now expected by them, and there was no doubt that the strength and loftiness of the brig only deterred them from so doing. The same people were hovering on the beach till very late in the evening, when they dispersed; many of them could be seen even at midnight, so that they were obliged to keep a good look-out till the morning.

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During the night, the vessel rode very uneasily, in consequence of the long heavy waves which set in from the bar; these are technically called by sailors *ground swell*, being different from the waves which are raised while the wind blows; the latter generally break at the top, while the former are quite smooth, and roll with great impetuosity in constant succession, forming a deep furrow between them, which, with the force of the wave, is very dangerous to vessels at anchor.

Their motions were still closely watched by the natives. About eleven they got under way, but were obliged to anchor again in the afternoon, as the water was not deep enough for the vessel to pass over the bar. The mate sounded the bar again, and placed a buoy as a mark for the vessel to pass over in the deepest water.

On the following morning, the wind favouring them, they made another attempt at getting out of the river. They had already made some progress, when the wind again died away, and the current setting them rapidly over to the eastern breakers, they were obliged to let go an anchor to save them from destruction. They could see nothing of the buoy, and no doubt was entertained that it was washed away by the current. Their anchorage was in three and a half fathom water, and the ground swell, which then set in, heaved the vessel up and down in such a frightful manner, that they expected every moment to see the chain cable break. As soon as they dropped their anchor, the tide rushed past the vessel at the rate of eight miles an hour. After the ebb tide had ceased running, the swell gradually subsided, and the vessel rode easily.

The mate was again sent to sound the bar, and in about three hours afterwards, returned with the information that two fathoms and three quarters was the deepest water he could find. The bar extended across the mouth of the river in the form of a crescent leaving a very narrow and shallow entrance for vessels in the middle, which was generally concealed by the surf and foam of the adjacent breakers. When the wind is light and the tide high, and the surface of the water smooth, excepting in a few places, the bar is then most dangerous. They observed several fires made by the natives on the beach, which were supposed to be signals for them to return.

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They passed a restless and most unpleasant night. The captain and the people were much alarmed for the safety of the brig. The heavy ground swell, which set in, increased by the strength of the tide, caused her to pitch and labour so hard, that a man was placed to watch the cable, and give notice the moment it *complained*, a technical expression, which meant, the moment it gave signs of breaking. Daylight had scarcely dawned, when the pall of the windlass broke. The purpose of this was to prevent the windlass from turning round on its axis against any strain to which it might be subjected, and consequently it was no sooner broken, than the windlass flew round with incredible velocity, having nothing to resist the strain of the cable, which was passed round it. The chain cable ran out so swiftly, that in half a minute the windlass was broken to atoms. The two Landers with their people rendered all the assistance in their power to prevent the ship from drifting. They succeeded in fastening the cable to ring bolts in the deck, until they got sufficient of it clear to go round the capstan, which they had no sooner effected, than the ring bolts were fairly drawn out of the deck by the strain on the cable.

About eight in the evening, a terrific wave, called by sailors a *sea*, struck the vessel with tremendous force, and broke the chain cable. "The cable is gone," shouted a voice, and the next instant the captain cried out in a firm, collected tone, "Cut away the kedge," which was promptly obeyed, and the vessel was again stopped from drifting among the breakers. The man who had been stationed to look out on the cable, came running aft on deck, as soon as he had given notice of the danger, calling out that all was over. "Good God!" was the passionate exclamation of every one, and a slight confusion ensued. But the captain was prepared for the worst, he gave his orders with firmness, and behaved with promptness and intrepidity.

"We were riding by the kedge, a small anchor, which, however, was the only one left us, and on which the safety of the brig now depended. The breakers were close under our stern, and this was not expected to hold ten minutes; it was a forlorn hope, every eye was fixed on the raging surf, and our hearts thrilled with agitation, expecting every moment that the vessel would be dashed in pieces.

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A few long and awful minutes were passed in this state, which left an indelible impression on our minds. Never," continues Richard Lander, "shall I forget the chief mate saying to me, 'Now, sir, every one for himself, a few minutes will be the last with us.' The tumultuous sea was raging in mountainous waves close by us, their foam dashing against the sides of the brig, which was only prevented from being carried among them by a weak anchor and cable. The natives, from whom they could expect no favour, were busy on shore making large fires, and other signals, for us to desert the brig and land at certain places, expecting, no doubt, every moment to see her a prey to the waves, and those who escaped their fury, to fall into their hands. Wretched resource! the sea would have been far more merciful than they."

Such was their perilous situation, when a fine sea breeze set in, which literally saved them from destruction. The sails were loosened to relieve the anchor from the strain of the vessel, and she rode out the ebb tide without drifting. At ten A. M. the tide had nearly ceased running out, and the fury of the sea rather abated, but it was quite impossible that the brig could ride out another ebb tide where she lay, with the kedge anchor alone to hold her; the only chance left them, therefore, was to get to sea, and the captain determined on crossing the bar, although there appeared to be little chance of success. At half-past ten A. M. he manned the boat with two of Lander's men, and two Kroomen belonging to the brig, and sent them to tow while the anchor was got on board. This had no sooner been done than the wind fell light, and instead of drifting over to the western breakers as on the two preceding days, the brig was now set towards those on the eastern side, and again they had a narrow escape. With the assistance of the boat and good management, they at length passed clear over the bar on the edge of the breakers, in a depth of quarter less three fathoms, and made sail to the eastward. Their troubles were now at an end; by the protection of a merciful Providence, they had escaped dangers, the very thoughts of which had filled them with horror, and with a grateful heart and tears of joy for all his mercies, they offered up a silent prayer of thanks for their deliverance.

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The bar extends about four or five miles from the mouth of the river, in a southerly direction, but is by no means known. This river is by far the best place on the whole coast, at which small vessels may procure oil, as it is the shortest distance from the Eboe country, where the best palm oil is to be had in any quantity. The Eboe oil is pronounced to be superior to that of any other part of the country, which is brought to the coast. The river is not much frequented, owing probably to its being unknown, and the difficulty of crossing the bar; for not more than five English vessels have been known to come to it, two of which are stated to have been lost, and a third to have struck on the bar, but being a new strong vessel, she beat over into deep water. The Landers recommend any master going to the river for palm oil, to provide himself with two good strong six-oared boats for towing, and a double complement of Kroomen. The expense of ten or twelve Kroomen would be trifling, as they only require a few yams and a little palm oil to eat, and they are always ready to perform any laborious work which may be required of them. If masters of vessels coming to the river would send a boat before to sound, and have two good six-oared boats towing, it is supposed there would be no danger of any being lost, as has been the case with some, from being weakly manned. Vessels are got under way with a fine breeze, and when they arrive in the most dangerous part, it dies away, and if there be no boats ready for towing, nothing can save them from destruction.

Vessels going out of the river are usually recommended to keep as near as possible to the western breakers, but this plan is supposed to be very dangerous, unless there be sufficient wind to keep command of them. When a vessel leaves her anchorage in the river, she will be set by the current over to the western breakers, and when half way to the bar, will be set over to the eastern, as the Landers were. The river would be the safest in the month of December or January, as the rains in the interior would then be over, and all the extra water will have been discharged, which it has received in the extent of country through which it has run. When no English vessels are in the river, the people of Bonny

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come and purchase the palm oil from the Brass people, probably for the purpose of supplying the ships in their river, as well as for their own uses.

On the morning of November 28th, they discovered a strange vessel on their starboard beam, which directly made sail in chase of them. After firing a gun to make them stop, or to bring them to, as the sailors expressed themselves, she sent a boat on board of the brig, and we found her to be the Black Joke, tender to the British commodore's ship. The Landers reported themselves to the lieutenant commanding her, under the hope of her taking them on board of his vessel and landing them at Accra, from whence they thought it would be easy to find their way by one of his majesty's ships to Ascension or St. Helena, from either of which places an opportunity would offer for them to get home without delay. The orders, however, of the lieutenant were to run down the coast as far as the Congo, and he recommended them to go to Fernando Po, where they would find every assistance, and a vessel about to sail soon for England. Having obtained from them the intelligence that the Spanish slaver was lying in the Nun River ready to sail, he immediately altered his course for that river, for the purpose of capturing her. Captain Lake agreed to land them in his boat at Fernando Po, as he passed the island on his way to the River Camaroons, and they again made sail to the westward.

They were two days in making their passage to Fernando Po, and on the morning of December 1st, to their great satisfaction, they discovered the island. They were glad to get out of the Thomas, for the unfeeling commander, notwithstanding that Lander's men had rendered him every service in getting his brig out of the river, and had done every thing required of them, afterwards employed every means he could think of to annoy them, and to make them uncomfortable, while they were with him. At night, while the people were sleeping, he would make his men draw water, and throw it over them, for mere amusement. There are many commanders as bad as he is on the coast, who seem to vie with each other in acts of cruelty and oppression. The captain of the palm oil brig Elizabeth, now in the Calebar River, actually white-washed his crew from head to foot, while they were sick with fever,

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and unable to protect themselves; his cook suffered so much in the operation, that the lime totally deprived him of the sight of one of his eyes, and rendered the other of little service to him.

In the afternoon they were happily landed at Clarence Cove, in the island of Fernando Po, where they were most kindly received by Mr. Becroft, the acting superintendent. This worthy gentleman readily supplied them with changes of linen, and every thing they stood in need of, besides doing all he could to make them comfortable. The kindness and hospitality they received from him and Dr. Crichton in particular, made a grateful impression on the hearts of the Landers.

Accustomed as they had been during the last month, to the monotonous sameness of a low flat country, the banks of the river covered with mangroves overhanging the water, and in many parts, in consequence of its extraordinary height, apparently growing out of it; the lofty summit of Fernando Po, and the still loftier mountains of the Camaroons, on the distant mainland, presented a sublime and magnificent appearance. The highest mountain of the Camaroons, is a striking feature on this part of the coast, being more than thirteen thousand feet high. The land in its vicinity is low and flat, which renders the appearance of this mountain still more imposing, as it towers majestically over the surrounding country in solitary grandeur. It divides the embouchures of the spacious rivers Old Calebar and Del Rey on the west, from the equally important one of the Cameroons on the east. The island of Fernando is detached about twenty miles from the coast, and appeared to them, when they first saw it, in two lofty peaks connected by a high ridge of land. The northern peak is higher than the other, which is situated in the southern part of the island, and rises gradually from the sea to the height of ten thousand seven hundred feet. In clear weather the island can be seen at the distance of more than a hundred miles; but this is not always the case, as the summit is most frequently concealed by clouds and fogs, which are common at certain seasons of the year.

As they approached the island in fine weather, and with a moderate wind, they had ample time to observe it. The shore is formed mostly of a dark coloured rock, and covered with trees which reach

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down to the water's edge. The whole of the lower part of the island is covered with fine forest trees of various descriptions, extending about three fourths up the sides of the mountain, where they became thinly scattered, stinted in their growth, and interspersed with low bushes and a brown dry grass. In various parts, patches of cultivated ground may be seen along with the huts of the natives, presenting, with the luxuriant foliage of the trees, a mass of verdure in the most flourishing condition. Nature has here done her utmost; the whole appearance of the island is of the most beautiful description, and fully justifies its title to the name of *Ilha Formosa*, signifying, "beautiful island," which it first received. As they approached it still nearer, the stupendous precipices, and wide fissures near the summit of the principal mountain, became more distinct, by the contrast between their dark recesses and the lights on the projecting rocks, until by the proximity of the observers to the shore, the whole became concealed behind the lesser height next to the sea.

Until the year 1827, the island lay forsaken and neglected in its primitive condition, neither the Portuguese nor Spaniards having thought it worth their consideration. At length, the attention of the British government was directed to it, in consequence of its favourable position for putting a stop to the slave trade in that quarter of Africa. Situated within a few hours sail of the coast, in the immediate vicinity of those rivers, commencing with the Camaroons on the east, and extending along the whole of the Gold Coast, where the principal outlets of this unlawful traffic are found, Fernando Po presented advantages, which were sufficient to authorize a settlement being formed on it, and Captain W. Owen sailed from England for that purpose, in his majesty's ship Eden, with the appointment of governor, and with Commander Harrison under his orders. Captain Owen had been previously employed on an extensive and difficult survey of the coasts of Africa, both in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, in which the shores of this island were included, and therefore, having visited it before, he was no stranger either to its nature and resources, or to the climate in which it is situated. Previously to the arrival of Captain Owen, the island had been occasionally visited by some of the ships on the African

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station, for the purpose of obtaining supplies of vegetables and water, and perhaps now and then a Liverpool trader would be seen there waiting for palm oil, or recovering the health of her crew from fevers obtained in the rivers on the coast. As the natives reside some distance in the interior, the arrival of a ship of war at the island, was announced to them by the discharge of a cannon on board, which was sufficient to bring them to the sea side, with whatever vegetables, poultry, and other articles they might wish to sell. The articles mostly demanded by them in return, were pieces of iron-hoop, knives, and nails. At first, a piece of iron-hoop about six inches long, would purchase a pair of fowls or four yams, so great was the value which the natives attached to iron.

The business of forming a new settlement, is a species of service that requires the exercise of certain qualities of the mind, which it is not the good fortune of every one to possess. In addition to the pernicious effects of the climate on European constitutions, there were people on the island, who, although they might be unable to offer any serious impediment to the progress of the settlement, it was necessary to conciliate than treat them with hostility, and for this, no one could have been better calculated than Captain Owen. Whatever may have induced him to relinquish the appointment of governor, no measures for gaining the friendship of the natives, and thereby securing their good will towards the colony, could have been better than those which he adopted, and the chiefs even now frequently mention his name.

The part selected as the site of the proposed settlement, was on the northern side of the island on the borders of a small cove, formed by a narrow neck of land projecting out from the shore on the eastern side of it. This was named "Point William," and the cove, together with the whole establishment was called "Clarence," after his most gracious majesty, who was then lord high admiral of Great Britain. Point Adelaide with two small islets off it, connected by a sand bank, forms the western boundary of the cove, and is distant about half a mile from Point William. Goderich Bay lies to the east, and Cockburn Cove to the west of Clarence Cove. Under the able direction of Captain Owen, the various buildings were planned, while the operation of clearing the ground was going

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forward. A flag staff, which formerly stood on the extremity of Point William, was removed to the governor's house; and a large commodious building, with a few solitary palm trees near it, is the first object which attracts attention. This building was assigned as the hospital, and was judiciously situated here, as it was the most exposed to the sea breeze, and stood completely isolated from the rest of the settlement, both which precautions were of no small importance in the climate of Fernando Po. A small, round-topped building at a short distance from the hospital, with a few huts near it, and surrounded by stakes, was formerly the magazine, and near it was another large building, used as the marine barracks. The officers' quarters, and those of the African corps, were next in succession, and announced their military character by a piece of artillery mounted close to them, and pointed towards the cove. The governor's house, a large, spacious building, stands eminently conspicuous, on the precipice of the shore beneath, which is the landing place. From hence, a fatiguing walk leads immediately to it, up an ascent of about one hundred feet. A battery of seven guns were landed for this purpose from his majestys ship, Esk, which were placed in a very commanding situation in front of the governor's house. The house of the mixed commission for the adjudication of captured slave vessels, stands in an unfinished state, at a short distance from the governor's. Various other buildings occupy Point William, which are diversified by a few trees, that give it a pleasing and picturesque appearance from the sea. This remark is generally made by those who first visit Clarence Cove, and all are pleased on first seeing it. In addition to the buildings just enumerated, Mr. Lloyd has a tolerably good house, and the surgeon of the colony, who is a naval officer, has also one assigned for his residence. The Kroomen and free negroes, who amount to about two thousand in number, have a collection of small, neat huts, at a short distance from government house, which are constructed of wood, and thatched with palm leaves. They are very careful of them, and have a small garden in the front as well as behind, in which they cultivate Indian corn, bananas, peppers, &c. These huts form two small streets, but they are daily receiving additions from new comers.

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The work of clearing the ground is constantly going forward, and is performed by the free negroes, the African troops, and the Kroomen. The principal disease amongst these people, which arises from accidents in cutting down the trees, is ulcerated legs, and sixteen of them were in the hospital from this cause alone. The Kroomen are a particular race of people, differing entirely from the other African tribes. They inhabit a country called Setta Krou, on the coast near Cape Palmas; their principal employment being of a maritime nature. Their language, as well as their general character, is also different from that of their neighbours. A certain number of these men are always employed on board of the ships of war on the African coast, for the purpose of performing those duties where considerable fatigue and exposure to the sun are experienced. In consequence of their roving employment, they are to be found on all parts of the coast, and are sufficiently acquainted with it to serve as pilots. It is customary with them to establish themselves on various parts of the coast for this purpose, and to leave the elders of their tribes in their own country, unless their presence should be required by any war that might take place. They are said to return to their country after an absence of several years, when they have amassed by their industry, sufficient to maintain themselves, and some among them are intelligent and active, but they are not always to be trusted, although they are a very superior class of people, in comparison with other African tribes.

Besides a watering place at a short distance to the right of the governor's house, two small streams, Hay brook and Horton brook, run into Goderich Bay, affording plenty of excellent water, and capable of admitting boats. The watering place, above-mentioned, is generally frequented, from the convenience with which the water is obtained, being connected to the sea side by a wooden aqueduct, under which boats may lie and fill their casks very easily without removing them.

When the Landers arrived, Clarence establishment consisted of the superintendent, or acting governor, Mr. Becroft, who was generally known by the title of captain; Captain Beattie, the commander of the Portia, colonial schooner; Mr. Crichton, a naval

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surgeon; Lieutenant Stockwell, with a party of five or six marines; a mulatto ensign of the royal African corps, with two black companions from Sierra Leone, and some carpenters and sail-makers, besides a mulatto, who filled the office of clerk or secretary to Mr. Becroft; an English merchant of the name of Lloyd, in the employment of Mr. Smith, whose residence has been already mentioned.

No place, in point of convenience, could have been better selected for a settlement, than that on which Clarence is situated. The bay affords safe anchorage for shipping, from the furious tornadoes, which are common in this part of the world, and is sufficiently capacious to shelter as many vessels as are likely to visit the island; it abounds with fish, and is free from sunken rocks, and the shore is steep and easy of access to boats. There is another bay, called George's Bay, on the western side of the island, but it has the disadvantage of being open to that quarter, and consequently affords no safety to shipping. The proximity of Clarence Cove to the coast of Africa, is also another important point in favour of the object for which the establishment was formed.

The natives of Fernando Po are the filthiest race of people in the whole world. They are different in their manners and appearance from their neighbours on the coast, to whom the Landers had of late been so much accustomed, and possess no single trait of character similar to them, except that of pilfering. In point of civilization, to which the natives of Brass Town have not the most distant pretensions, these people have even still less; their language is totally different, and they have no resemblance whatever to them. This in itself affords a tolerable proof of the little intercourse they have had with the world, for while the other islands of the gulf are plentifully stocked with the same race of people as those of the coast, Fernando Po which is so much nearer to it, is inhabited by a totally different class. They are, generally speaking, a stout, athletic, and well-made race of people, and peculiarly harmless and peaceably inclined in their dispositions, although each individual is generally armed with a spear about eight feet in length, made of a hard wood, and barbed at one end. They appeared also to be a healthy race of people, for although here and there one or

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two might be less favoured by nature in their persons, no signs of the diseases so common among the natives of Africa were to be seen amongst them.

They have already been described as a filthy race, but no words can convey an idea of their disgusting nature. They have long hair, which it is difficult to distinguish, from being matted together with red clay and palm oil. The clay and oil are so profusely laid on, that it forms an impenetrable shield for the head, and the long tresses, which descend to their shoulders, are generally in a moist condition. Although this covering is a complete safeguard to all inconvenience from without, they still further adorn their heads with a kind of cap, made of dry grass, ornamented round the border with the feathers of fowls, or any other bird, carefully stuck into it apart from each other. Some are so vain as to affix the horns of a ram in front of this cap, which gives them a most strange and ludicrous appearance. Finally, the cap with all its ornaments of feathers, horns, shells, &c. is secured in its place with a piece of stick, which answers the purpose by being forced through it on one side and out on the opposite, after passing underneath the hair. Sometimes this elegant pin, as it may be called, is formed of the leg bone of some small animal, and is pointed at one end for the purpose of penetrating more easily. The expression of their countenance, scared and marked as it is, and surmounted by the cap already described, is wild and barbarous. They smear their faces entirely over with red clay, mixed with palm oil, sometimes a kind of grey dust is used instead of the clay, and this preparation being equally distributed over their whole persons, renders their presence scarcely tolerable. It is difficult to find out the colour of their skin under the filthy covering of oil and clay by which it is concealed, but it is believed not to be so dark as the African negro, and more resembling a copper colour.

The natives make use of no other dress than the cap, which they wear on their heads, but a few leaves, or a bunch of dried grass, are usually secured round the middle by the people of both sexes, while the younger, naturally unconscious of indecency, go entirely naked. The vertebræ of snakes, the bones of fowls and birds, as well as sheep, broken shells, small beads, and pieces of cocoa

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nut shell are put in requisition by the natives, for the ornament of their persons. A profusion of these strung together hang round the waist, which it seems to be the principal care to decorate in this manner, while their necks are scarcely less favoured with a proportion of these articles. Strings of them are also fastened round the arms and legs, but not in such quantities as round the waist. The pieces of hoop they have obtained from the ships which have visited the island, are formed into rude knives, or polished, and worn on the arm, in a kind of band made of straw, and are much valued. In their first intercourse with Europeans, the natives were very shy, and displayed much fear, but this gradually wore off, and they now venture boldly on board for the purpose of obtaining knives, hatchets, or any thing they can get. They have a few canoes of small dimensions, capable of containing ten or twelve people, but are not very expert in the management of them, although they are so far advanced as to make use of a mast and sail, which latter is constructed of a sort of mat. They seem to be little addicted to the water, and none were seen amongst them, who could swim. In their fishing excursions, the natives are generally very successful, and those who pursue this mode of obtaining their livelihood, are compelled to adhere to it, and allowed to have nothing to do with cultivating the land. They exchange their fish for yams, and thus the wants of the fishermen and the cultivators are both supplied.

On the first visit of ships to this island, very considerable aversion was shown by the natives to any of their people attempting to go to their huts, or even to their endeavouring to penetrate into the woods, although only a short distance from the shore, from a fear perhaps of their plantations being plundered. Their huts, which are of the rudest construction imaginable, may be distinctly seen amongst the trees in small groups, surrounding a clear space of ground, in which they cultivate the yam, and are formed of a few stakes driven firmly into the ground, thatched over with the palm leaf, the sides being completed with a sort of wicker work. They are about ten or twelve feet long, and half that in breadth, and not more than four or five feet in height. Their only furniture consists of some long flat pieces of wood, raised a few inches from

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the ground, and slightly hollowed out, to answer the purpose of sleeping in.

Numerous instances have occurred of the thieving propensities of the natives, and it required, at first, a considerable degree of vigilance to prevent them from being successful, but it is due to the chiefs to say, that since the establishment of Clarence, they have invariably taken an active part in putting a stop to it. Whatever may have been their habits previously to the formation of the settlement, they seem to be little improved by their intercourse with the settlers. Their principal chief has received the formidable appellation of cut-throat from Captain Owen, a name, by which he will be known as long as he lives. This fellow is a most determined savage, and seems to have lost none of his natural propensities by communicating with the settlers. He has received innumerable presents from the English, of clothes, and a variety of things, which are all thrown away upon him, and he goes about as usual, wearing his little hat, with feathers stuck in it, and the long grass about his waist, disdaining such useless coverings as he imagines them. This is not to be wondered at, for accustomed as he has been all his life time, to the unrestrained freedom of his whole person, it would be rather a matter of surprise to see him make use of them, particularly in the climate of Fernando Po, where one almost wishes to follow the example of the natives, excepting in the use of their clay and palm oil. No doubt Cut-throat thinks this quite a sufficient covering.

The natives pay frequent visits to the colony, and, however they may deal out justice amongst themselves, are by no means backward in seeing it administered among the free negroes and Kroomen of Clarence. It frequently happens, that in the scarcity of live stock, some of the former, unable to restrain their desire for more substantial food, and tired of their Indian corn, venture to help themselves to what the natives will not bring them; parties of these people are accordingly formed, who find their way to the huts of the natives in the interior, and steal their yams, goats, and sheep, or whatever they meet with. These depredations are sure to bring the unfortunate owners to the colony with complaints of their losses, which are laid before the governor. The negroes are then mustered

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before them, and the native who has been plundered, is allowed, if he can do so, to point out the thief. If he should be successful, which is frequently the case, he is allowed to witness the punishment, which the offender is sentenced to receive, and generally gets some recompense for his loss. On the Sunday after the arrival of the Landers at Clarence, a party of four Kroomen set off into the interior, with the full determination of plunder, let the consequences be what it might. They had not gone far before they met with a goat belonging to a native, which they immediately shot, and returned with it carefully concealed, that they might not be discovered. Their precautions, however, were of little avail, for the owner of the animal accompanied by a party of his friends, made his appearance at Clarence the next morning, and preferred his complaint in strong terms against the luckless Kroomen, whom, it appeared, he knew perfectly well. The Kroomen were accordingly mustered, and the very four, who had gone on this unfortunate expedition, were pointed out with exultation by the natives. The law took its course, the Kroomen each received one hundred and fifty lashes from the African drummer, usually employed on these occasions, while the natives stood by, to see that the punishment was duly performed. This they did to admiration, by counting the number of lashes each received; and having witnessed the last punished, with eyes sparkling with brutal satisfaction at the tortures of the unfortunate sufferers, they went away quite satisfied. The place where this disagreeable operation is performed, is in the barrack yard, on Point William, between the officers' house and the hospital. The culprit is tied up to a kind of strong gallows, erected for the purpose. Two stout pieces of timber, about seven or eight feet high, are driven perpendicularly into the ground, about four feet apart from each other, a piece is secured firmly across them at the top, and another at a short distance from the ground. The hands of the man who is to be punished, are tied at each end of the upright pieces, and his legs are secured to the same on each side below, in which position he is exposed to the merciless scourge of the drummer, which is a common cat-o-nine-tails. It is painful even to think of such scenes as these, and when they take place at the mere whim and caprice of the hardened slave merchant, such

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a picture is revolting in the extreme. Here, however, severe as it may appear, it must be looked upon in a different point of view. The punishment is great, but with the certainty of receiving it, if discovered, the negro will run the risk of incurring it, by what may be termed the breach of the first law of civilized society. In addition to the tendency it has to keep the free blacks in control, such a proceeding convinces the natives of the island, that their depredations are not sanctioned by the colony. Were some punishment not instituted to curb the restless, pilfering propensities of these people, no order could be maintained; they would return to a worse condition, than that which they were in at first, and the colony would no longer be secure; for the natives of the island, finding their homes invaded, and their property carried off, unable to obtain redress, would soon take the law into their own hands, and would either murder the colonists, or drive them from the island. Therefore, although a severe one, it is a salutary measure, and it has no doubt done much towards keeping the natives themselves honest. What punishment is adopted by the natives, the Landers were not able to ascertain. The chiefs appear to possess considerable authority over them, and it is not improbable that the custom of the settlement is imitated in some shape or other.

The only weapon used by the natives, excepting the knife before mentioned, is a spear, of about eight feet in length, made of iron wood, and barbed at one end. The nature of the wood is so hard, as not to require the protection of iron at the end, and they did not see any pointed with it. They are very plentiful amongst the natives, who do not appear to attach any particular value to them. The Landers during their stay had no opportunity of witnessing their expertness with them, but they are said to use them for killing monkeys and other animals.

The resources of the island, in point of provisions are exhausted, or the natives are determined to reserve what are left for their own purposes. On the first formation of the establishment, they gladly brought to market all they had to dispose of, in the same manner as they had done to any vessel that chanced to visit the island. These consisted of a few goats, sheep, and fowls, of a very poor quality, and plenty of yams, which were all readily exchanged for

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pieces of iron hoop, of about six inches long. A piece of hoop of this length would purchase a goat, three or four fowls, or a large bundle of yams, weighing about twenty pounds. As their stock became exhausted, so the iron hoops became less valuable; more were demanded, until the natives could no longer supply the settlement, and had enough to do to provide for themselves, when they discontinued their supplies, and the settlement, not yet able to provide for itself, is dependent on supplies from the Calebar, and other rivers near it. Bullocks are stated by the natives, to be plentiful on the hills in the interior, but the Landers did not hear of any having been seen by the people of Clarence, and they are generally obtained from the Calebar River. Deer are also said to be on the island, abundance of wild fowl, and a great number of monkeys, some black and others of a brown colour. Parrots are also innumerable, and the natives are particularly partial to them and monkeys for food. Turtle have been caught in the bay, as well as fish, but these supplies are uncertain, and, therefore, not to be depended upon. The island is entirely mountainous, and contains a fine rich soil, capable of producing any thing required of it. Several small mountain streams fall into the sea, the largest of which are the two, named Hay and Horton Brooks, before mentioned. The principal vegetable cultivated by the natives is the yam, with which they are particularly successful. The best yams of the island are said to be those of George's Bay, which are very large, and of an uncommonly fine flavour. The supply of these at Clarence is now very limited, and not to be depended on always, which may be probably to a difference in the season for growing them. This deficiency has been in some measure remedied by the construction of a government garden, from which some men of war have received supplies, but these are not sufficient to supply the wants of the colony, and recourse is had for them to the Calebar River.

Palm wine at the colony, as well as on the coast, is the common and favourite drink of the natives. It is easily procured in any quantity, and is used in either an unfermented state, when just fresh from the tree, or after it has been kept some days. It seems peculiarly intended by a bountiful providence for the untutored and

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destitute Indian, who is unable to supply himself with those beverages which are the result of art. The palm tree affords him a pleasant drink, a valuable oil, a fruit from the nut, and besides food, it furnishes him with a material to construct his hut, and is always ready for any immediate purpose. The juice, which is called "wine," is obtained by making a hole in the trunk of the tree, and inserting a piece of the leaf into it, so as to form a spout; the liquid flows through this, and is received in a calabash placed beneath it, which probably holds two or three gallons, and will be thus filled in the course of a day. It shortly assumes a milky appearance, and is either used in this state, or preserved till it acquires rather a bitter flavour. The produce of the palm tree, fish, and yams, form the principal food of the natives; they devour monkeys when they can get them.

This method of obtaining the juice of the palm tree is exactly similar to that which is adopted by the Indians of North America, with respect to the maple tree. A hole is made in the same manner in the trunk of the tree, and a piece of birch bark inserted into it as a spout, which, from its peculiar nature, answers the purpose remarkably well. The juice of the maple instead of being preserved is converted into sugar by evaporation. There are various sorts of timber at Fernando Po, amongst which the African oak is very plentiful, and particularly so in George's Bay, where it grows close to the sea side; satin wood, ebony, lignum vitæ, yellow cam wood, and several sorts of mahogany, besides other wood of a very hard nature, grow in profusion all over the island, and may probably hereafter become valuable.

The Landers had the good fortune to arrive at the island during the season of fine weather, but they had not enjoyed much of the sea breeze, which about noon, sometimes set in from the north west quarter. The harmattan is said to be experienced here, although it extends not to the other islands of the gulf. This wind, which passes over the sands of Africa, would be almost insupportable, were it not for the sea breezes. While the harmattan lasts, the dryness in the atmosphere produces an unpleasant feeling, although it is said not to be injurious to health. The atmosphere is filled with a fine light sand, which prevents objects from being

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distinctly seen; the sun loses its brilliancy, and everything appears parched and suffering from a want of moisture. The effect of the harmattan after the rainy season is said to be most beneficial in drying up the vapours with which the atmosphere is loaded, and it has been observed, that on the return of this wind at the end of the rainy season, the recovery of invalids commences. The harmattan has also the effect of drying up the skin of the natives in a very extraordinary manner. After an exposure to it, the skin peals off in white scales from their whole body, which assumes an appearance as if it were covered over with white dust.

The islands in the gulf of Guinea, with the exception of Fernando Po, have each a capital town of some consequence, and although they produce sufficient supplies for ships that visit them, and carry on a small trade, it is much to be doubted, whether they are not more indebted for their importance to the slave trade than any other source. With respect to Prince's Island and St. Thomas, they are known to be the receptacles for slaves from the coast, from whence they are re-embarked and conveyed away as opportunities offer; and the natives of the small island of Anna Bon, appear to be living in constant fear of the same, from the effects of their former treatment by the Spaniards.

The natives of Anna Bon, have a tradition that they once belonged to the Portuguese, and exhibit proofs of their having been formerly initiated in the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion. They are said to be particularly careful, when any stranger visits their settlement, to let them see their church, which is appropriately situated for this purpose immediately opposite the landing place. At present, by all accounts, they are living in a state of natural simplicity and ignorance of the world. Some idea may be formed of the condition of their minds, by a story that is currently related of them, in which the effects of their former tuition are apparent. The king once gravely told a visitor, with an idea of impressing him with his importance, that a short time previously to his arrival, he had held a conference with the supreme being, from whom he had learnt the cause of a recent sickness which had visited them, and also that he had approved of his being the king of the island. Other stories, equally nonsensical, are told of them,

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such as might be expected from people in this half-informed condition. But the old king's word was sufficient for his subjects, and this assurance was quite enough to satisfy the harmless, inoffensive creatures, that he was their legitimate king. Although Anna Bon is a healthy island in comparison with any other in the Gulph of Guinea; it is too far removed from the coast to be of use in putting down the slave trade, unless it were made a rendezvous for half a dozen steam vessels, which would do more than any other class of vessels towards effecting this object.

Favourable as the situation of Clarence is for the purpose for which it is intended, it is much to be regretted that it is so unhealthy for Europeans. During the stay of the Landers on the island, four deaths occurred; these persons were the sail maker, one of the carpenters of the colony, a seaman of the Portia, a colonial schooner, and one of the crew of the Susan, an English brig that they found there on their arrival. The Susan was in the Calebar, waiting for a cargo, when her crew were attacked with fever, which quickly carried off her captain, mates, and left only one person alive. The vessel thus reduced, was without her crew to bring her out of the river, much less to complete her cargo, and she might have remained there till the last had died, but for the watchful attention of Mr. Becroft, who brought her to Clarence with a party of men, and after putting a new mast into her, and doing all in his power to set the vessel in order, supplied her with provisions and fresh people, and sent her to sea. The Landers were offered a passage in her to England, but declined accepting it in consequence of the condition in which she had been. She was afterwards obliged to stop at Cape Coast, in consequence of the fever having broken out afresh on board of her. The most melancholy account of the effects of the climate here, which came within the knowledge of the Landers, was in the family of Lieutenant Stockwell, the officer commanding the party of marines, whose name has been already mentioned. This gentleman had brought his wife and a large family with him from the island of Ascension, who were residing with his brother officer in a building called the Waterfall House, which had been erected by Captain Owen. Mr. Stockwell successively lost five of his children, and five ser-

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vants, the latter of whom successively died, as they came into his service. His brother officer also died, making eleven in number, and Mr. Stockwell and his wife narrowly escaped with their lives. The house was in consequence deserted by them, and since been occupied by the black people. The fever, which attacks Europeans at this island, is said to be similar to the yellow fever in the West Indies. The symptoms are the same, from the commencement to the end of the disease, and it is equally as summary in its effects. George's Bay, is said to be far healthier than Clarence, and being on the western side of the island, receives the full benefit of the sea breeze, while at Clarence, the wind is later, and is interrupted by land to the westward of it. In addition to this, the sea breeze passes over a long and disagreeable swamp in its progress to Clarence, which no doubt charges it with all kinds of noxious vapours. George's Bay, besides having the benefit of a pure sea breeze, has a good deal of clear land about it, and equally as good a soil as Clarence.

It is more than probable, as the Landers had now ascertained, that a water communication may be carried on with so extensive a part of the interior of Africa, that a considerable trade will be opened with the country through which they had passed. The natives only require to know what is wanted from them, and to be shown what they will have in return, and much produce that is now lost from neglect, will be turned to a considerable account. The countries situated on the banks of the Niger, will become frequented from all the adjacent parts, and this magnificent stream will assume an appearance, it has never yet displayed. The first effects of a trade being opened, will be to do away with the monopoly near the mouth of the river, which has hitherto been held by the chiefs of the lower countries. Steam boats will penetrate up the river even as far as Lever, at the time of year in which the Landers came down, and will defy the efforts of these monopolists to arrest their progress. The steam engine, the greatest invention of the human mind, will be a fit means of conveying civilization amongst the uninformed Africans, who, incapable of comprehending such a thing, will view its arrival amongst them with astonishment and terror, and will gradually learn to appreciate the benefits they will

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derive, and to hail its arrival with joy. In this case, Fernando Po will become of still greater consequence, and will no doubt be a depot of considerable importance. It was, however, the opinion of Richard Lander, that much expense would be saved, and above all, many valuable lives, if it were possible to adopt George's Bay, as the place for the principal establishment. Of the different parts of the coast, Accra is the most healthy, and were it nearer, Lander would recommend it for such a purpose, the soil being good and clear of underwood for many miles round. But the distance at which it lies from the mouth of the river is too great for such a purpose.

On the 23rd December, Mr. Becroft, the superintendent, invited Richard Lander to accompany him in the Portia, to the Calebar River, whither he was going to procure stock for the use of the colony. The place from which this is obtained, is called Ephraim Town, where it appears to be very plentiful. Being tired of Fernando Po, Lander accepted his invitation, in order to pass away the time that they would still have to wait before they could get away, notwithstanding all their anxiety to reach home with the news of their discovery. John Lander, being very ill, was unable to accompany them. Richard, therefore, left him at Clarence, and embarked with Mr. Becroft in the evening. They departed from Clarence with a fine breeze, but found it necessary in going out, to be particularly careful of being drifted by the tide, either on Point William, or on the Adelaide islets at each extremity of the cove, as the tide always sets either towards the one or the other. In leaving the cove, it is best to keep, as near as possible, midway between the two extremes, and not to approach either the one or the other, nearer than can be possibly avoided. The currents in the Gulph of Guinea are stated to be very variable, although they are most generally from the westward, obeying the direction of the sea breeze. The harmattan generally produces a very strong westerly current in direct opposition to this, and the want of knowing it, has frequently proved fatal to vessels; the masters of which, imagining that they were under the influence of an easterly current, have been actually drifted many miles to the westward in the course of a single night, and have found themselves on shore

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the next morning; the violence of the current from the westward when the sea breezes are strong, is so great, that it is scarcely possible to believe, that a day or two of the harmattan would overcome it, but the effect of this is so powerful, that it is well known, to those, who have frequented the gulf, that the current produced by the harmattan, will even continue against the westerly winds, after they may have again set in. A remarkable instance is related of the velocity of the currents in the gulf, to the southward of Fernando Po. In the month of June, a vessel performed the passage between Prince's Island and St. Thomas in twenty hours, which generally occupies from eight to ten days. The distance is about ninety three miles, and the vessel must have averaged from four to six miles per hour. The harmattan is said not to extend to the southward of Fernando Po, but this has not yet been fully ascertained.

The passage through the gulf from Fernando Po to Sierra Leone, is generally extremely long and tedious, owing to the prevalence of calms and the different currents. It is usually made either by running to the southward and getting into the southeast trade, or by keeping in shore, as far as Cape Palmas, so as to benefit by the landwinds. The former method is generally recommended by the merchantmen as being safer and quicker, for a vessel adopting the latter, is more under the dangerous influence of the currents, besides being obliged to keep close to the shore; it is also adopted by the merchantmen in their homeward voyage. Sometimes vessels by taking a mean between these two methods, get between two different winds, by which means they lose the benefit of both, and are delayed by calms and rains. This part, according to accurate information, is at the distance of sixty miles from the land, so that vessels should pass either far without or else within that distance on leaving Fernando Po.

In this part of the Gulf of Guinea, between Fernando Po and the Calebar River, the rainy season is stated to commence in the month of July, and to be at the worst in August and September, accompanied by tornadoes of the most terrific description. The rains continue during November, and cease in the month of Decem-

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ber, but the coast is said to be seldom many days together without a tornado. During the other months of the year, dry, hot weather is experienced, excepting about May, when slight rains take place. These rains are looked upon as the winter of the natives, and are considered by them equally as cold in their effects, as our winters in England are by ourselves. They are equally alive to the change of the seasons as in northern countries, and prepare themselves against the cold weather during the rains, comparatively with as much care, as we do against our winter's frost.

The chief peculiarity of this climate, which distinguishes it from all others within the tropics, consists in the furious storms of wind and rain, accompanied by the most terrific thunder and lightning it is possible to imagine. These storms are known by the name of tornadoes, and one would be almost inclined to think that the ancient's belief of the torrid zone being of a fiery nature, and too hot for mankind to live in, originated in the exaggerated reports of them, which might have gradually found their way into the part of the world then known, and from which they were not very far distant. The Landers witnessed three of these tornadoes, but they were trifling in their effects, compared with those which take place in the rainy season. They are described as being most violent, but happily of short duration; nothing can withstand the fury of the wind while they last, but they give sufficient indications of their approach, to enable the experienced mariner, who is ever on the watch for the changes in the weather, to reduce his sail on the ship, and put her head in that position, in which she is best able to withstand its effects, by running before the wind. This awful period lasts generally about a quarter of an hour, when the wind subsides rather suddenly, while the rain falls incessantly; shortly afterwards, the wind shifts round by the south to its old quarter, the west, until another tornado comes to disturb it. There are several peculiarities attending the tornadoes, which are rather remarkable. It has been remarked by experienced navigators, that they are much influenced by the different phases of the moon, that they generally commence with the full or new moon, at which time they are the most violent, and that they even come on at the time

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that the moon sets. The influence of the moon on the weather in other countries is doubted, but this is an extraordinary fact, relating to the tornadoes, which has been proved by experience.

On Saturday December 25th, after a pleasing passage, Richard Lander, in company with Mr. Becroft, anchored off Ephraim Town, in the Calebar River. The distance from Fernando Po to the north of the Calebar River, is about sixty miles, and Ephraim Town is distant about fifty miles, on the eastern bank. On their way up the river, the attention of Richard Lander was attracted by something of a very extraordinary appearance, hanging over the water from the branch of a tree. His curiosity was excited by it, and he was at a loss to conjecture what it was. He did not remain long in suspense, for they soon passed sufficiently near it to enable him to discover, that it was the body of one of the natives suspended by the middle, with the feet and hands just touching the water. So barbarous a sight quickly reminded him, that he was again amongst the poor deluded wretches on the coast, although he had not seen any thing so bad on his way down to the Brig Thomas, in the River Nun. The natives of this place are Pagans, in the most depraved condition, and know nothing of Mahommedanism, nor any other creed. They believe in a good spirit, who they imagine dwells in the water, and sacrifices of human beings, such as that which has just been mentioned, are frequently made to him, with the idea of gaining his favour and protection. The object selected for this purpose is generally some unfortunate old slave, who may be worn out and incapable of further service, or unfit for the market, and he is there left to suffer death, either from the effects of the sun, or from the fangs of some hungry alligator or shark, which may chance to find the body. The circumstance of the hands and feet being just allowed to be immersed in the water, is considered by these deluded people as necessary, and they are thereby rendered an easier prey.

It is usual with ships on their first arrival in the river, to be visited by Duke Ephraim, the chief of the town; a personage who is well known to the numerous Liverpool traders, that frequent the river. The reason of this visit is, that the duke may receive his present, which consists generally of cloth, muskets, rum, or any articles

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of that description, and he always goes on board in great state, in his canoe, for this purpose, previously to which, no one is allowed to leave the ship. This regulation, which is a method of securing the port dues, affects those only, who come to the river for the purpose of trade, and as the Portia was a government vessel, they were not included in the number of those, who had the port dues to pay. As soon as they had anchored, Richard Lander accompanied Mr. Becroft on shore, and proceeded with him to the duke's residence, for the purpose of paying their respects to him. A walk of about ten minutes brought them to his house, and they found him in the palaver square which belongs to it, busily engaged in writing, and surrounded by a great number of his principal people. It was something unusual to find a native chief thus employed, but the large dealings which Duke Ephraim appears to have with the Liverpool merchants, accounts in some measure for this accomplishment, and the smattering of English which he has obtained. His only pretensions to dress, consisted in a smart, gold laced hat, which he wore, and a handsome piece of silk tied round his loins. His chief officers, who were next to him, also wore gold laced hats, while those next in rank wore silver lace, and the lower class contented themselves without either. They arrived at council time, but Mr. Becroft being immediately recognized by the duke, he received them very cordially, and made them sit down. Duke Ephraim bears the character of being always very civil and attentive to the English, and of making himself very active in supplying their wants of live stock. He has formed a favourable opinion of them, from the fine things they bring him, but his discernment goes beyond these; for the circumstance of slave vessels having being captured and taken out of the river, by the boats of the English ships of war on the station, has impressed him with admiration of their boldness and courage, and given him a very exalted opinion of their power. Vessels of war formerly came up the river in search of slaves, and he has always received their commanders with much kindness, and assisted them all in his power; a trait in his character, which is rather extraordinary, when their object is considered, as he is the principal agent by whom supplies of slaves are furnished from the interior. None, however, are

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allowed to come up now, in consequence of the deaths that have occurred.

After a short time, they were desired to go up stairs into his best room, and they accordingly ascended about thirty or forty wooden steps, and entered a spacious apartment, when the sight that presented itself was of the most extraordinary description. The room, which was about thirty feet in length, by about twenty in breadth, was literally crammed full of all kinds of European furniture, covered with cobwebs and dust about half an inch thick. Elegant tables and chairs, sofas of a magnificent description, splendid looking-glasses, and prints of the principal public characters of England, as well as views of sea and land engagements, set in handsome gilt frames, beautifully cut glass decanters, and glasses, glass chandeliers, and a number of other things, too numerous to mention, were all mixed together in the utmost confusion. A handsome organ attracted the notice of Lander, and a large, solid brass arm-chair, which from an inscription upon it, appeared to be the present of Sir John Tobin of Liverpool. The inscription, or rather raised characters upon it were, "Presented by Sir John Tobin of Liverpool, to his friend Duke Ephraim," and vain enough is the chief of his present. He exhibits this chair with the rest of his presents to the people, or any stranger who may happen to visit him, and allows them to feast their eyes, as he imagines, on the goodly sight, but such are his care and pride of them, that he will not allow them to be touched by any one, and his attendants are not permitted to approach them, even for the purpose of cleaning off the dust which has accumulated since their first arrival. The whole of this miscellaneous assemblage of goods, are presents which have been made to the duke by merchants of Liverpool, as well as French, Spanish, and Portuguese traders, and are the accumulation of a considerable length of time.

Duke Town, or Ephraim Town, as it is known by both of these appellations, is situated on rather elevated ground, on the left or east bank of the river, and is of considerable size, extending principally along it. From the appearance of it, it may be concluded that its inhabitants amount to at least six thousand people. The houses are generally built of clay, like those of the Eboe people.

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The breadth of the river opposite to it, is not quite so wide as the Thames at Waterloo Bridge, and the opposite bank is not so high as that on which the town stands. The houses are built in an irregular manner, leaving very little room for the road between them, which at that time was exceedingly wet and dirty. The duke's house is situate in the middle of the town, and like the rest is built of clay. It consists of several squares, round each of which is a verandah, similar to the houses in Yarriba. The centre square is occupied by the duke and his wives, the others being the abode of his servants and attendants, which altogether amount to a considerable number. Immediately opposite to the first square, which forms the entrance to his residence, stands a small tree, profusely decorated with human skulls and bones. This tree is considered by the people as fetish or sacred, and is supposed to possess the virtue of preventing the evil spirit from entering the duke's residence. Near the tree stands the house, which is inhabited by their priests, a class of beings, certainly in the most savage condition of nature that it is possible to imagine. The fetish priests of Brass Town, chalked themselves from head to foot, besides dressing after a fashion of their own, but these fellows outdo them far, and make themselves the most hideous and disgusting objects possible.

Whether it may be with the idea of personifying the evil spirit of whom they are so afraid, Lander could not learn, but they go about the town with a human skull fastened over their face, so that they can see through the eye-holes; this is surmounted by a pair of bullock's horns; their body is covered with net, made of stained grass, and to complete the whole, and give them an appearance as ridiculous behind as they are hideous before, a bullock's tail protrudes through the dress, and hangs down to the ground, rendering them altogether the most uncouth looking beings imaginable. Sometimes a cocked hat is substituted for the horns, and the skull of a dog or monkey used, which renders their appearance, if possible, still more grotesque. Thus equipped, they are ready to perform the mysteries of their profession, which Lander had not sufficient opportunity to inquire into, but which are quite enough to enslave the minds of the people. They seem to believe in a good

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and evil spirit; that the good spirit dwells in the river, which accounts for their sacrifices being made on it, and that the evil spirit dwells in a tree, which being full of human skulls, keeps him away from them.

On the morning of the 26th, the duke's principal man came on board the Portia to receive payment for some bullocks, which Mr. Becroft had purchased. There was something in his appearance which attracted the attention of Lander, and he fancied that he seemed to be much dirtier than any that had been seen on the preceding day. On a nearer inspection, his head, and the whole of his body were found to be covered with ashes, and a very dirty piece of sackcloth fastened round his loins; besides this he appeared to be suffering great distress of mind, and presented a most wretched and woeful appearance. Lander asked him the cause of his grief, and why he had covered himself with ashes in such a manner, when he gave the following relation of the cause of all his distress. It appeared that he had possessed six wives, one of whom was gifted with a larger share of personal charms than the rest, the consequence of which was, that she received more attention from him and was loved more than any of the others. This partiality naturally excited the jealousy of the other ladies, and mortified by his neglect of them, they were determined on revenge, and was resolved to get rid of their favoured rival by mixing poison with her food. They had just succeeded in effecting their purpose, which had caused the poor fellow much distress, and he had not recovered the effects of his loss on the morning on which he came on board the Portia. His tale was simple and unvarnished, and while he was relating it to Lander, the tears were trickling down his face. Lander never before saw a black man feel so much for the loss of a wife as he did. This remarkable custom of mourning in sackcloth and ashes, appears to be peculiar to these people, and it was ascertained that they do not cease to cover their bodies with them as long as their sorrow lasts. They do the same on the death of a relation, and it is the only instance of the kind that Lander met with in the part of the country through which he had travelled.

Great uproar and confusion prevailed the whole of this day

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throughout the town occasioned by an adventure of the doctor with the duke's most favourite wife, which is likely to end tragically to the parties concerned. This person, who is the doctor of the town, it appears was the bosom friend of the duke, in whom the latter had the greatest confidence, and allowed him to visit his wives *professionally* as often as he thought proper. The gentleman's visit had lately become so frequent as to excite suspicion and a look out was accordingly kept on all his movements. The poor doctor was soon caught in the snare; the motive of his visit was found to be of an illegal nature, and the enraged duke has ordered both to be bound hand and foot and thrown into the river on the following day.

Lander found seven French vessels lying in the river, one Spanish, and two English. One of the latter, named the Caledonia, a ship of five hundred tons burden, was the property of Sir John Tobin, of Liverpool, which, with the other, the brig Elizabeth were taking in a cargo of palm oil.

The river Calebar is very serpentine, and there is scarcely any other tree but the mangrove to be seen on its banks. The right bank is intersected by numerous creeks, well known to the natives, who frequent them in their canoes; they communicate with all the rivers that fall into the gulph of Guinea, between this river and that on which Benin is situated. The natives go as far as Benin in their canoes, but there is no communication by water with the Camaroons river, which seems to be totally distinct from the Calebar. The canoes of the natives are the same sort as those of the Eboe people. The river is full of crocodiles which are generally about twelve or fourteen feet long, and are very daring in their search of prey. A short time previous to their arrival two deatsq had been occasioned by them. Sir John Tobin has a large store close to the river side, in which palm oil is kept for shipment on board the Liverpool vessels, and one evening an unfortunate native boy, tired with his day's work, fell asleep on the shore. In the course of the night an alligator attacked him, and was awakened by finding himself in the jaws of the monster; his struggles and cries were all in vain; the powerful creature lacerated him in a dreadful manner, and tore off one of his legs, with which he retreated into the

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water, and the remains of the unfortunate boy were found the next morning shockingly disfigured and weltering in blood, the death of the other was occasioned by his losing an arm in a similar manner.

Provisions are generally dear at Duke Town. Bullocks fetch twenty dollars each, and those not of a very good quality. Goats and sheep are valued at three dollars, ducks at half a dollar each, and fowls at half a dollar a pair. Yams are cultivated by the natives very successfully, and are considered the best flavoured and finest of the country. There are no cleared portions of ground on the banks of the river, and their cultivation of the yam and other vegetables is at a distance in the woods.

Since Lander's first return to Fernando Po from the Calebar river, he accompanied Mr. Becroft twice to Duke Town in the Portia. In this interval the Carnarvon, an English vessel had arrived with government stores from England for the establishment, and as she was going to Rio Janeiro for a cargo to take back, and there seemed to be no prospect at present of their getting away from Fernando Po by any other means, the Landers requested Mr. Becroft to conclude an agreement for their passage to that place, from whence they hoped to be more successful in finding their way to England. About a week previously, the brig Thomas, in which they came from the river Nun, touched at the island on her way home from the Camaroons, her commander, Lake, supposing that they would take a passage with him. They had now been upon the island seven weeks, and they would have preferred staying seven more, rather than put themselves into his power again. They had experienced quite enough of his care and kindness, and therefore declined his offer of taking them. After waiting three days at the island, he sailed about six o'clock in the afternoon, and had not got more than a mile from the anchorage, when a large vessel with long, raking masts, suddenly appeared from behind a part of the island, and was seen in pursuit of him. They observed the vessel to fire several guns at him, which at length made him take in all sail and wait. No doubt was entertained that this vessel was a pirate, and their suspicions were confirmed the next day by seeing the two vessels lying becalmed close

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to each other. There were no signs of them on the following day, and they saw nothing more of the Thomas. Nor, indeed, was this vessel ever heard of again, in fact, the Landers considered it a most providential escape, that they did not take their passage in her. No doubt rested on the minds of the people of the settlement that the stranger vessel was a pirate, and that when his people had murdered the crew of the Thomas, with their captain, or had compelled them to walk the plank, as they usually do, that they sunk her after taking everything out of her which they wanted. "Walking the plank," is literally walking into the sea. A plank is placed across the side of the ship, so that one end projects some distance over it while the other remains inside. The person condemned by these ruffians to this mode of death, which is generally chosen to avoid one of a more dreadful nature, is placed on the inner end of the plank, and compelled to walk along it till he reaches the outer end, which immediately yields to his weight, and he falls into the sea, never to rise again. To make shorter work of it, he is sometimes loaded with a large shot, which quickly carries him down. These fellows have another method of disposing of any unfortunate vessel that may fall into their hands; after having got rid of the captain and crew as above, they fill her with slaves, and send her across the Atlantic, should the vessel be met with by any ship of war, she escapes examination, as her appearance when in the hands of her own commander was known, and therefore no suspicion is excited.

Everything being prepared for their departure they embarked on board the Carnarvon, — Garth, commander, for Rio Janeiro. The Landers speak in terms of high commendation of the conduct observed towards them, during their stay at Fernando, by Mr. Becroft, Mr. Crichton, and Mr. Beatty. Everything was supplied them which the place could afford, and it was always a source of gratification to them to reflect on the time that they passed in their society.

Having taken leave of their friends, they embarked and bade adieu to the island of Fernando Po. Mr. Stockwell, the officer of marines, accompanied them on board, having taken his passage like themselves to return to England. Their crew consisted of seven European seamen, two free negroes and one Krooman, besides the

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commander of the vessel and two mates. So great, however, was the mortality amongst them, that before a week had elapsed, the two Landers with the three black men were all that were left to work the vessel, and one of them only knew how to steer. Richard Lander was obliged to take the helm until twelve at night, and every morning after four, having only a few minutes allowed him to take a hasty meal, and in addition to their troubles, the vessel was so completely over-run with rats, that it was quite impossible to stay below with any comfort, and as for sleeping there, it was wholly out of the question.

On the evening of the 14th March, the Krooman fell into the sea. This poor fellow, whose name was Yellow Will, called loudly to them for help, and although the vessel was not sailing at a great rate, he missed every thing that was thrown overboard to save him. To have altered the ship's course would have endangered the masts and sails, and their small boat was so leaky that it would not swim. They had therefore no alternative, but were obliged to abandon him to his fate with the most painful feelings, and they heard his cries nearly an hour afterwards.* There is nothing more distressing than an accident of this nature. To see an unfortunate man grasping in vain at any thing which is thrown to him, as the ship passes by him, to see him struggling against his fate as he rises on the distant wave, which frequently conceals him from view, and to be unable to render him the least assistance, whilst his cries die away in the breeze, raise sensations which it is impossible to describe. This man in the condition in which they then were, particularly, was a great loss to them, and was the best amongst the black people.

On the morning of the 15th, the weather was very hazy, which prevented them seeing the land, although they knew it to be at no great distance from them. They were becalmed during the whole of the day, but found by the decrease of the depth, that they were drifting close on towards the shore. At five in the afternoon, the ship was about a quarter of a mile from the land, which they dis-

* We have given this as it is stated in Lander's Narrative, but there is something highly improbable in the circumstance of the cries of a man, who could not swim, being heard for an hour after his immersion in the sea, and yet that during that time no effectual means could be devised for his deliverance.

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covered by three large hills of a sugar loaf appearance being close to them. Finding by pieces of cork and other things that they threw into the water, that they were drifting fast on the breakers, which they could distinctly hear, they made an attempt to get the long boat out to save themselves, as they expected the ship would be very soon wrecked, but they found that they could not muster sufficient strength to lift her over the side. At this critical moment, a breeze of wind from off the land saved them from destruction, and enabled them to get the vessel under command.

On the 16th March they arrived at Rio Janeiro, and on the following day paid their respects to Admiral Baker, the commander in chief on the South American station, and made known to him their situation and anxiety to return to England. The admiral received them in that kind and hospitable manner, which is the peculiar characteristic of a British seaman. He invited them to his table with his officers, and ordered them a passage in the William Harris, a government transport, which was to sail for England in a day or two.

Accordingly on the 20th they sailed for England, and on the 9th June arrived at Portsmouth, after a tedious voyage, and gladly landed with hearts full of gratitude for all their deliverance.

One of the first steps which government adopted on the arrival of Richard Lander, was to issue an order to the authorities at Cape Coast Castle, to pay to King Boy the whole of his demand for the ransom of the Landers, and thereby re-establishing that faith and good opinion with the natives of the country, touching the honour and integrity of the English character.

This journey by individuals who make no pretensions to science, has not afforded materials for the illustration of any of its branches, but previously to the loss of the instruments, the range of the thermometer is recorded. At Badagry, on the coast, where the heat was most oppressive, it was between 86° and 94°, oftener stationary near the latter than the former point. At Jenna it fell suddenly one day from 94° to 78°, and remained stationary for some hours. At Assinara at noon, on the 23rd April it attained the height of 99°. Near Katunga it fell upon one occasion to 71° in the shade, the air being then cooler than they had felt it since land-

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ing. At Kiama the extremes were 75° and 94°, the mean 84°. At Youri, the range was the same. On their voyage from Youri to Boussa, on the 2nd August, it varied from 75° to 92°. At Boussa it varied from 76° to 93°, but most commonly between 80° and 90°. At Patashie, generally between 74° and 89°, once 93°. Lever 77° to 93°. Bajiebo 70° to 95°. On the passage down the river below that place, on the 5th October, 78° to 94°. Belee 79° to 94°.

Such has been the issue of this important voyage, by which the grand problem that perplexed Europe during so many ages, and on which, for a period of nearly forty years, so many efforts and sacrifices had been expended in vain, was completely solved. British enterprise completed, as it had begun this great discovery. Park in his first journey reached the banks of the Niger, and saw it rolling its waters towards the interior of the continent. In the second he embarked at Bammakoo, and by sailing downwards to Boussa, proved its continuous progress for upwards of a thousand miles. The present voyage has exhibited it following a farther course, which with its windings must amount to about eight hundred miles, and finally emptying itself into the Atlantic. This celebrated stream is now divested of that mysterious character, which surrounded it with a species of supernatural interest. Rising in a chain of high mountains, flowing through extensive plains, receiving large tributaries, and terminating in the ocean, it exhibits exactly the ordinary phenomena of a great river. But by this discovery we see opened to our view a train of most important consequences. The Niger affords a channel of communication with the most fertile, most industrious, and most improved regions of interior Africa. Its navigation is very easy and safe, unless at intervals between Boussa and Youri, and between Patashie and Lever, and even there it becomes practicable during the *malca* or flood, produced by the periodical rains. British vessels may, therefore, by this stream and its tributaries ascend to Rabba, Boussa, Youri, Soccatoo, Timbuctoo, Sego, and probably to other cities as great, but yet unknown. They may navigate the yet unexplored Tchadda, a river, which at its junction, is nearly as large as the Niger itself, and no doubt waters extensive and fertile regions. It was even stated to the Landers by different individuals, that by this

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medium, vessels might reach the Lake Tchadda, and thereby communicate with the kingdom of Bornou. But this statement appears erroneous, for though the Tchadda be evidently the same with the Shary, which runs by Adomowa and Durrora, yet flowing into the Niger, it must be a quite different stream from the Shary, which flows *into* the Tchad, and in a country so mountainous, there is little likelihood of any connecting branches. The decided superiority of the interior of Africa to the coast, renders this event highly important. Steam, so peculiarly adapted to river navigation, affords an instrument by which the various obstacles may be overcome, and vessels may be enabled to penetrate into the very heart of the African continent.

On the return of the Landers, the question was mooted by the Geographical Society of London, whether the Quorra or *Niger*, as discovered by Lander, was the same river as the *Nigir* of the ancients. Upon the whole subject it would have been sufficient to refer to D'Anville and Rennell, who favour the affirmative of the question, and on the opposite side to M. Walckenaer, who of all later writers has examined it with the greatest diligence, had not recent discoveries furnished us with better grounds for forming a conclusive opinion, than even the latest of these authors possessed.

Maritime surveys have now completed a correct outline of Northern Africa. Major Laing, by ascertaining the source of the Quorra to be not more than sixteen hundred feet above the sea, proved that it could not flow to the Nile. Denham and Clapperton demonstrated that it did not discharge itself into the Lake of Bornou, and at length its real termination in a delta, at the head of the great gulf of the western coast of Africa, has rewarded the enlightened perseverance of the British government, and the courage and enterprise of its servants. The value to science of this discovery, and the great merit of those, whose successive exertions have prepared and completed it, is the more striking, when we consider that the hydrography of an unknown country is the most important step to a correct knowledge of its geography, and that in barbarous Africa, nothing short of the ocular inquiries of educated men, is sufficient to procure the requisite facts, and yet it is not a little extraordinary, that the termination of the Quorra or

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Niger has been discovered by two men, who, in point of scientific knowledge, education, or literary acquirements, stand the lowest in the scale of the African travellers. It is, however, curious to observe how even the best collectors of oral information in that country, have failed in arriving at the truth, as to the origin, cause, and termination of the rivers. Edrisi, Abulfida, Leo Africanus,* Delile, and Bruce, all come to the determination that the Quorra flowed from east to west. Burckhardt, whose oral inquiries on Bornou, have proved generally correct, concluded that the Shary flowed from N. E. to S. W., and Lyon, though particularly successful in his information on the countries not visited by him, was induced to confound the Shary of Bornou with the Tchadda or Yeu, and like Sultan Bello, to carry the Quorra, after passing Youri and Funda, into the Lake Tchadda, and thence into Egypt. The most intelligent natives are confused, when questioned on the subject of rivers, while the majority, unable to understand the object or utility of such enquiries, can neither inform the traveller whether two streams are different rivers or part of the same; where any river rises, or whither it flows, and appear often to believe that all the lakes and streams of Africa, are parts of one and the same water. It is not surprising, therefore, that ancients as well as moderns have obtained the knowledge of a large river flowing to the east, should have supposed that it was a branch of the Nile of Egypt, or that when the existence of a great lake, in the direction of the known portion of its stream, became known, the opinion should have followed, that the river terminated in that lake, or that it was discharged through the lake into the Nile. Such, consequently have been the prevalent notions in all ages, even amongst the most intelligent foreigners, as well as the higher class of natives, from Herodotus, Etearchus, and Juba, to Ibn, Batuta, and Bello of Soccatoo.

Considering these circumstances, it will hardly be contended

* It is supposed by W. Martin Leake, Esq. Vice President of the Geographical Society, that Leo Africanus actually reached Timbuctoo. The narrative of Adams places the matter at rest, that Leo never did reach that famous city. Mr. Leake says, that Leo was very young at the time, and, therefore, that his memory probably failed him, when he came to describe the city, which was many years after his return.

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that the late discovery of the Landers, has made any alteration in the nature of the question, as to the identity of the Quorra and Nigir; the sudden bend of the river to the southward, through a country, which has been equally unknown to the ancients and moderns, having always left the best informed of them in ignorance of any part of the river, except that of which the course was northerly or easterly. If then, there be sufficient reason for the belief, that these latter portions were known to the ancients, we have only to suppose them to have had some such imperfect knowledge of the interior of North Africa, as we ourselves had attained previously to the expedition of Denham and Clapperton, to justify the application of the name Nigir to the whole course of the river.

Although we find Ptolemy to be misinformed on several points concerning central Africa, yet there still remains enough in his Data, on Interior Libya and Northern Ethiopia, to shew a real geographical approximation, very distant indeed from the accuracy at which science is always aiming, but quite sufficient to resolve the question as to the identity of the Nigir, in which an approximation is all that can be expected or required. Having been totally ignorant of the countries through which that river flows in a southerly direction, Ptolemy naturally mistook it for a river of the interior; he knew the middle Ethiopia to be a country watered by lakes, formed by streams rising in mountains to the southward; he was superior to the vulgar error of supposing that all the waters to the westward of the Nile flowed into that river, and he knew consequently that the rivers and lakes in the middle region, had no communication with the sea. It is but lately that we ourselves have arrived at a certainty on this important fact. We now know enough of the level of the Lake Tchad, to be assured that no water from that recipient can possibly reach the Nile. This wonderful river, of which the lowest branch is 1200 geographical miles from the Mediterranean, (measuring the distance along its course, in broken lines of 100 G. M. direct,) has no tributary from the westward below the Bahr Adda of Browne, which is more than 1600 miles from the sea, similarly measured. It is scarcely possible, therefore, that the latter point can be less, taking the cataracts into consideration than 1500 feet above the sea, whereas the following considerations

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lead to the belief that the Tchadda is not more than 500 feet in height.

We learn from the information of Clapperton, confirmed and amplified by that of Lander, that there exists a ridge, which about Kano and Kashna, extends forth the Yeu to the Lake Tchadda on one side, and on the other the river of Soccatoo, which joins the Quorra at a distance from the sea of about 500 miles, measured in the manner above mentioned. A similar process of measurement gives a length of 1700 miles to the whole course of the Quorra, the sources of which, according to Major Laing, are about 1600 feet above the sea; the stream, therefore, has an average fall of something less than a foot in a mile in lines of 100 geographical miles. This would give to the confluence of the river of Soccatoo with the Quorra, a height of less than 500 feet above the sea, but as that confluence occurs above the most rapid part of the main stream, 500 feet seem to be very nearly the height.

As a knowledge of the origin and course of rivers, conducts in every country to that of the relative altitude and directions of its highlands, the late discoveries on the waters of Africa have thrown great light on its orography. The sources of the largest, or rather longest of its rivers, namely, the white or true Nile, now appears to be in a point nearly equidistant from the Indian and Atlantic Oceans in one direction, and from the Mediterranean and the Cape of Good Hope on the other. These central summits, it is fair to suppose, are at least as high as the snowy peak Samen, in Abyssinia, which is the culminating point towards the sources of the minor branch or Blue Nile, and that they are covered, therefore, with perpetual snow. From hence flow the White Nile, the Djyr, the Bahr Culla, the Congo, and several rivers of the coast of Zanguebar.

As a part of these great African Alps was described to Denham as lying beyond the mountain of Mendefy, the latter would seem to be an advanced northerly summit of them. The range is probably united to the eastward with the mountains of Abyssinia, and to the westward, terminates abruptly in some lofty peaks on the eastern side of the delta of the Quorra, but not till after it has sent forth a lower prolongation, which crosses the course of the

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Quorra nearly at right angles, and terminates at the end of 1500 miles, at the sources of the Quorra, Gambia, and Senegal. A minor counterfort advances from the central range to the north-westward, commencing about the Peak of Mendefy, and vanishing at the end of about 900 miles in the desert of the Tuaricks. It gives rise to the two Sharys, which flow in opposite directions to the Quorra and the Lake Tchadda, and further north to the streams which flow to the same two recipients from about Kano and Kashna.

Though the knowledge of interior Africa now possessed by the civilized world, is the progressive acquisition of many enterprising men, to all of whom we are profoundly indebted, it cannot be denied that the last great discovery has done more than any other to place the great outline of African geography on a basis of certainty. When to this is added the consideration that it opens a maritime communication into the centre of the continent, it may be described as the greatest geographical discovery that has been made since that of New Holland. Thrice during the last thirty years, it has been on the eve of accomplishment; first when Horneman had arrived from Fezzan at Nyffé, secondly when Park had navigated the Quorra as far as Boussa, and lastly when Tuckey, supplied with all possible means for prosecuting researches by water, was unfortunately expedited to the Congo, instead of being sent to explore the mouths of the Niger.

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CHAPTER XLIII.

A MARITIME communication with the interior of Africa having been now opened, by the discovery of the termination of the Niger in the Bight of Benin, it was considered, that some great commercial advantages might be derived by fitting out an expedition on a large scale, and as Lander on his return home had reported, that the Niger was navigable for vessels of a light burden for a considerable distance into the country, it was resolved to fit out two steam vessels, well armed and amply supplied with all stores both in a commercial point of view, and for attack and defence when arriving amongst the natives in the interior. It was an enterprise every way worthy of the British character, and one likely to be productive of future consequences, the importance of which it would be difficult to overrate either in a commercial or in a moral and political point of view. Sir John Tobin of Liverpool was one of its great promoters, and the immediate object of the expedition was to ascend the Niger, to establish a trade with the natives, and to enlarge our geographical knowledge of the country. When we look at the dense population of Africa described in the preceding parts of this work, it is obvious that in them might be found an extensive market for the manufactured goods and wares of England; for the cottons of Manchester, Glasgow, &c., and for many other products of our skill and industry. In return for these, the rich commodities of gold, ivory, hippopotami teeth, and the more common articles of wood, peltry, gums, &c. &c. may be imported, and if encourage-

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ment be given, indigo and other valuable things would be largely cultivated to barter with Europe. And still nobler aims were before us, the ending of the traffic in human beings, and the gradual illumination and civilization of Africa.

Although in unison with the enlightened spirit of the times, this expedition may be considered as simply a mercantile speculation, yet at the same time it purposed to combine objects of greater and more general interest. The sum of £300 was presented by Sir John Tobin, and other individuals concerned in the expedition. Government had nothing to do with the outfit of the expedition, but it was to be accompanied by Lieutenant William Allen, of the royal navy, but without rank or command, as a passenger, with instructions to make surveys and observations, for which his scientific attainments well qualified him.

Richard Lander was appointed to the command of the expedition, leaving his brother John as his *locum tenens* in the Custom-house of Liverpool until his return.

The expedition, considering the object which it had in view was of a formidable kind, two steam vessels were equipped for the purpose, the larger was computed be be 145 tons burden, and propelled by a fifty horse engine. Her sides were pierced and mounted with ten six pounders. Forward, a very formidable display was made by a twenty-four pound swivel gun, whilst a long swivel eighteen pound carronade astern seemed to threaten destruction to every foe. In addition to these precautions against the Spanish pirates who infest the coast, and of which Lander was himself an eye witness in the capture of the brig Thomas, and also against such of the native tribes, who might prove hostile to the expedition, she was completely surrounded by a *chevaux de frise*, and amply provided with small arms and boarding pikes for forty persons, of which number the crew were to consist. This steamer was named after the river she was intended to ascend, namely the Quorra, which is the Arabic for "shining river." Her draft of water was easy, and in her ascent would not be more than two feet six inches, which was very small, considering that no sacrifice had been made of those operations, which constitute the *beau ideal* of a steamer, which the Quorra certainly was. The construction of the paddles was such, that

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should favourable winds occur, they could be removed in such a manner, that she could use sails instead of steam, and receive no impediment to her progress by their immersion in the water. She was schooner rigged and rather lofty. The Quorra was intended to ascend the principal stream, and the lesser vessel, which was built entirely of wrought iron, and of a draught of only 18 inches, was intended to explore all the tributary streams, and to visit Timbuctoo, Warree, Soccatoo, &c. &c. This latter vessel was only 55 tons burden, and called the Alburkha, which is the Arabic for "blessing." The brig Columbine, which was to accompany them as far as the river Nun, was principally laden with fuel and other articles for the use of the two steamers. She was not to ascend the river, but to anchor in a convenient place as a kind of store-house for the steamers. It was expected that a sufficiency of wood would be found on the banks of the river to generate steam, when the supply of coal was exhausted, or not easily to be procured. The whole squadron was under the command of Captain Harris of the royal navy, whose experience on the coast during a period of six years entitled him to the confidence of the promoters of the expedition. Macgregor Laud, esquire, of Liverpool, as supercargo, and Mr. Briggs, of Liverpool, surgeon, accompanied the expedition. To the latter gentlemen was confided the botanical department, and also that of natural history, being fully competent to investigate the very important branches connected with those sciences, either for philosophical or commercial results.

The Columbine brig was 170 tons, commanded by Captain Miller, being laden with coals for the steamers, and a variety of articles for presents, trade, or barter, and a few passengers. The Alburkha steamer was commanded by Captain Hill, and was admitted to be a model of a vessel, although with the exception of the decks, being entirely built of iron. She had a crew of fourteen men.

Lander carried with him a number of copies of an address, prepared by Mr. Salamé, and intended to explain the objects of their visit to the native chiefs and kings. They were printed on all kinds of coloured paper and being adorned with pictures of the two steam boats, were likely enough to be regarded not merely as

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ambassadorial letters, but as beautiful specimens of the fine arts by the sovereigns to whom they were to be presented.

By the ample provision that was made, it would almost seem that every difficulty was anticipated, and certainly no individual was better fitted than Lander to direct the outfit of the expedition, he having been twice in the country, and had acquired a perfect knowledge of the articles most in request by the natives, and particularly those kinds which would be the most acceptable to the native chiefs. Every thing that could be procured for the success, safety, comfort, and happiness of the adventurous travellers was supplied in the most bountiful manner, nor should it be omitted to state that an abundance of trinkets, &c. &c. was shipped for the purpose of conciliating the good will of the natives. No correct estimate could be formed of the length of the absence of the expedition, it might, however, be naturally inferred that it would not be great, as the steamers would present a facility hitherto unknown in exploring the African rivers, and that the progress thus obtained would in no way be impeded by the caprice of any of the African chiefs in obtaining leave to proceed, or paying a compulsory tribute &c. for such a favour. A glance at the Quorra would almost convince any one that her implements of destruction were such as to defy the whole condensed bow and arrow force of Africa, and it was generally hoped, as the expedition was of a trading description, conducted at the entire expense of a body of Liverpool merchants, that the speculations would be attended with profitable results, and finally with great advantages to open a trade between this country and the whole of Western Africa.

The expedition sailed from Liverpool in the month of July, 1822, and put into Milford, there to wait for orders, and also for Richard Lander who was expected to join them over land. They were also to obtain at Milford clean bills of health. On Tuesday the 19th June the Columbine brig and the Alburkha were towed out to sea by the Quorra, which vessel returned to Milford to wait the arrival of Lander, and then to sail immediately for Porto Praga on the African coast, the place of rendezvous.

From the unfortunate issue of the expedition we are excluded from the general information, which would otherwise have been

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obtained, had Lander survived to communicate the result of his researches on his return to England. We know that he was bound in honour not to send public intelligence, except to the owners of the vessels employed, and therefore all the information that can be gleaned, is from his private letters to his friends and relatives, and that even would be necessarily confined to the news of his personal situation. The expedition was expected to enter the Niger in six or seven weeks, and to return to England in about nine months.

On Sunday the 7th October, the expedition reached Cape Coast Castle in seventy-two days after sailing from Milford Haven, after having touched at the isle De Los, Sierra Leone and other points for a supply of fuel for the two steamers. Some cases of fever had taken place, but as yet no death had occurred. At Cape Coast, the governor Maclean and the officers of the garrison treated their visiters with the utmost kindness and hospitality. Here Lander fortunately secured the services of his old tried servant Pascoe, as well as Jowdie, and two natives of the Eboe country, who were likely to be of great service to the expedition, one of them being the son of a chief, and both intelligent, with a slight knowledge of the English language. The Alburkha, of which vessel some fears were entertained, was found to work admirably, exceeding the expectations of her commander and the other officers attached to the expedition. They sailed from Cape Coast Castle about the middle of October, for the river Nun, and proceeded direct from that river to the river Niger.

At the meeting of the geographical society of London in the month of June 1833, the following letter was read, addressed to R. W. Ray, esquire, from Richard Lander, dated —

"Niger Expedition, River Nun, October 26, 1832.

"I have the honour to inform you that the expedition under my command arrived here on the 20th instant, all well. I found on my arrival here that the captain of the Liverpool brig Susan, had paid king Boy. I hope you will be pleased to honour the bill. I have made king Boy a handsome present from the ordnance stores you were good enough to supply me with, and he accompanies me to the Eboe country to settle the palaver with king Obie. King

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Boy and king Forday were very glad to see me again, and say I am no man but a devil. I sail this evening and, expect to reach the Eboe country in four days, and feel quite confident of success. I find Mr. Allen sent out by the admiralty a very agreeable companion.

(Signed,) Richard Lander.

From the account of the seaman who was the bearer of it from Richard Lander to his brother in Liverpool, some further information was obtained, that *all* the vessels of the expedition had reached the Eboe country previously to the sailors leaving the Nun river. The seaman stated that the steamers stemmed the current bravely, and ascended the Niger with apparent ease.

The following extract of a letter from Sierra Leone, dated May 23, contains some interesting intelligence respecting the expedition:

"The boats of his majesty's ship Curlew had boarded the Columbine about the 20th April, the master of which vessel had died a few weeks previously. The doctor on board the Columbine had received letters from Mr. Lander dated from king Obie's palace at Eboe, about three weeks after they had sailed from the entrance of the river Nun. King Obie had treated them with much kindness, and had made Lander a present of some canoes, with people to pilot them up the river. A few days before their arrival at Eboe, the steamers sent their boats ashore to cut wood. They were fired upon by the inhabitants of a village, and obliged to return. The next morning a large number of men were sent armed, these were immediately fired upon by the natives. The Quorra then sent a signal rocket into the town, and continued firing her long gun at intervals for an hour and a half. The natives still continuing to fire, the crews of both the steamers landed and drove them out of the town or village, and then burned it to the ground. Three of the natives were found killed, and one was dying, one or two of the English were slightly wounded. The news of this engagement reached Eboe before the steamer, and Mr. Lander is of opinion, it will have a salutary effect on the natives up the river,

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and be the means of preventing any further resistance. Nine men are said to have died before they left the Nun, and two or three afterwards. There was also an American merchant brig, the Agenoria, lying in the Nun. She had been fitted out by a company of merchants of New Providence to explore the Niger. She had with her two small schooners, which were to proceed up the river, while she remained at the entrance. Nearly all the white men belonging to these vessels had died, and the remainder appeared in the most wretched state, and they had abandoned all intention of attempting to proceed up the river with the schooners, it being considered impossible to do so with any sailing vessel. The brig intended to procure a cargo of palm oil, and proceed to the United States. The Agenoria was fitted out secretly by the company, and had cleared out for a whaling voyage.

No doubt whatever exists, and the sequel fully confirms the opinion, that the conduct observed by the crews of the steamers in attacking and destroying the town of the natives was highly impolitic and uncalled for. It is true the natives had commenced the attack, and we have only to refer to the accounts transmitted to us, of various travellers on penetrating into the country of a savage people, and especially a people of the depraved nature of the Africans, with whom Lander had to deal, that they are generally the first to resort to force, not so much with the hope of victory, as with the desire of plunder. In the generality of cases, however, it is to be found that the hostility on the part of the natives was more easy to be quelled by a show of forbearance and an inclination to enter into terms of amity with them, than by an open desire to meet force by force. Lander was by no means ignorant of the African character, he came not amongst them as a perfect stranger, and in all his former transactions with the natives, he had invariably found that he ultimately obtained their good will by a show of forbearance and lenity, more than by a determined spirit of resistance and reprisal. In no instance was this principle more completely verified than in the travels of Major Denham, in which in several instances, had he not maintained a complete control over his temper, on the insults and affronts offered to him by the natives, the consequences, would doubtless have been fatal to him, and although

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the natives were, in the case of Lander, undoubtedly the aggressors, yet had a temper of conciliation been manifested towards them, that spirit of hatred and of vengeance would not have been awakened in their breasts, which led to a most fatal catastrophe, and to the death of one of the most enterprising travellers, who ever attempted to explore the interior of Africa.

For some reason not properly explained, Richard Lander, returned to Fernando Po on the 1st May from the Quorra steam boat, which he had left afloat in deep water, near the River Tchadda. From her he descended the Niger in a native canoe, and arrived on board the brig Columbine, which was lying in the Nun River, having been 13 days on his passage. During this period he stopped to sleep every night at a native village on the banks of the Niger.

At Fernando Po, Mr. Lander was evidently very ill, though he was rapidly recovering from an attack of the dysentery, with which he had been afflicted for some months. His object in returning alone to Fernando Po, was to procure medicines, as well as tea and other condiments, for the use of the invalids on board the steam boats. The reports of the grievous mortality which had prevailed on board the steamers were confirmed by the arrival of Lander; the number of deaths on board the vessels had indeed been frightfully great; no fewer than twenty-five had perished before Mr. Lander undertook his journey to the coast, including most of the officers and engineers.

The following may be considered as the principal circumstances which led to this lamentable result. The vessels were unfortunately detained at a place called Attah, until Mr. Lander, accompanied by one or two of his associates, went tc see the king. They were very hospitably received by his sable majesty, who was equipped in silk velvet, and attended by about three hundred well-dressed youths, all of them eunuchs, and forming a kind of body guard to their prince.

This delay was followed by another still more vexatious. The larger steam boat was forced by the strength of the current on a sand bank, where she was fixed for several weeks; till lifted into deep water by the swelling of the river. Here she was examined, and found to have sustained no damage, but owing to this un-

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seasonable accident, as well as the detention at Attah, and above all, to the deplorable loss of life, which had ensued on board the vessels, the party had not in their power to cultivate their mercantile speculations either to the extent or so successfully as they wished, or as their friends anticipated.

Still, however, when Mr. Lander left the Quorra, they might be said to have only begun to trade with the natives, and as there was unquestionably an abundance of ivory in the country, there was reason to hope that the adventure would be yet as prosperous in this point of view as its spirited and enterprising proprietors could reasonably desire.

The great mortality which took place amongst the crews of the vessels, was mainly attributed to the injudicious conduct of Captain Harris, who, instead of pushing on direct for the Niger, spent a great deal of time, as he coasted along, in examining inlets, &c., which exposed the crew to the fatal fever, which committed such ravages amongst them. Captain Harris himself fell a victim to his want of judgement, and Lander, Laird, Lieutenant Allen, and the captain of the Alburkha, were the only persons in office, who survived, and but fourteen whites besides were left alive.

The provisions were found to be uncommonly cheap and plentiful. A bullock weighing two cwt. cost eight shillings. Fowls one penny each, and other things in proportion, so that the victualling of thirty men was not more than eighteen pence a day, including yams and rice.

On the 18th May, Lander left Fernando Po in a native canoe as before, in order to rejoin his companions, who were no doubt anxiously awaiting his return. Richard Lander returned to Attah on the 21st July, in high health and spirits, and immediately made preparations for ascending the river in the Alburkha, accompanied by Lieutenant Allen, and a medical man. His voyage from the coast in a canoe, occupied him thirty-two days. From Attah, he wrote to his brother John, of which the following is an interesting extract:

"You know, that when we were here together, Abucco, chief of Damaggoo, had been at variance with his brother for several years. On arriving at the former place from the coast, I was sorry to find

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the brothers, with their respective subjects, still engaged in that petty, but obstinate and ferocious warfare, which had distinguished the quarrel at its commencement. Determined, if possible, to effect a reconciliation between them, I prevailed on our old friend Abucco to accompany me to Attah, promising to introduce him to his brother, and pledging my life for his safety. The meeting took place on the 22nd November, and a highly interesting one it was, I assure you. One party, preceded by Jowdie, and a few drummers, were introduced into a large square enclosure. The chief seated on a kind of throne, was surrounded by all his mallams, and a multitude of attendants. His wives were seated under a verandah, from which were suspended several handsome Turkey carpets, which served them for a screen. Abucco instantly drew back, as he approached the throne, but, taking him by the hand, I led, or rather pulled him towards his brother. At this moment, his confidence seemed to have forsaken him entirely; his head hung down on his breast, and I could feel him tremble violently. Whilst I was displaying my presents to the chief of Attah, I perceived him several times bestow a hasty and displeased look on his brother, who had disengaged himself from my hand, and was sitting on the ground. Though seven years had elapsed since their last meeting, neither of the rulers uttered a word. The curiosity of the chief of Attah, having in some measure been gratified, I immediately introduced his brother to his notice, by paying him a high compliment, which Abucco had certainly deserved. I then expressed the regret I felt in witnessing the bad effects of the misunderstanding, which had existed amongst them for so many years; insisted on the necessity of brothers living in harmony, and said I was determined not to quit the spot, until I had established a perfect reconciliation between them. The chief was extremely disconcerted, but he made no reply, I then desired Abucco to rise, and leading him to his brother, I took the right hand of each, and pressing both hands together, made them shake hands heartily, observing; You are now friends, and may God keep you so. The brothers were deeply affected, and neither of them could utter, a syllable, for several seconds afterwards. Every countenance beamed with delight at the happy termination of the interview, and the multitude gave vent

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to their feelings, in a loud, long, and general shout. For my part, I need not say, I cannot tell the heartfelt gratification, I felt at that moment. But this is not the most important good, that I have been the humble means of effecting at this place. From time immemorable it has been a custom with the rulers of Attah, to sacrifice human beings on rejoicing days, and on all public occasions. At the interview, which I have just described to you, two poor creatures were brought before us to be slain, in order that their blood might be sprinkled about the yard. I shuddered at the proposal, and begged with earnestness, that nothing of the kind might be done, I assured the chief he would one day have to give an account to God, of every life he might wantonly destroy; and also made him sensible, that though after death, his body would moulder into dust, his soul would live for ever, and that it would be happy or miserable, in proportion to the good or bad actions he had performed, or might yet perform in this world. The chief was evidently much affected at my words, and desired his followers to unbind the intended victims, and remove them from the yard. He then made a solemn promise, to put an end to the custom of sacrificing human beings. As soon as this declaration was made known to the mallams, and the crowd of attendants in the yard, they all held up their hands in token of approbation, and shouted for joy. It is now seven or eight months since this promise was made, and I am happy to say, it has been religiously kept."

As further lights continued to be thrown upon the course of the Niger, that geographical problem of many years, and as its importance in a commercial point of view, opening a way into the interior of Africa, becomes more appreciable, our attention was naturally drawn to every circumstance connected with its exploration. Thus the expeditions of Mungo Park excited a strong sensation, and have left a mournful recollection on the public mind, and thus the equally adventurous, and noble, and more successful enterprises of the brothers, Landers, and especially of Richard, whose narrative of his third voyage we are now relating, have fixed the admiration of their country. This feeling was probably greatly enhanced, as the prospect of utility is certainly much enlarged by the remarkable coincidence of these gallant efforts, with the appli-

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cation of the navigating powers of steam. There might have been generations of Landers, with lives devoted to the cause, the sole reward of which would have been the discovery of a river's source and termination, but now there was combined with that end, the cheering hope of extending civilization, of strangling the hydra, slavery, in its cradle, and of diffusing comfort and happiness over a wide quarter of the globe. Assuredly it is a glorious thing to be signally and prosperously engaged in laying the foundation for a consummation so devoutly to be wished.

Lander had not made great progress in the interior, before he found that he was deficient in some particular kinds of goods, which were required for the markets in the interior, and he, therefore, descended the river in a canoe, and embarked on board the Curlew ship of war, to convey him to Cape Coast Castle, where he expected to meet with the articles which he required. Having succeeded in effecting his purchases, he returned to the mouth of the Nun, thence to *reascend the Niger for the third time*, and endeavour to penetrate as far up the river as Boussa.

It is, however, highly interesting to know, that previously to his last return to the Coast, Lander and Lieutenant Allen, had fortunately reached Rabba, a large Fellata town, in the iron steam boat, and for the period of thirteen or fourteen days had maintained a friendly intercourse, and carried on an advantageous trade with its inhabitants. The depth of the water at that place was between two and three fathoms, and as far as could be seen beyond it, the Niger was free from rocks and other obstructions, and assumed a majestic and very encouraging appearance. For the reason already mentioned, Lander was obliged to return to the coast, though it was supposed that he hastily quitted Rabba on account of some unfavourable rumours which had reached him, to the effect that the people wished to inveigle our countrymen on shore, in order to seize their persons and destroy their boat. This is, however, an improbable supposition, for as far as could be ascertained, the general bearing of the inhabitants towards the English was any thing but hostile. This important town was inhabited by Fellatas and negroes, and fully realized the expectations that had been formed of it, as regards its extent, its wealth, and its population.

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A few Tuaricks from the borders of the desert, and other Arabs were observed by our countrymen in the streets of Rabba.

Another important feature of this expedition is, the circumstance that the travellers ascended the river Tchadda, as high as one hundred and fifty miles from its junction with the Niger. At that point, and at some distance below and above it, the river was found to be intersected with islands, and comparatively shallow, alternately becoming broad and narrow in proportion as its channel was free from, or obstructed by these islands. No traces of inhabitants appeared on the banks of this very interesting river, and Lander and his valuable coadjutor were compelled to return to the Niger for want of provisions. All the natives in this part of the country agreed in the assertion, that the Tchadda communicates with Lake Tchad, the inland sea of Africa. They do not hazard this as a mere conjecture, but state it with confidence, as a well-known and undisputed fact. This being the case, though it be at variance with the opinion entertained of it by many of our scientific countrymen, the concurrent testimony of the natives, who, after all, are better acquainted with the geography of their own country, is entitled to respect. It should also be remembered, that the Tchadda has not received its name, any more than its gigantic namesake, from Europeans, but from the natives themselves, who have never bestowed on it any other appellation. On a small island, near Attah, Lander erected a kind of mud fort, which would answer the purpose of a depot for British goods. This place has been named English island, and it possesses peculiar facilities for trading purposes in that part of the country. The king of Attah, who seemed to have formed an attachment to Lander, presented him with four small but very beautiful horses, which he succeeded in conveying to Fernando Po. Poor old Pascoe the black, who buried Belzoni, and whose name occurs so frequently in Clapperton's journal, and the narrative of the Landers, as a faithful and brave servant, died at Attah.

For some time, no information which could be relied upon reached this country, relative to the progress of the expedition, although some sinister reports were afloat relative to the fatal termination of it. At length, however, all suspense was extinguished by

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the arrival of an individual belonging to the expedition, who gave the following account of the melancholy manner in which Richard Lander met his death, and which was subsequently corroborated by Mr. Moore, a medical gentleman attached to the expedition, and who was himself an eyewitness of the whole murderous scene. The particulars of the mournful event of Lander's death are thus given:

"Richard Lander and his associates entered the Brass River, and began ascending it in excellent spirits. With them were two or three negro musicians, who, when the labours of the day were over, cheered their countrymen with their instruments, at the sound of which they danced and sang in company, while the few Englishmen belonging to the party, amused themselves with angling on the banks of the stream, in which, though not very expert, they were tolerably successful. In this pleasing manner, stemming a strong current by day, and resting from their toil at night, Richard Lander and his little band, totally unapprehensive of danger, and unprepared to overcome or meet it, proceeded slowly up the Niger. At some distance from its mouth, and on his way thither, they met King Jacket, a relative of King Boy, and one of the heartless and sullen chiefs, who rule over a large tract of marshy country on the banks of the Brass River. This individual was hailed by our travellers, and a present of tobacco and rum was offered to him, he accepted it with a murmur of dissatisfaction, and his eye sparkled with malignity, as he said in his own language, "White man will never reach Eboe this time." This sentence was immediately interpreted to Lander by a native of the country, a boy, who afterwards bled to death from a wound in the knee, but Lander made light of the matter, and attributed Jacket's prophecy, for so it proved, to the petulance and malice of his disposition. Soon, however, he discovered his error, but it was too late to correct it, or evade the danger which threatened him. On ascending as far inland as sixty or seventy miles, the English approached an island, and their progress in the larger canoe was effectually obstructed by the shallowness of the stream. Amongst the trees and underwood that grew on this island, and on both banks of the river in its vicinity, large ambuscades of the natives had previously been

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formed, and shortly after the principal canoe had grounded, its unfortunate crew, busily employed to heave it into deep water, were saluted with irregular but heavy and continued discharges of musketry. So great was Lander's confidence in the sincerity and good will of the natives, that he could not at first believe that the destructive fire, by which he was literally surrounded, was any thing more than a mode of salutation they had adopted in honour of his arrival. But the Kroomen who had leaped into the boat, and who fell wounded by his side, soon convinced him of his mistake, and plainly discovered to him the fearful nature of the peril into which he had fallen so unexpectedly, and the difficulty he would experience in extricating himself from it. Encouraging his comrades with his voice and gestures, Lander prepared to defend himself to the last, and a loud and simultaneous shout from his little party assured him that they shared his feelings, and would follow his example. Meanwhile, several of the savages having come out of their concealment, were brought down by the shots of the English, but Lander whilst stopping to pick up a cartridge from the bottom of the canoe, was struck near the hip by a musket ball. The shock made him stagger, but he did not fall, and he continued cheering on his men. Soon finding, however, his ammunition expended, himself seriously wounded, the courage of his Kroomen beginning to droop, and the firing of his assailants, instead of diminishing become more general than ever, he resolved to attempt getting into the smaller canoe, afloat at a short distance, as the only remaining chance of preserving a single life. For this purpose, abandoning their property, the survivors threw themselves into the stream, and with much difficulty, for the strength of the current was incredibly strong, most of them succeeded in accomplishing their object. No sooner was this observed by the men in ambush, than they started up and rushed out with wild and hideous yells; canoes that had been hidden behind the luxuriant foliage which overhung the river, were in an instant pushed out into the middle of the stream, and pursued the fugitives with surprising velocity; whilst numbers of people, with savage antics and furious gesticulations, ran and danced along the beach, uttering loud and startling cries. The Kroomen maintained on this occasion, the good reputation which

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their countrymen have deservedly acquired; their lives depended on their energy and skill, and they impelled their slender bark through the water with unrivalled swiftness. The pursuit was kept up for four hours, and poor Lander, without ammunition or any defensive weapon whatever, was exposed to the straggling fire, as well as the insulting mockery of his pursuers. One incident, which occurred in the flight, deserves to be recorded. A white man named T——, completely overpowered by his fears, refused to fire on the savages, who were within a paddle's length of him, but stood up in the canoe, with a loaded musket in his hand, beseeching them by his gestures to take him prisoner, rather than deprive him of his life. While in the act of making this dastardly appeal, a musket ball from the enemy entered his mouth, and killed him on the spot. The others behaved with the greatest coolness and intrepidity. The fugitives gained on their pursuers, and when they found the chase discontinued altogether, Lander stood up for the last time in the canoe, and being seconded by his remaining associates, he waved his hat, and gave a last cheer in sight of his adversaries. He then became sick and faint from loss of blood, and sank back exhausted in the arms of those who were nearest to him. Rallying shortly afterwards, the nature of his wound was communicated to him by Mr. Moore, a young surgeon from England, who had accompanied him up the river, and whose conduct throughout this disastrous affray was most admirable. The ball could not be extracted, and Lander felt convinced his career would soon be terminated. When the state of excitement to which his feelings had been wrought, gave place to the languor which generally succeeds powerful excitement of any kind, the invalid's wound pained him exceedingly, and for several hours afterwards, he endured with calmness the most intense suffering. From that time he could neither sit up, nor turn on his couch, nor hold a pen, but while he was proceeding down the river in a manner so melancholy, and so very different from the mode in which he was ascending it only the day before, he could not help indulging in various reflections, and he talked much of his wife and children, his friends, his distant home, and his blighted expectations. It was a period of darkness, and distress, and sorrow to him, but his natural cheerful-

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ness soon regained its ascendancy over his mind, and freely forgiving all his enemies, he resigned himself into the hands of his Maker, and derived considerable benefit from the consolations of religion. He arrived with his surviving companions at Fernando Po on the 25th January. It was there found that the ball had entered his hip, and worked its way down to the thick of the thigh. He died on the 2nd February. His clothes and papers were all lost.

Various conjectures have been urged as to the probable cause of this cold-blooded and heartless attack on Lander and his party. Some persons imagine that the natives had been stimulated to the perpetration of this disgraceful deed by the Portuguese and South American slave dealers, who have considerable influence in the country, and whose interests would unquestionably decline by the introduction into the interior of British subjects and British manufactures. It is, however, generally supposed that the hostility of the natives may be in some degree traced to the shameful and scandalous conduct of some of the Liverpool merchants, who had used their private influence to poison the minds of the natives by attributing particular motives to the travellers, which were at variance with the interests of the country, and subversive of the authority of the chiefs. Nor is this scarcely a matter of doubt, when we peruse the following extract from a letter addressed by John Lander to the editor of the Literary Gazette.

"I cannot close this letter, without apprising you of a fact, which will appear incredible to you. Can you believe me when I assert, on the most unquestionable authority, that there are merchants here (the letter was dated from Liverpool) so heartless and inhuman as to instruct the masters of their vessels who trade to the African coast *to refuse any assistance to the expedition of which it may stand in need; to reject all letters that may be sent from the parties connected with it, and, in fine, to hold no communication whatever with the steamers or the brig*, does it not startle you, that jealousy and selfishness can go so far? Believe me, I blush at the reflection of a crime so hideous and un-English like as this?"

In a postscript, John Lander says, "The fact of the merchants' instructions to the masters of their vessels may be safely depended

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on. Nothing can be more true. They have gone even farther than I have ventured to hint. *They have taken measures to prejudice the minds of the natives against the expedition.*"

Thus is human life, thus are the interests of science sacrificed on the shrine of a sordid love of gain and pelf. It is true that the merit of the fitting out of the expedition belongs to the enterprising spirit and the liberality of a few Liverpool merchants, but greatly indeed is that merit eclipsed, in a general point of view, when it is considered, that in the same town could be found a set of individuals, who, for the purpose of enabling them to carry on an illegal and infamous traffic, could be the instruments of circumventing the life of an individual, who was nobly employed in the extension of geographical science, and who was perhaps actually laying the foundation of the civilization of the countries through which he might pass, and extending the commercial relations of his country. An indelible stain will it be upon the merchants of Liverpool, who could so far forget that they were Englishmen, as to make a horde of barbarous savages their instruments for the destruction of an expedition by which the general interests of the human race might be promoted, our commercial relations extended, and ultimately, the blessings of Christianity diffused over the dark and unenlightened children of Africa.

As a palliative to the statement of John Lander, and as some relief to the dark picture which we have just exhibited, it must be confessed, that when the circumstances are taken into consideration, which have already been detailed, when Lander first visited the Eboe country, his conduct was not exactly regulated by prudence or policy, in proceeding towards a country, not in the simple guise and unostentatious manner of the solitary traveller, but attended by a force sufficient to excite the fears and jealousy of the native chiefs, and to instil into their suspicious minds the belief, that the travellers, whom they had formerly seen in their country, had returned, equipped with the means of subjugating the country, and reducing the chiefs themselves, perhaps to a state of slavery. The very vessels in which they presented themselves, were sufficient to strike terror and alarm into the minds of the superstitious natives. They knew not by what character to describe them; to

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their ignorant and untutored understandings, they appeared to be impelled by some power of witchcraft, for which they could not in the least account; to behold a large vessel impelled even against the stream with no inconsiderable velocity, and no power manifested by which that speed could be obtained, set their minds a wondering, and obtained for Lander the character of the devil. As the devil, therefore, had arrived in their country, it became an act of the most imperious duty to force him to abandon it, by any means which could suggest themselves, and no one certainly could be more effectual than to put themselves in ambuscade, and take the first opportunity of killing him at once. It must also be taken into consideration, that the report of the destruction of the town and the murder of some of the natives by the crew of the Alburkha, had spread itself all along the banks of the river, and had spread consternation and alarm amongst the natives, who apprehended that the same fate might befal themselves. Another opinion was entertained, that the Brass people, perceiving that their lucrative carrying trade between the coast and the inland countries would be annihilated, if they suffered the English to trade with the natives of the interior in their own vessels, formed a coalition with the people of Bonny, whose interests would likewise be affected by the new order of things, and that these men, aided by the savage inhabitants of the country residing in the vicinity of the spot, where the ruthless and cowardly assault was made, met together and resolved on the destruction of the unoffending Englishmen.

From what cause soever it originated, this much is certain, that the attack had been premeditated, that the arrangements of the assassins had been made in a methodical and skilful manner, and that Brass and Bonny canoes were engaged in the assault. Those who have had the best means of knowing the character and disposition of the Brass people, and their neighbours of Bonny, whose treacherous manœuvering can only be equalled by their insatiable rapacity, consider the last as by far the most probable hypothesis, and believe that King Boy, notwithstanding his affectation of sympathy for the sufferers, and his apparent distress on beholding his friend and benefactor mortally wounded, was nevertheless at the bottom of the plot, and had exerted his influence to bring that plot

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to maturity, in conjunction with the malignant wretch, who foretold the eventful catastrophe. Boy having with alacrity joined the party on all former occasions, when they ascended the river, and having obstinately refused to accompany them on this, strengthens the supposition that he was well aware of the formidable danger, which awaited them, but in which it is plain he had no ambition to participate.

The fate of Lander, on whom the eyes of all England were directed as the individual most likely to extend the benefits of civilization to the benighted Africans, and to open fresh sources of wealth to his enterprising countrymen, excited in all breasts the most unfeigned regret; to the honour of the inhabitants of Truro, the native place of the Landers, it must be recorded that the intelligence of the premature death of Richard Lander, no sooner reached that town, than a meeting of his fellow townsmen took place, which was held at the council hall, at which Humphry Willyams, Esquire, presided. After expressing their extreme regret, the assembly resolved:

"To express its sincere sympathy with the sorrowing family, and its sense of the loss which science, commerce, and civilization had sustained by the death of this enterprising traveller. Further that the sum of £84 having been raised for the purpose of presenting pieces of plate to Messrs. Richard and John Lander, and the altered circumstances of the case having induced the survivor generously to decline any participation in the fund so raised, and to request that the same might be appropriated to some other memorial of the respect and esteem of his native town, for his lamented brother; it was their opinion that if an adequate amount be obtained, a column should be erected in their native town, to commemorate the intrepidity of the two brothers, and that an appeal be made to the county to co-operate in their object."

About ten days after, a second meeting took place, when the following address was printed, and unanimously adopted:

To the Inhabitants of Cornwall.

"The lamentable fate of the African traveller, Richard Lander, calls for some marked expression of public sympathy and respect,

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and more especially does it behove Cornishmen to show their esteem and sorrow for their adventurous countryman. Whether to testify this natural sentiment, or to declare our admiration at the energy of mind, which raised the departed and his enterprising brother from humble station to such enviable pre-eminence, or to evince that deep interest, which every philanthropist and christian must feel, in all that concerns the civilization of Africa, we are assured there can be but one opinion as to the propriety of raising some lasting memorial of the travellers. The effects likely to result from their discoveries, followed up by such indomitable resolution as characterized Richard Lander, may be inferred from the melancholy circumstance that this courageous man has in all probability fallen a victim to the suspicion of those concerned in the atrocious slave trade. But the grand object has been accomplished, though great the cost: the path now opened for mercantile enterprise, will make plain the way, for civilization, freedom, and religion. PARK, DENHAM, RITCHIE, CLAPPERTON and LANDER, have led the forlorn hope, against the seemingly impregnable fastnesses of African barbarism, and though each has perished, the cause of humanity has been advanced. At once, therefore, to celebrate the progress of discovery, and to record individual merit, it is proposed to erect a Column in some conspicuous part of Truro, the birth place of the Landers, which, while it commemorates the fate of one brother, will render a just tribute to both, and to this end it is intended to apply the amount already obtained for a testimonial of respect of another description, which sum, however, being inadequate, the committee appeals to the liberality of the county, confident that contributions will be immediately forthcoming to render the memorial worthy of the occasion."

Notwithstanding this forcible appeal to the compatriots of Landers it was some time before a sufficiency could be collected for the erection of the monument; success, however, at last attended the exertions of the committee, and the monument was erected; and although no blazoned escutcheon is engraved upon it, nor pompous epitaph declares the virtues of the departed, yet to the ages yet unborn it will rouse the spirit of compatriot pride, when the traveller views

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the memorial, and with exultation he will exclaim, Richard Lander was my countryman.

In investigating the advantages which may be supposed to flow to the country by the discoveries of the Landers, we fear that they have been much over-rated, for great and almost insuperable obstacles have to be surmounted, before the savages of Africa can be brought to relinquish their usual habits, or in any manner to forego those advantages which the traffic in human flesh so bountifully presents to them. The chiefs, who rule over the uncivilized hordes, who are located on the banks of the Quorra, are all engaged in a kind of commercial relation with the Europeans, by whom it is found necessary to conciliate them, by sometimes, the most obsequious conduct, degrading to a man of civilization, when shown towards an ignorant, tyrannical, and despotic tyrant. Any attempt to force a channel of commerce, beyond the territories of these savage chiefs, without having first, either by presents or other means, obtained their co-operation, is too visionary a scheme for even the most enterprising adventurer to dare to undertake. King Jacket and King Boy, with the king of Eboe, may be said to be in the command of the estuary of the Niger, and, therefore, any attempt to establish a channel of commerce without allowing them to participate in the profits, or to be permitted to exact a duty on all goods passing by water through their territory, must necessarily prove abortive. The jealousy of their character would be aroused, they would see in the traffic of the European a gradual decline of their own emoluments, and by degrees a total exclusion from those branches of commerce, from which they had hitherto derived the greatest profit. That the commerce of the interior of Africa offers the most tempting advantages to the enterprising British merchant cannot be doubted, for the two articles alone of indigo and ivory would repay the speculator with a profit of nearly 1000 per cent. This circumstance was sufficient to arouse the commercial spirit of the merchants of Glasgow, who, on the return of the Landers with the information of the discovery of the termination of the Niger, proceeded immediately to form a company, having a capital of £10,000, for establishing a commercial intercourse with the chiefs

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of the interior of Africa, forgetting at the time, that before they could reach the territories of those chiefs, they had in the persons of King Boy, King Jacket, and King Forday, and the king of the Eboe country, a gauntlet to run through, and a kind of quadruple alliance to extinguish, without which all their efforts would be in vain. The death of Lander put an end to this speculation, as it was then clearly seen that unless the actual constitution of the countries situate on the banks of the Quorra, could be placed under a different authority, and the people brought to a state of positive submission, it were futile to expect any solid or permanent advantages from any commercial relations they might form. The insalubrity of the climate, so very injurious to a European constitution, was also a great drawback to the prosecution of those commercial advantages, which the discovery of the termination of the Niger offered to this country; it was literally sending men to die a premature death to embark them on board of an African trader, and we have the authority of the late Captain Fullerton for stating, that he scarcely ever knew an individual who, although he might escape the pestilential fevers of the country for the second, and even the third or fourth time, that did not eventually die. Notwithstanding, however, the latter serious drawback to the prosecution of our geographical knowledge of the interior of Africa, there are yet to be found amongst us some hardy, gallant spirits, who, fearless of every danger, and willing to undergo every privation which the human constitution can endure, are still anxious to expose themselves to such appalling perils, for the promotion of science and the general welfare of the human race. Amongst those individuals, a young gentleman of the name of Coulthurst has rendered himself conspicuous. He was the only surviving son of C. Coulthurst, Esquire, of Sandirvay, near Norwich, and was thirty-five years of age at the time of his death. He was educated at Eton, studied afterwards at Brazen Nose College, Oxford, and then went to Barbadoes, but from his infancy his heart was set on African enterprise. His family are still in possession of some of his Eton school books, in which maps of Africa, with his supposed travels into the interior, are delineated; and at Barbadoes he used to take long walks in the heat of the day, in order to season himself for the further exposure,

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which he never ceased to contemplate. His eager desires also took a poetical form, and a soliloquy of Mungo Park, and other pieces of a similar description, of considerable merit, were written by him at different times. The stimulus that at length decided him, however, was the success of the Landers. He feared that if he delayed longer, another expedition would be fitted out on a grand scale, and leave nothing which an individual could attempt.

It was in December 1831, that Messrs. Coulthurst and Tyrwhitt were introduced to the council of the Geographical Society, as being about to proceed at their own expense to the mouth of the Quorra, with the view of endeavouring to penetrate thence eastward to the Bahr-Abiad; and although their preparations were not on such a scale as to warrant any very sanguine hopes of success, yet it was felt to be a duty on the part of the society to patronize so spirited an undertaking. They were accordingly placed in communication with Colonel Leake, and other members of the late African Association, whose advice it was thought could not fail to be of service to them. They were also introduced to Captain Owen and to Mr. Lander, the value of whose experience in planning their operations was obvious. And the expedition being brought under the notice of his majesty's government, the loan of a chronometer was obtained for it, with strong letters of introduction and recommendation to the officers commanding the naval and military forces of the crown along the African coast.

The party sailed from the Downs on the 1st January 1832, and arrived at Bathurst St. Mary's on the Gambia on the 28th of the same month. Both travellers were somewhat indisposed during the voyage, and the sun after their arrival so seriously affected Mr. Tyrwhitt, that he here yielded to the repeated representations of his companion and others, and returned home. The following is an extract of a letter received from Mr. Coulthurst, dated Bathurst, 1st February 1832, and the style is clearly indicative of the superior qualifications of his mind:

"After a conference and palaver with some of the native chiefs, amongst whose grotesque forms and equipments you would have laughed to have seen me perched this morning, sipping palm wine I have made up my mind to take the southern bank of this river

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ough Fooladoo to Sego. A messenger from the Almana of ondon, who has undertaken to bring the gum trade here from the enegal, is now at Bathurst, and the merchants are willing to sist in making up a coffila, which will enable us I trust to prose-ate our journey in safety. Though I shall not thus reach the ain object of Funda so directly as if I had had the good fortune overtake the Pluto, it would be scarcely possible for me to do his now before the rainy season; and though I shall be a few weeks ater in reaching my destination, I shall have the satisfaction of racing the *whole* river, and giving the position of all the remark-ible places, which neither Caillie nor Lander were able to do. There is now no earthly chance of the observations made by Park eeing the light, for Mr. Ainslie showed me yesterday his last letter from Sansanding, which I perused with much interest. You are aware that nothing but the unfortunate occurrence of the Fel-latas' conquests with the period of his expedition, and his being mistaken for one of their parties, occasioned its unhappy result; and by striking across the mountains, which we shall do at Baranco, about four hundred miles up, we shall have only twenty-four days' land journey to the mighty Niger, where he has scarcely command of water enough to float a canoe.

"The climate here is so very superior to that in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, that after Barbadoes, where shade is unknown, it really seems comparatively cold; I took a stroll of half a dozen miles to-day before breakfast, which I could not have done, with-out feeling languid afterwards, in the West Indies, but Tyrwhitt never could have borne the breathing oven of the Gold Coast. Everything reminds me here of the near neighbourhood of the desert; the toke and turban very general, every man, not a Christian, a Musselman, and what seems strange to European eyes, persons in the coarsest checks with gold ornaments to the value of hundreds of dollars.

"The beautiful harnessed antelope, which it is really a sin to shoot, is common in the bush, and milk, honey, and rice, are to be had in most of the negro villages, this being quite the dairy country of Africa. But then there are mosquitoes, that madden the best-tempered folk. and holy men with their eyes on the Koran, ready

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to dirk you for the slightest subject of difference, and it is curious to see the strangest characters of this sort well received and admitted to a familiarity at government house, because they have much interest in the country, and it is politic just now to speak them fair."

Having concluded his arrangements for proceeding through the Enyong and Eboe countries, he intended to proceed up the Calebar River, and thence over land to Funda. He arrived without any particular accident in the Eboe country, but the king of that people refused to let him pass, and he was, therefore, obliged to return to Calebar, and thence it was his intention to take a passage on board the Agnes for Fernando Po. The refusal of the king of the Eboe country, did not proceed from any distrust or jealousy on his part, but a most sanguinary war was raging in the interior, and he, therefore, considered the life of the traveller to be in danger. He had not been exposed to any very severe fatigue, but his disappointment was great, and he laboured under considerable debility and depression of spirits. He died without much suffering on the second day after embarking on board the Agnes.

Thus perished another victim in the cause of African discovery, but still there are hearts to be found, who are willing in the cause of science to brave every peril, for the purpose of enlarging our knowledge of the interior of the African continent, and opening fresh sources to the skill and industry of our merchants. The Rev. Mr. Wolf is now on his journey to Timbuctoo, and Lieutenant Wilkinson is following up the discoveries of Lander; of them we may say with the poet;—

"Fortuna audaces juvat."

FINIS.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

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